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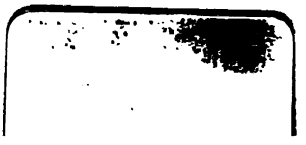

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OR

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FOR

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THE

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Now that the centre of Australia has at length been reached, and the continent itself crossed from shore to shore, it may not be without interest if we review the several labours of our explorers in this field. We propose, therefore, to trace the progress of Australian discovery from its first small beginnings. We propose to follow the white man from his small village on Port Jackson to his rich settlements along the borders of the great Interior. We shall accompany the adventurous pioneer into that great Interior itself. With the materials which he has given us, we shall endeavour to draw the chief outlines of the continent as it now stands disclosed to us. Here we shall be able to place a flourishing colony, mapped, surveyed, and portioned out into its several districts and townships; there the mere fragments of a river or mountain range; often we shall be obliged to leave an absolute blank. Nor shall we have to revert to any very distant period. It is not quite fifty years since the inhabitants of one small village discovered a rift in the mountain range which confined them to the shores of Port Jackson. Thence we shall trace the tide of settlement and the explorers who led it. We shall find them again and again repulsed, but again and again returning to the charge. We shall behold them now retreating from their lines, and now breaking through to rich territories which lie beyond. Now we shall abandon the search as worthless, and anon we shall be led through waving pastures and by the banks of deep and clear waters. We shall turn aside from the hot blast of the desert, and find the cool breezes of the south sighing around us. For a moment, too, we shall behold the curtain raised on the awful Interior, and then dropped for

years. For a moment we shall gaze on those vast ruins of nature—lifeless among the tropics, blasted amid perpetual sunshine; and then all is conjecture—how far do they extend? What lies beyond them? Where have they entombed the lost expeditions which ventured into them? Through all these changing scenes we shall find a great empire growing up. We shall see it occupying new territories; and we shall pass through great territories which it is yet to occupy. Not indeed that the explorer is far ahead of his fellow-colonists. Australian occupation has kept close on the heels of Australian discovery. If we find the explorer much in advance of the settler, we may be sure that the way is too difficult, or the information too scanty for immediate pursuit. Since the Australian colonist took to flock-keeping, there never was a time when he did not want more land. He would have explored for himself, but that the discovery of secure halting-places—sometimes few and far between—made absolutely necessary this division of labour. The occupation of the Australian colonies has been entirely peaceful, but it has never been continuous. From time to time, settlers suddenly poured into new districts, while all beyond seemed a desert. Then, while flocks and herds were multiplying and demanding new pastures, again commenced the task of the explorer. Thus, while the Australian colonist was obliged to leave the management of exploration mainly in the hands of his Government, he watched the proceedings of the Government exploring expeditions pretty closely. Not seldom, he was tending his flocks and rearing his homestead on the scene of some discovery before the Governor's despatch had reached England. Great and prosperous cities, too, we leave on the route behind us. We pass through a wilderness, and, in a few years, it is an independent colony, constructing its roads and its railways, making its own laws, and astonishing us by its wealth. On the future of these colonies we have not now to speculate. However closely commerce and politics have pursued the Australian explorer, his duties are clear and distinct; and at present we propose merely to trace the progress of geographical discovery through the great continent which it has recently added to the four quarters of the globe.

Some fifty years ago, a thriving English town had grown up on the shores of Port Jackson. The Governor's house was of stone. The judge and a few government officers had brick; but the main portion of the inhabitants were content with plastered logs and shingled roofs. Yet the people of Sydney felt no small pride in their town. They would have liked a

little more land for their few sheep and cows. But the flocks on which they relied roamed through far different pastures. When the season came round, they sailed away down the great Southern Ocean, and came back laden with black oil and sperm. Their harbour was the finest in the world, sending its arms in among their cottages and town gardens, and capable of containing the whole British navy; their log huts were bathed in everlasting sunshine, and business was good. From the sparkling waters of the Bay to the Blue Mountains behind, all was bustle and activity—whalers from Europe and America refitting, immigrants landing, new houses building, and vineyards and orange-groves creeping round the Bay. Such as it was, it comprehended all the English in Australia. Through those Blue Mountains no man could find a way to the boundless regions which lay beyond. Rewards were offered for the discovery of a mere sheep-track. The more adventurous citizens risked life and limb—not always without fatal results—in clambering up and down their craggy sides, and peeping into their black fissures. At length, the long-sought pass was discovered. In 1813, Mr. Evans, a Government surveyor, found himself, after repeated attempts, on the other side of the Blue Mountains, and, with care and great labour, retraced his steps to Sydney. Immediately the pent-up flocks and herds of the colonists poured themselves out over Bathurst Plains and the western districts of New South Wales; and the people of Sydney began to desert their town gardens for sheep-feeding and wool-growing.

But a new impediment arose. Land was to be had for the taking of it, but there was scarcely any water. Ruin hung over the head of the flockowner who was not within reach of a permanent stream. An unusually dry summer left him a beggar. In vain he hurried his flocks to the nearest watering-place. They strewed the way with their carcasses. All the permanent streams were quickly occupied. New South Wales was not to be a great wool-growing country after all, unless more rivers could be discovered. To little purpose they had searched Europe for the sheep most famous for their wools, if these priceless animals were now to die of thirst. The Government surveyors were instructed to be always on the look-out for rivers. Rivers promised to be the death of the Government surveyors. Such rivers no man ever heard of before. They all ran inland. They stopped when least expected, leaving no visible channel or watercourse. Sometimes they were as salt as the waters of the ocean; at another period of the year they contained excellent drinking water. Now they formed merely a chain of ponds;

and now, in a perfectly dry season, they boiled over their banks, filling whole valleys with crashing timber, and sweeping away the apparently secure homesteads which had sprung up on their shores. In 1818, Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General, on a river exploration, was surprised to find the Lachlan and the Macquarie, the most important rivers then known, ending in vast reedy marshes. What did become of the rivers had already been repeatedly discussed. The records of Cook, and the Dutch and French maritime discoverers, had been searched; but they contained no notice of any considerable stream finding its way to the ocean—certainly none within thousands of miles along the sea-coast from Sydney. Mr. Oxley's discovery now appeared to bring the discussion to an end. It was now laid down, as beyond all doubt, that the interior was an immense sea, into which all the rivers emptied themselves, either by ordinary channels or by underground passages.

In 1828, Captain Sturt, an officer of the 39th Regiment, then stationed at Sydney, set out, with the approval of the Colonial Government, to explore Mr. Oxley's inland sea. But, on sailing down the Macquarie to the point marked on Mr. Oxley's chart, all trace of sea or lake had disappeared. 'The channel, which had promised so well, without any 'change in its breadth or depth, ceased altogether, and, while 'we were yet lost in astonishment at so abrupt a termi-'nation, the boat grounded.' The reeds were still there, but the whole country beyond, as far as his party could travel, contained not a drop of water. Abandoning all hope of taking up the Macquarie again, Captain Sturt struck into a more northern course, and came upon the Darling—a river far exceeding in size the Lachlan or the Macquarie. From a sloping bank on which his party stood, stretched, some forty feet below them, a magnificent stream, seventy or eighty yards broad, 'evidently 'very deep, and literally covered with pelicans and other wild 'fowl.' Eagerly the men, parched under an almost tropical sun, and after several days' toil, rushed down its green bank to taste its waters. 'Nor shall I ever forget the cry of amazement that 'followed their doing so, or the looks of terror and disappoint-'ment with which they called out to inform me that the water 'was so salt as to be unfit to drink.' Further search was now impossible, and a hasty retreat was made to Sydney.

It was not quite so certain now that there was an inland sea. Many abandoned the theory altogether. Yet how was a district, larger than Spain and Portugal put together, drained? Every settler could tell of the mighty floods which had swept away his sheep, his cattle, his farmyards, and, not seldom, his farm-

servants and shepherds. Where did these mighty floods go to, or how were they carried off? The freshwater streams had been found to disappear altogether, after a short course inland. The Darling, which was quite large enough for a main drain, was salt. Yet whole seas went somewhere, for Mr. Oxley's sea had disappeared before Captain Sturt could overtake it. Nothing was to be discovered by following the course of the ordinary sluggish freshwater streams. Creeping through a vast extent of level country, more like canals than rivers, they were stopped by the first impediment that came in their way. Captain Sturt, whose arguments we are repeating, could trace their cessation to nothing stronger than a bank of more than ordinarily stiff soil. To solve the mystery, it was necessary to follow the course of some more impetuous stream. The Australian Alps, lying to the south of the Settlement, supplied such a stream. A thousand rills, fed by its snows, joined themselves into one impetuous torrent, and dashed down a steep and rocky channel. No ordinary impediment was likely to stop the Murrumbidgee, and Captain Sturt determined to trace its stream whither it might lead. The settlers who had already secured its green banks reported that it made directly for the interior, and showed no signs of abated strength. They would have followed its course themselves but that it exhibited unmistakeable symptoms of leaving behind it the rich fertility which marked its early progress. In 1829, Captain Sturt started on a journey with which may be said to commence the history of the Australian colonies.

Striking the Murrumbidgee at Yass Plains, about 300 miles from Sydney, he proceeded along its banks with a large and well-equipped party. The stream continued to gain in breadth and body of water, but all appearance of fertility was fast disappearing from its course. In little more than a week after its departure from Yass Plains, the expedition found itself in an absolute desert. The drays, loaded with provisions and other necessaries, had caused immense labour to the men from the shifting sandy nature of the soil and the dense patches of 'scrub' which grew down to the water's edge; but now neither horses nor men could bring them any further. Yet a stream so impetuous in its course was not to be abandoned. A friend, who still held fast to the theory of an inland sea, had prevailed on the leader of the expedition to add the timbers of an old whaleboat, which had already seen service at the South Pole, to his equipments on leaving Sydney. They were nailed together, and a small raft, capable of carrying a few bags of flour, was constructed from the fallen timber on the river's

bank. Half a dozen picked men were retained. The remainder, with the drays, were sent back to Sydney. And, next morning, at break of day, this small boat's crew dropped down the stream, bound for that mysterious and unknown Interior, which, alike, the European and the savage of the coast regarded with curiosity and awe.

The Murrumbidgee is composed of alternate deep and broad reaches of water, and steep rapids. In these rapids, the stream, contracted within a narrow channel, hurries through a dark and gloomy gorge, deep down between frowning and precipitous rocks, hid from the sun by dense overhanging woods. Successive ages had almost choked up these sunless chasms with fallen trees, whose branches, pointing up stream, threatened to rip up the boat. On the seventh day of the voyage, from one of these sunless rapids the boat unexpectedly shot out into a broad and noble river, running at right angles to its tributary, the Murrumbidgee. In a country singularly deficient and uncertain in its means of communication by water, they had discovered a river not unworthy to be classed with the great watercourses of Europe, and doubtless owing its broad stream to the unfailing snows of the Australian Alps. Wherever the Murray might lead them, at least it solved a very important portion of their inquiry. It was certainly the main artery of New South Wales. 'I directed,' says Captain Sturt, 'the Union Jack to be hoisted, 'and, giving way to our satisfaction, we all stood up in the 'boat, and gave three distinct cheers.'

More safely the whaleboat now dropped down the even tide of the Murray, and on the thirty-third day of the voyage on its stream, the banks retired on each side, and then were lost in the distance. The explorers found themselves floating on the bosom of an extensive lake, becoming slightly brackish as they advanced, while over its waters was borne the distant thunder of the great Southern Ocean. To this was given the name of Lake Alexandrina, and Sturt's observations showed him that he had cut off the south-eastern corner of the continent. Indeed, Lake Alexandrina is separated from the Southern Ocean merely by a narrow bar of shifting sand. The shores of the lake were clothed with green pastures, and the whole surrounding country seemed excellently adapted for agriculture — a want beginning to be severely felt by the colonists of New South Wales, who were already getting their wheat and potatoes from Van Diemen's Land, and even from New Zealand. It is almost unnecessary to say that the Adelaide district has since become the granary of Australia, producing the finest wheat in the world,

and supplying the early goldminers of New South Wales and Victoria with the necessaries of life.

But time permitted only a hasty view of these new discoveries. Our explorers had a long and weary row, up stream, before them. They were already on famine allowance, and even famine allowance would last them only on condition that they rowed up the stream in the same number of days in which they had rowed down. This they accomplished after great exertion and suffering, prolonging their journey into each night until they had reached their former camping-ground. When relieved from Sydney, they had divided their last morsel of food, and, owing to privation and incessant toil at the oar, symptoms of insanity had already appeared among the men.

Wheat-lands and fresh waters had been the two wants of New South Wales. If they were not now brought to the very door, they were, at all events, near enough to relieve the colonists from serious apprehensions. Flocks and herds had increased with extraordinary rapidity, and all the available districts had already been taken possession of. Whether flocks and herds could be driven to the shores of the Southern Ocean was indeed questioned, for Captain Sturt reported portions of the banks of the Murray to be little better than a desert. But a new class of men, known as 'overlanders,' now appeared. The loud stockwhip of the overlander, and not seldom the sharp crack of his rifle, as some Murray tribe attempted to steal his cattle, now resounded through these dark woods. Many thousands of horned hoofs daily thundered over its bank, or plunged into its tide to cut off some tedious bend of the river. Down the Murray poured the overflowing flocks and herds of New South Wales, and spread themselves over the new pastures round Lake Alexandrina.* The fame of the new settlement reached Europe, and the English and the German emigrant were soon sowing their

* 'The overlanders are, nearly all, men in the prime of youth, whose occupation it is to convey large herds of stock from market to market, and from colony to colony. The overlanders are generally descended from good families, have received a liberal education (Etonians and Oxonians are to be found among them), and, even at their first start in the colonies, were possessed of what is considered an independence. Among them is to be found a degree of polish and frankness rarely to be looked for in such a mode of life; and, in the distant desert, you unexpectedly stumble on a finished gentleman. The magnitude of the operations of the overlanders would scarcely be credited. A whole fortune is risked, and in the wilderness.' (*Journals of Sir George Grey.*)

wheat-fields and tending their vines on the shores of Spencer Gulf. In a few years more, the district was erected into an independent colony under the title of South Australia, and the foundations laid of the present City of Adelaide.

That the rich pastures of the present Colony of Victoria should all this time have escaped the notice of the colonists of New South Wales, is indeed matter for surprise. So early as 1824, two settlers, Messrs. Hume and Hovell, had crossed the Murrumbidgee, and penetrated to the shores of Port Phillip. Explorations undertaken by private settlers in search of new pastures were then kept as secret as possible. In general, the discoverer waited until he could get a sufficient flock to take possession of them himself. But it was whispered that a rich territory would yet be found to the south of the Murrumbidgee. Still, the opinion of the Surveyor-General was entitled to weight, and Mr. Oxley had assured his fellow-colonists that no rich territory could possibly exist to the south of the Murrumbidgee. It was reserved for another surveyor-general to lead the way to a colony, for its size and population certainly the richest and most flourishing under the British Crown. Major Mitchell had, succeeding Captain Sturt's trip down the Murray, conducted several expeditions to the northern and western portions of the colony of New South Wales, for the purpose of tracing the connexion between the river system of the colony and this new stream. In 1836, he placed beyond question the junction of the Murray and the Darling, a point which had been in considerable dispute; and then, crossing over to the left bank of the Murray, he struck into his Australia Felix, or Colony of Victoria, as we now know it. Nor did he proceed far before the great importance of the new district became apparent. Lying between Sydney and Adelaide, and within the bend of the Murray, it possessed the well-watered pastures and deep agricultural soil which the people of Sydney were only too glad to seek at the more distant mouth of the Murray. On his return to Sydney, the Colonial Government immediately made known the capabilities of their new province, and settlers from New South Wales, and from the neighbouring island of Van Diemen's land, poured, in a continued stream, into Port Phillip Bay, and spread their sheep over its broad plains. The government auctioneer came down from Sydney, and knocked down town-building allotments at unheard-of prices — such was the great promise of the new territory — and, within twelve months after the discovery of Sir Thomas Mitchell (who had received the

honour of knighthood on receipt of the news in England), its new colonists were building the present City of Melbourne.

Thus were permanently occupied the three colonies of New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria — a group which fills the south-east angle of the continent. But we cannot proceed to the vast solitudes which yet lie behind this group without some notice of the great and long-continued services of a gentleman with whose name the history of these colonies must be ever associated. And we can here the more suitably enter into some explanation of the services which Count Strzelecki has rendered to the Australian colonists, inasmuch as he brings us to the very garden of the colony whose discovery and occupation we have just described. The Blue Mountains, whose dark abysses and sunless streams had so long shut in the settlers on Port Jackson, are but a portion of the immense chain which stretches from north to south of the continent, and which, from Cape York, the extreme northern point of Australia, to Wilson's Promontory, its extreme southern point, are known as the Australian Alps, the Snowy Mountains, the Warragong, the Liverpool Ranges, or, more generally, as the Great Dividing Range which separates the eastern seaboard from the interior. This immense chain, plunging into the Southern Ocean at Wilson's Promontory, and now and then rising to the surface of Bass Strait, at length emerges permanently from the ocean on Van Diemen's Land, and forms the chief feature of that island. Along this Great Dividing Range are displayed the chief geological and mineralogical elements which constitute the soils and subsoils of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; while its several peaks, snow-clad summits, and immense richly-clothed tablelands exercise considerable influence over the climate, and over the drainage of the regions on either side of it. Immediately succeeding the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell, which we have just brought to a close, Count Strzelecki entered on an examination of these ranges, which extended over several years, and entailed an immense amount of labour and hardship. The various summits of the chain within the two colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were named by him; their heights ascertained; their mountain streams traced; the geology and mineralogy, the terrestrial magnetism, the climate, the fossil and existing flora, the fossil and existing fauna, the state and prospects of agriculture, the physical, moral, and social condition of the aborigines investigated; and the whole of this vast district brought within a geological map of great scientific value. All which may be found in the Count's

'Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's 'Land.'*

We have now to follow him into what we have not unfairly called the garden of Australia Felix. We have already seen that the Great Dividing Range runs from north to south of the East Coast, and buries itself in the Southern Ocean at Wilson's Promontory. Before, however, reaching Wilson's Promontory, it throws off a spur which traverses the whole of Australia Felix, or Victoria, from east to west, and on those slopes the rich goldfields of Bendigo, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, the Ovens, Omeo, McIvor, and several others now cluster. Coming down this spur from the Great Dividing Range, and on the slope of it opposite to that traversed by Sir Thomas Mitchell, Count Strzelecki found himself within a beautiful district, whose existence had not been even suspected. Enclosed between the sea and the snow-clad summits of this Alpine barrier, sheltered by it from the hot blast of the interior, and watered by numerous unfailing streams fed from its snows, a large district†, not many degrees from the tropics, possesses an almost English climate. Later tourists from Melbourne and Sydney are loud in their praises of the Arcadian beauty of Gipps' Land. Its lowlands are interspersed with some splendid lakes; while its rivers, navigable for sixty and eighty miles from their junction with the lakes, are the finest and most valuable within the Australian colonies. Flowers in endless variety, and of great beauty, form a widespread carpet. The tall fern-trees, with their gigantic leaves, droop into natural bell-shaped tents. A

* We cannot refrain from quoting the words of Sir George Gipps, with which he introduces the discoveries of Count Strzelecki within what was then the district of Port Philip. 'I cannot do so,' he writes, 'without making your lordship aware of the feelings of 'respect and esteem which have been incited towards him amongst 'the people of this colony.' Similar tributes were also paid by the colonists of Van Diemen's Land, among whom we recognise the name of his brother in geographical discovery, Sir John Franklin, who was then Governor of the island. It is with surprise we notice that, up to the present, these tributes have been merely honorary, both on the part of the colonies and the Home Government. The researches of Count Strzelecki were conducted entirely at his own expense (thus differing entirely from all the explorations which come within the limits of our subject), and on them was expended by himself a very considerable sum. On the part of the Australian colonies, this is, we believe, a singular exception. We cannot call to mind any other Australian explorer with whom the colonists have not promptly shared the golden tide which has inundated them.

† The district of Gipps' Land contains about ten millions of acres.

hundred deep pellucid streams display the crystal quartz, and sharp clean sand and gravel, which compose their beds. Everywhere the traveller comes upon opening glades, leading up to the ranges, and clothed with many varieties of flowering heaths and acacias. Nor is the soil less profitable than gay. All the productions of a temperate climate attain to absolute luxuriance here, and Gipps' Land, under a proper system of settlement, would in a few years become the granary of Australia.* From this garden, however, Count Strzelecki was obliged to make a hasty retreat, and found himself almost hopelessly entangled in the dense hedge which forms its north-west boundary. With provisions running short, and suffering from the fatigues of their previous labours, the Count and his men attempted to reach Melbourne by a short cut across the ranges. The skirts of these ranges are clothed with a dense and almost impenetrable scrub. They had to abandon their pack-horses and all the botanical and geological specimens collected on the way. For twenty-two days they literally cut their way through the scrub, seldom advancing more than two miles a day, and being in a state of complete starvation. Their clothes were torn piecemeal away, and their flesh, lacerated by the sharp lancet-like brambles of the scrub, was exposed to the keen air of these snow-crowned ranges. With difficulty Count Strzelecki and his men reached Melbourne, but the horses, with all his valuable collections, were never recovered. In his report of this expedition to Sir George Gipps, then Governor of New South Wales, we have the first official notice of the discovery of gold. It stands thus among an enumeration of the mineralogical specimens collected in the district, in the report, dated 1839, — the despatch of Sir George Gipps to the

* Strange as it may appear, these solitudes have scarcely been interrupted since they echoed to the footsteps of Count Strzelecki and his men. Its exploration has been carried no further: some of its finest rivers have not yet been traced. The colonial land system threw it, at an early period, into the possession of some half-dozen flockowners; and the tide of settlement, turned from the very shore of Port Phillip Bay, spread to the north and west of Melbourne. Already, however, there are evidences of a change in this injurious system of land policy. Town and country allotments are now being sold within the Gipps' Land district; and Captain Cadell, who has successfully opened up the Murray, the Darling, and the Murrumbidgee to steam navigation, has proposed to the Colonial Government to introduce steam vessels also on the Gipps' Land lakes and rivers. Should these exertions be followed up, we may shortly expect to see Gipps' Land taking its proper place at the head of the agricultural districts of Victoria.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, with which it was forwarded, bearing date 1840: —

'Gold — An auriferous sulphuret of iron, partly decomposed, yielding a very small quantity or proportion of gold, sufficient to attest its presence.'

Thus was lying for twelve years, entombed among the Parliamentary papers, that important discovery which was to effect such changes in the Australian colonies, until at length, in 1851, another Governor of New South Wales, taught by the prosperity of California, consented to make more publicly known Mr. Hargreave's fresh discoveries of gold. But to Count Strzelecki the first discovery on the spot was unquestionably due in 1839; which was corroborated by Sir Roderick Murchison's scientific precognition in 1845 and 1848.*

But the great continent still lies before us. Captain Sturt has brought us from Sydney westward to Adelaide, and at Adelaide we arrive at the extreme limits of eastern settlement — almost of Australian settlement, for the Swan River Colony, at the opposite, or western, corner of the continent, scarcely effected more than a landing, and, until these last few years, with difficulty maintained even that position. From Adelaide we shall have chiefly to follow the further progress of discovery; but as the Swan River Settlement influenced in some degree the direction which exploration took, we shall, while the people of Adelaide are planting their wheatfields and building their city, take a glance at the coast on which the Swan River settlers had landed. With the early history of this settlement we have little to do. Soon after Sturt's trip down the Murray, several English capitalists brought out a number of hired labourers to found a colony on the banks of the Swan River. All the elements of wealth were in abundance. The capitalists, in addition to labour, brought with them supplies of everything necessary for the farmer and the flockowner, and the land was most excellent. The Home Government, however, made one fatal error. It was too bountiful with its lands. To Mr. Peel were given 500,000 acres; to the Governor of the new settlement 100,000; similar grants were made to the other capitalists. Each had so much land he did not know what to do with it. For a trifle he parted with large portions of it. The imported labourers found they could be landowners instead of farm-servants. They all left their employers, and lived on their estates, doing nothing. The very seeds were not put

* See Count Strzelecki's supplement to his 'Physical Description,' published in 1856.

in the ground. The cattle were neglected, and died. The employer of 300 servants found himself without one. He had to make his own bed, cook his own meals, and behold his property going to ruin around him. The imported labourers fared no better. When autumn came round, they had no harvest to reap. They came back to their masters, and insisted on the terms of their contract. Failing to obtain what they had eaten and destroyed, they insisted on hanging them. With difficulty the Governor and the capitalists escaped with their lives. A few ships took away most of the hired labourers to the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, where they found themselves much more comfortable as highly paid farm-servants than as starving landowners.

There still remained, in Perth and at King George's Sound, around Cape Leeuwin, the nucleus of a settlement destined to expand into the Colony of Western Australia, though without any material increase of population. Of the immense North-West Coast, stretching thence to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and, as a ship sails, some 3000 miles long, nothing was known, nor were the settlers around Swan River inclined to push occupation towards the north. The successes of Captain Sturt and Sir Thomas Mitchell in opening new lands had now attracted the attention of England towards Australia. The importance of connecting the North-West Coast of Australia by means of a settlement, nearer and under happier fortunes than the Swan River Settlement, was urged upon the Home Government. It was replied that no settlers would go to a coast of which nothing whatever, save the misfortunes of the Swan River settlers, was known. Sir George Grey, the present Governor of New Zealand, was then a captain of the 83rd Regiment in London. Seized with a spirit of adventure, he proposed to the Government to go and explore the North-West Coast of Australia. H.M.S. 'Beagle' was then lying at Plymouth, preparing for a marine survey of the Australasian seas and gulfs, which was to extend over some years. Captain Grey's proposal was accepted, and a passage was offered for himself and his exploring party in the 'Beagle.' To him we chiefly owe the little we know of this coast. It is much to be regretted that his researches were interrupted by continued mishaps. But for these mishaps we should now possess a more complete knowledge of this portion of Australia — a portion apparently abounding in all that can conduce to successful colonisation, and the nearest of the whole continent to our Indian Empire, to China, and to the rich islands of the Indian Archi-

pelago. Of Sir George Grey's progress along this coast we shall now offer a rapid sketch.

Captain Grey was to land in Hanover Bay, towards the north of the continent, and to explore the coast down towards the Swan River Settlement. His expedition accordingly reached Hanover Bay in 1838, and immediately found themselves in a most delightful tropical country. Everywhere—by the sparkling cascade of the Prince Regent's River, along the picturesque banks of the Glenelg, through deep alluvial meadows watered by countless rivulets — Captain Grey pauses to admire the beauty of the scenery: —

'Those of the party,' he writes, 'who were not very tall, travelled, as they themselves expressed it, between two high green walls, over which they could not see; and those green walls were composed of rich green grass, which the ponies ate with avidity. On a subsequent occasion, when we re-visited this valley, we had to call to one another, in order to ascertain our relative positions, when only a few yards apart. And yet the vegetation was neither rank nor coarse, but as fine grass as I have ever seen.'

From Hanover Bay the expedition proceeded for seventy miles inland along the banks of the Glenelg, a river discovered in the vicinity, the country still preserving its favourable appearance.

Here, however, all further progress was abandoned. Soon after landing, Captain Grey, with two of his men on an excursion in the neighbourhood of the bay, came upon some natives. One of the men, betraying his terror at their unusual appearance, and seeking safety in flight, encouraged some of them to cast their spears, from which Captain Grey received a severe and dangerous wound. Fatigue and want of proper remedies had now brought on more threatening symptoms, and with the advice of his companions, he abandoned further advance. On his return to Hanover Bay he was received on board the 'Beagle,' luckily then off the coast, and sailed thence to the Mauritius in order to recruit his health.

In the following year he again started with an exploring party consisting of thirteen men. By the advice of the settlers at Swan River, where he put in before proceeding to the north of the coast, he departed from his original intention of exploring downwards from Hanover Bay to Swan River, and determined to land at Shark Bay, about 600 miles to the north of Swan River, and to explore the coast district thence upwards to Hanover Bay. At Shark Bay, however, a violent tempest put an end to further exploration at its very starting point. The sea rose, and washed away the whole depôt of

stores. Two leaky whaleboats, and a little flour and salt-provisions, were alone left, and with these Captain Grey and his men made a hasty retreat for Perth. About half-way from Perth, the two boats were so shattered by the surf as to be found useless, and the retreating party took to the land. Here they would have all miserably perished, but for the superior strength and endurance of the commander. They lay down, and declared themselves unable to proceed any further. Leaving them on the sea-shore, at a native well, Captain Grey pushed on for Perth, and reached the out-settlements. Horsemen were immediately despatched with food, and arrived in time for the relief of all the party, save one.

From King George's Sound, Captain Grey took ship to Adelaide, to meet the regular Australian passenger vessels, on his return to England. And to him the people of Adelaide now eagerly applied for information of the North-West Coast. Indeed, nothing could be more indistinct than the knowledge which the settlers around Adelaide possessed of the immense wilderness lying to the north and west of them. The very coast-line of the whole continent was most uncertain. Since the days of Captain Cook, scarcely a white foot had crossed it; and the Dutch previously had contented themselves by naming a few of its most conspicuous headlands. Owing to his mishaps and forced marches, Captain Grey could give them little information of the North-West Coast. Hanover Bay, diametrically opposite to them, at the other extremity of the continent, was of little avail for immediate occupation, but King George's Sound, at the extremity of their own coast, the South Coast, contained fine pasture lands, and but few settlers to make use of them. But of their own coast the settlers of Adelaide knew probably less than of the other two, the East Coast and the North-West Coast. Mr. Bass had, indeed, several years before, drifted through the strait which now bears his name in an open whaleboat, and made the discovery that Van Diemen's Land was an island. Captain Flinders, his companion in the whaleboat, had, at a later period, followed up this discovery by coasting along the whole of the south mainland and sketching its singular shore from the deck of his ship; but the impetuous current which, coming up from the South Pole, sweeps through the Great Australian Bight, and an uninterrupted wall of precipitous cliffs, some 500 or 600 feet high, into which this current was eating, deterred him from endangering his vessel by a too near approach. Such was the scanty information which the people of Adelaide had now to guide them in seeking an extension of settlement towards the west.

It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the unexpected acquisition of such important territories as Australia Felix and South Australia would, for some considerable time, satisfy the eastern colonists. But the old craving for land had soon grown as strong as ever. In truth, it had scarcely abated. Australia Felix was surrounded by New South Wales, by South Australia, and by the sea. Its 'tenants of the Crown,' as they chose to be called—or 'squatters,' as they soon came to be called—were permitted to take up 'runs,' or sheep and cattle stations, as large as English counties. In a wonderfully short time, Australia Felix was occupied from the Murray to the sea. South Australia was little more than a geographical expression. Its parliamentary boundaries, on the north and west, exist only on paper. To the present day, none but the foot of the explorer has ever crossed their meridians. The land in the neighbourhood of Adelaide was such as Captain Sturt had described it—rich in pastures, and needing but the care of the husbandman to give forth its corn and wine; but the traveller to the north of Adelaide soon found himself in a wilderness. The early settlers on Port Jackson never sought more eagerly to escape beyond the Blue Mountains than did the inhabitants of the Adelaide district now seek to know what lay beyond the desert which encompassed them. Within a few short years, the city of Adelaide had grown with amazing rapidity; the whole of the surrounding district was already overflowing with flocks and herds; but the settler who endeavoured to push to the north or west could nowhere discover either water or grass. The efforts of its new government were unremitting; settlers were most ready to contribute to the expenses of exploring expeditions; and various were the plans discussed. Already Adelaide had its Press, its lecture hall, and reading rooms. A file of Adelaide newspapers for 1839, the year in which Captain Grey called at Adelaide, will be found very much occupied by letters on exploration, 'papers' read, and reports of discussions on the subject. The distance to King George's Sound was certainly immense, the coast line anything but inviting; but might it not be worth while to ascertain, by practical experiment, the possibility of driving sheep overland thither? Would not such an experiment most certainly lead to the discovery of good intermediate districts? Then, to the north of Adelaide, there was that mysterious Lake Torrens. Might not a better country commence with its northern shores, if they could be reached?

In 1840, these discussions were brought to a practical issue. After much debate, the attempt to form a junction with the

western settlement was abandoned; and an expedition, called the Northern Exploring Expedition, was formed by the united assistance of the Government and the colonists. Mr. Eyre, the late Governor of St. Vincent, was then a settler in the colony of South Australia. He had already gained considerable experience as an explorer, both in New South Wales and in its new dependency, the Port Phillip district, as Sir Thomas Mitchell's Australia Felix soon came to be called. More recently he had made some incursions into the country to the north of Adelaide, and, on the opposite shore of Spencer Gulf, in the Port Lincoln district; and to him was entrusted the command of the expedition. He was to ascertain the extent and nature of Lake Torrens. A range of hills, called Flinder's Range, ran from Adelaide northwards; they might lead to a change of country, or feed some inland stream. And, if possible, he was to penetrate to the centre of the continent.

The centre of the continent this expedition was fated never to reach; nor even to cross to the opposite shores of Lake Torrens. Its steps we shall have to follow in a widely different direction. Of Lake Torrens, however, we may say that its southern shores were now found desolate and dreary in the extreme. The lake itself was about twenty miles broad, covered with a thick coating of salt, which had all the appearance of freshly fallen snow. Under this salt was found a bed of soft mud, becoming so deep towards mid-channel as to frustrate all their efforts to cross the lake. On maps of Australia, Lake Torrens figures very much in the shape of a horseshoe. The appearances observed by Mr. Eyre on the present occasion at four different points on its western arm, together with some researches of Captain Sturt, on its supposed eastern arm, on an exploring expedition to which we shall presently come, are the principal grounds for this view of the Torrens basin. More recently, however, it has been ascertained that what was known as Lake Torrens is not one, but several lakes—in fact, a semicircular chain of lakes, or mud ponds; and that, more curiously still, a portion of its western arm is the terminus of a river, which takes its rise on the East Coast of the continent, some 1,500 miles distant. At present, however, we have to follow the strange adventures of Mr. Eyre.

Abandoning Lake Torrens, he threw himself entirely upon Flinder's Range, hoping that the slopes of its hills would furnish sufficient water to his party in their progress northward. But hill after hill grew smaller and less frequent, and gradually the country settled down into a desolate level. One peak still rose from the plain, and from this, named by him Mount Hopeless,

he determined to take a last observation. Without water or food for the horses, and through a low sandy country, his party bore down on Mount Hopeless, and ascended to its summit. 'And cheerless and hopeless, indeed,' he writes, 'was the prospect 'before us.' As he had feared, all trace of Flinder's Range now ceased, and before him lay a wide desolate level, interrupted only by the ridge forming the shore of the still more gloomy lake. This ridge of the lake, which, at each point of previous observation, had been bending round from west to east, now appeared on his right hand. Supposing, therefore, that his only means of escape from this apparently uninterrupted semicircular basin was by descending to either of its southern extremities, he returned to the head of Spencer Gulf, where a narrow isthmus separates the waters of the gulf from Lake Torrens, and crossed into the Port Lincoln district, intending to resume his northern course when sufficiently clear of the lake. Repeated attempts, however, proved the impracticability of forcing a passage northward from this portion of the coast. At every point, when advancing a few miles inland, impenetrable scrub, and a total absence of water and food for the cattle, drove the expedition back. Nor did it appear an easier task to advance along the coast itself. Leaving the main portion of his men at Fowler's Bay, Mr. Eyre made three several attempts to reach the Great Bight, hoping that, after passing that portion of the coast, the country would be found to open up more favourably inland. But, after encountering great hardships and the loss of several of his horses, he rounded the Great Bight only to behold the same impenetrable country. The objects proposed for the Northern Exploring Expedition seemed, therefore, impossible of attainment; and Mr. Eyre, on his return to Fowler's Bay, sent the men composing it back to Adelaide. Mr. Eyre himself we have now to follow through a feat the most wonderful in the whole annals of exploration.

We have already mentioned that the rich pastures of King George's Sound and Swan River had been the subject of discussion in Adelaide. They lay at the extremity of the South Coast, but was it likely that they were confined to the extremity of the South Coast? Was it likely that a coast district, 1,500 miles long, was absolutely barren? An explorer would be certain to meet good intermediate districts, and good intermediate districts would bring the whole of the North-West Coast within reach of the Adelaide flockowner. The northern route had been adopted at Mr. Eyre's own request, enforced by his own experience in the Port Lincoln district. His present excursions to the head of the Great Bight proved the difficulties

of a western route along the coast to be far greater than he had urged upon the Exploration Committee in Adelaide; but Mr. Eyre now determined to take up the western route, and to force a passage to King George's Sound.

The South Coast, from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, lay as Captain Flinders had sketched it from his ship. Indeed, down to the present time, Mr. Eyre himself is the solitary white man who has trod its desolate wilds. From the summit of the cliffs, which had frowned down on the topmasts of H.M.S. 'Investigator,' stretched inland a table-land without rise or fall, until a dense and impenetrable skirting of scrub hid it from sight. This table-land Mr. Eyre had now ascertained to be an unbroken sheet of limestone. At the bottom of the cliffs the action of the current had hollowed out immense caverns; and, occasionally, huge portions of the rock became detached and tumbled into the ocean, showing by the rapidity with they were engulfed the hopelessness of finding any path by the margin of the sea. Inland, the country seemed equally unpromising, and the only portion capable of sustaining animal existence was a narrow strip extending along the edge of the table-land, overlooking the sea. Here the action of the wind had collected some scattered heaps of sand, on which grew a few tufts of sour grass and salsolaceous herbs. But already from Fowler's Bay to the head of the Great Bight, neither lake, pond, nor stream had been discovered; and we may now say that from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, a distance of upwards of 1,500 miles, no vestige of a watercourse, nor any surface-lake, or pond was met. During the day, a strong wind blows from the interior, sometimes scorching in its heat, and loaded with fine sand. Towards evening, this is met by a chilling breeze, coming up from the great Southern Ocean; and doubtless to the action of those two winds is to be attributed the deposition of sand on the limestone surface along the edge of this exposed table-land. Occasionally, at intervals of 150 and 200 miles, the sand had been formed into a cluster of hills, and on digging down to the limestone, at these places, a little brackish water was found to ooze out between the sand and the rock. Strange as it may seem, this was the only water at all approaching fresh, which could be discovered along the whole course of this terrible journey.

In undertaking this most forbidding task, Mr. Eyre had determined to risk the life of no European save himself. The men composing the North Exploring Expedition had, therefore, been sent back to Adelaide. But the overseer of the party, a servant long in the employment of Mr. Eyre, and a man of

great energy and courage, refused to leave his master, and Mr. Eyre at length consented to accept his assistance. In addition, he retained two aboriginal young men, who had been some time in his service on his farm, and a third aboriginal, named Wylie, a native of King George's Sound, who had lately arrived in Adelaide in a vessel which had touched there. With these, Mr. Eyre commenced making some necessary preparations, and giving his horses rest before finally leaving Fowler's Bay. He had informed the Governor, by letter, of the resolution which he had formed, but, in addition, the officers and men of the disbanded expedition made known, on their return to Adelaide, the great difficulties which Mr. Eyre had already experienced in his several efforts to round the Great Bight, and the singularly unpromising nature of the country beyond its head. From these it appeared that Mr. Eyre was advancing on certain destruction, and a Government sloop was immediately despatched to Fowler's Bay with a strong recommendation from the Governor to return, accompanied by an official approval of his conduct as leader of the late Northern Exploring Expedition. But Mr. Eyre's resolution was not to be changed, and the sloop returned to Adelaide without him. 'We were now alone,' he writes, 'myself, my overseer, and the three native boys, with a 'fearful task before us. The bridge was broken down behind 'us, and we must succeed in reaching King George's Sound, or 'perish. No middle course remained.' Having constructed bags to hold water, and having given the cattle sufficient rest, Mr. Eyre commenced his journey. His stock of provisions then consisted of some sheep remaining over from the disbanded expedition, and a few bags of flour. The head of the Great Bight was again rounded, and the same forbidding nature of country was found to extend along its western arm—the only vegetation being a few scattered tufts of grass, and the only water being procured from beneath the sandhills, occurring at intervals of 100 and 200 miles.

That man or beast should travel through a succession of such intervals, extending over upwards of 1,500 miles, is indeed wonderful, and, we believe, wholly without parallel. Sometimes a group of sandhills occurred at the end of one or two days' march; more frequently, scarcely a blade of grass, and not a drop of water, was met for a whole week, and human endurance, taxed beyond what it might be believed possible for human endurance to sustain, was no longer supported by the hope that another group was yet in advance, or that retreat was possible. Mr. Eyre's progress during one of those long intervals between water and water, may be thus sketched. After a halt of three

or four days at one of these groups of sandhills to recruit, the horses were again loaded for a fresh start, the bags were filled with water, and the sheep were led out of their pen. For two or three days the horses were able to carry the few bags of flour, water, and other necessary baggage. On the fourth day their strength began to fail, and it became necessary to lighten their loads — the rejected articles being left on the wayside. On the fifth and sixth days the horses became totally exhausted, and no exertions could force them to proceed further. Leaving them also stretched on the wayside, Mr. Eyre and his men, with the empty water-bags, hurried forward until the next group of sandhills appeared above the horizon. Arriving at these, they immediately proceeded to scoop out a well, considerable labour and delay being occasioned by the repeated falling-in of the sand. Reaching the surface of the limestone they quenched their thirst, and took a few hours' rest while the water-bags were filling. The whole party then shouldered their bags, and proceeded back to the horses; and these they generally succeeded in bringing on by easy stages to the sandhills; though occasionally they found one of the wretched and worn-out animals in its last struggles. Having brought everything living to the water, the most laborious task yet remained. Their provisions and few indispensable articles were still strewed along their track; and, while the horses were taking some rest, it was necessary to go back and collect them, Mr. Eyre and his men carrying them on their backs a distance of sometimes forty or fifty miles. In addition to these immense labours, a further task devolved on Mr. Eyre and the overseer. The horses, though found unable to endure the same privation as the men, were, nevertheless, essential to the preservation of the party. Notwithstanding their fatigue, the want of water made them restless during the night, and, when not closely watched, they seized every opportunity to return to the last watering-place — the scattered position of the few tufts of herbage rendering it impossible to tether them. Nor could so important a task be safely entrusted to the two aborigines. Mr. Eyre and the overseer, therefore, agreed to divide each night between them, so as by strict watch, to ensure the possession of the horses in the morning.

In this manner Mr. Eyre and his small party had toiled on for a couple of months, and had now accomplished more than half their journey, when an appalling act of treachery plunged him in fresh difficulties, and seemed to render his ultimate escape hopeless. In the midst of one of these long stages between water and water, they had encamped for the night, and Mr. Eyre had

taken the first watch over the horses. It was approaching toward midnight, when Mr. Eyre's watch would expire and he would be relieved by the overseer. The horses in their restlessness had led him some distance from the camp, when the report of a gun interrupted the sighing of the breeze over these desolate wilds. Startled by so unusual an occurrence, Mr. Eyre immediately hastened back to the camp.

'I met the King George's Sound native, Wylie, running towards me, and in great alarm, crying, "Oh, Massa, oh Massa! come here;" but could gain no information from him, as to what had occurred. Upon reaching the encampment, which I did in about five minutes after the shot was fired, I was horror-struck to find my poor overseer weltering in his blood, and in the last agonies of death. Glancing hastily around the camp, I found it deserted by the two younger native boys; whilst the scattered fragments of our baggage, which I left carefully piled up under the oilskin, lay thrown about in wild disorder, and at once revealed the cause of the harrowing scene before me. Upon raising the body of my faithful, but ill-fated follower, I found that he was beyond all human aid. He had been shot through the left breast with a ball. The last convulsions of death were upon him, and he expired almost immediately after our arrival.

'The frightful, the appalling truth now burst upon me, that I was alone in the desert. He who had faithfully served me for many years, who had followed my fortunes in adversity and in prosperity, who had accompanied me in all my wanderings, and whose attachment to me had been his sole inducement to remain with me in this last and, to him, alas! fatal journey, was now no more. For an instant, I was almost tempted to wish that it had been my own fate, instead of his. The horrors of my situation glared upon me with such startling reality as, for an instant, almost to paralyse the mind. At the dead hour of night, in the wildest and most inhospitable wastes of Australia, with a fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me, I was left with a single native, whose fidelity I could not rely upon, and who, for ought I knew, might be in league with the other two, who, perhaps, were even now lurking about, with a view of taking away my own life, as they had done that of the overseer. Three days had passed away since we left the last water, and it was very doubtful when we might find any more. Six hundred miles of country had to be traversed before I could hope to obtain the slightest aid or assistance of any kind, whilst I knew not that a single drop of water or an ounce of flour had been left by these murderers from a stock that had previously been so small.'

Their small store of flour had indeed been the incentive to this horrible deed. The two natives had taken with them all the flour and water they could carry, and the double-barrelled guns of Mr. Eyre and the overseer, leaving behind them only a brace of pistols and a rifle which had a ball fast in the breech, and was useless for the time. The encampment showed that

they had laid their plan for murdering the overseer over night; but, as the country around was entirely destitute of food, it is most probable that they perished as soon as their stock of flour was exhausted.

'After obtaining possession,' continues Mr. Eyre, 'of all the remaining arms, useless as they were at the moment, with some ammunition, I made no examination then, but hurried away from the fearful scene, accompanied by the King-George's Sound native, to search for the horses, knowing that, if they got away now, no chance whatever would remain of saving our lives. Already the wretched animals had wandered to a considerable distance; and although the night was moonlight, yet the belts of scrub, intersecting the plains, were so numerous and dense that, for a long time, we could not find them. Having succeeded in doing so at last, Wylie and I remained with them, watching them during the remainder of the night; but they were very restless, and gave us a deal of trouble. With an aching heart, and in most painful reflection, I passed this dreadful night, every moment appearing to be protracted to an hour, and it seemed as if the daylight would never appear. About midnight the wind ceased, and it became bitterly cold and frosty. I had nothing on but a shirt and a pair of trousers, and suffered most acutely from the cold. To mental anguish was now added intense bodily pain. Suffering and distress had well-nigh overwhelmed me, and life seemed hardly worth the effort necessary to prolong it. Ages can never efface the horrors of this single night, nor would the wealth of the world tempt me to go through similar ones again.'

With daylight, Mr. Eyre and Wylie prepared to hasten from this dreadful scene. There was not sufficient sand on the surface of the limestone to bury the body of the overseer, and nothing remained but to wrap his blanket around it. The sheep had all been consumed, or perished on the journey. Forty pounds of flour was now their only stock of provision; and, abandoning everything else, save his charts and papers, Mr. Eyre hurried from the spot with his solitary attendant, Wylie. The two natives again appeared before starting, and made efforts to gain over Wylie, but they could not be induced to speak to Mr. Eyre, and, after a short time, they disappeared in the desert.

The two travellers were now obliged to live chiefly on their horses, curing the flesh in the sun, and carrying on a sufficient quantity for some days' consumption. On these occasions, Mr. Eyre, in the midst of such overwhelming troubles, records in his note-book the strange appetite of Wylie for horseflesh. When a horse was killed, he ate several pounds before lying down. During the night he got up almost hourly to resume his feast. He lay on the ground. He roared in agonies of indigestion. He begged to be allowed to rest a day. He was

very bad; too much walk had made him bad; he was curing himself with horseflesh. In the morning he loaded himself, notwithstanding his illness, with choice pieces, and, with tears in his eyes, left behind him all that he could not carry. The singular wall of cliffs, too, retired inland, and they were enabled to gain access to the sea-shore, where they occasionally caught a stinging ray-fish. At length, when human nature threatened to sink under such long-continued fatigue and exposure, and to reach the settlement at King George's Sound, now close at hand, appeared beyond their strength, a whaling barque was sighted off the coast. On perceiving their signals, the commander — Captain Rossiter, of the French whaling-ship 'Mississippi' — sent a boat for them, and they were received on board with much hospitality. After recruiting themselves here for some weeks, they were again landed, within easy reach of the settlement, where they arrived in July 1841, after an absence of over twelve months from Adelaide.

This immense journey places beyond question the astonishing fact that a seaboard 1,500 miles long, from Spencer Gulf to King George's Sound, does not add one drop of water to the ocean. How the drainage of the immense district to the north of this coast is conducted, remains as yet unknown. Frequent thunder-clouds, rising from the great Southern Ocean, passed over Mr. Eyre's head, and evidently burst before they proceeded many miles inland. At particular points, too, flights of parrots were observed, birds which are rarely seen at a considerable distance from water. From these and other considerations, it is not improbable but that the absolute wastes which Mr. Eyre traversed may extend little beyond the sea-coast, and be succeeded by good and valuable land. For many years the barren results of his coast journey have deterred research in that direction; but recent explorations to the west of the Torrens Basin, to which the course of our narrative will bring us, are beginning to open a more promising tract of country to the colonists of South Australia. At present, however, Mr. Eyre brings us to the extremity of the South Coast, and, rounding Cape Leeuwin, we again come out on the North-West Coast. Here, while we have been following Mr. Eyre, the 'Beagle' has been accumulating some further information for us. Of the immense coast, however, from Perth to Hanover Bay, we have nothing further to add. To the present day it lies almost wholly unknown.

The 'Beagle,' it will be recollected, received Captain Grey on board at the mouth of the Glenelg, after his encounter with natives, and from the Glenelg we have to follow her still

more to the north, as she takes up the remaining portion of the North-West Coast. Soon after her arrival in the Australasian seas, the command of the 'Beagle' devolved on Captain Stokes. Of the portion of mainland now examined by this traveller, our curiosity is greatly increased to know more. The country appears a continuation of those rich and picturesque scenes on the banks of the Glenelg, already described by Sir George Grey; but the 'Beagle' allows us so little time to examine them or to discover to what they lead inland, that we must consider even this portion of the North-West Coast as yet awaiting and inviting examination. Captain Stokes' instructions, as commander of the 'Beagle,' applied only to a marine survey of the coast, and his hours on land, which we owe to a love of exploration and to the very great promise which the country held out to him, were necessarily limited by this duty, and by the safety of his vessel. Stolen hours are pleasant; and certainly the hours which Captain Stokes has stolen to explore this portion of the North-West Coast furnish very pleasant reading. We have adventures with crocodiles and alligators, to remind us that we are among the tropics. We go boating up river after river, thrusting aside, for the first time, the overhanging thickets, amid the screaming of cockatoos and the flights of innumerable paroquets, of every imaginable hue. We obtain glimpses leading us to hope that we are about to lift the veil from the mysterious Interior. In King's Sound, the Fitzroy River was discovered, and followed up by a boat's crew of the 'Beagle' for ninety miles beyond the coast. It was found to pass through a rich alluvial soil, abounding with tropical vegetation, and the country beyond seemed equally promising. Higher up on the coast, the River Adelaide was discovered, and also followed up for about eighty miles inland. But Captain Stokes' most valuable discovery on this coast was the River Victoria, which he followed for 140 miles inland, and quitted with regret. His explorations along the course of this stream led him to regard it as the most promising inlet to the Interior, and, with this view, he most strongly urged the formation of an expedition to start from some point on its banks. At the solicitation of the Royal Geographical Society, Captain Stokes' recommendations were ultimately acted upon by the British Government; and Mr. Gregory's Victoria River Expedition of 1856 is, doubtless, still in the recollection of our readers. Owing to mishap and mismanagement, the Victoria River Expedition has not added much to our knowledge of the Interior; but it may not be uninteresting to refer to it again in its proper place. With the Gulf of Carpentaria, Captain Stokes completed his

survey of this portion of the coast. At the head of the gulf he discovered some considerable streams. The chief of these, the Albert, he traced, by boat, for fifty miles inland, when, finding the channel choked by fallen timber, he proceeded on foot for several miles further through his Plains of Promise. In taking leave of the 'Beagle,' we have to regret, equally with Captain Stokes, that the safety of his vessel obliged him to relinquish each of these tempting opportunities to obtain an insight into the vast solitudes which lie behind the North-West Coast.*

At present, our narrative takes us back to the city of Adelaide, now hemmed in by Mr. Eyre's gloomy Lake Torrens, and the terrible South Coast which he had just traversed. The settlers of the Adelaide district had abandoned all hope of finding an outlet to the west. What was the nature of the great Interior which lay to the north of them was now the most important inquiry. Mr. Eyre's exploration in that direction had terminated with Mount Hopeless. But Mount Hopeless was situated on their side of Lake Torrens. It was impossible to say what good land might lie on the northern shores of the lake. It was impossible for the colonists to rest satisfied until the centre of the continent was actually reached, and the possibility of an extension in that direction finally ascertained. Captain Sturt had been the most successful of Australian explorers; and Captain Sturt must now settle this question for them. In 1844, he started from Adelaide with a strong and well-equipped party, consisting of sixteen men, the officers of the expedition being Mr. Poole, as second in command and surveyor, Mr. Stuart (now so well known for his late exploits in exploration), as draughtsman, and Mr. Brown, as surgeon.

Desirous to escape altogether from the meshes of Lake Torrens, which had already entangled Mr. Eyre, he left that district on his left hand, and passed up the Murray and the Darling, merely making a descent, at intervals, on the Torrens basin, to ascertain the existence of an eastern arm. On each of these occasions a shore was seen, similar in many respects to

* A further attempt has been made, within the past year, to learn something more of this Coast. An exploring expedition, under the command of Mr. F. T. Gregory, landed in Nickol Bay, midway in the immense gap left by Sir George Grey between Swan River and Hanover Bay, and endeavoured to penetrate inland, but was stopped at some distance from the Coast, and obliged to return. It has, however, ascertained the existence of a broad seaboard of excellent agricultural land behind Nickol Bay, and makes it all but certain that the North-West Coast is backed by a dividing range similar to the dividing range of the East Coast.

the shore described by Mr. Eyre on the western arm; and hence we have Lake Torrens, with its horseshoe shape, on our maps.

Leaving the Darling, which was taking him too much out of his northern course, at its junction with a small tributary, called by the natives the Williorara (the Menindie of the late expedition under Burke and Wills), he endeavoured to pass up the Williorara. But its waters quickly failed him, and pasture was becoming daily more scarce. The expedition had started in winter, so as by help of the spring showers to push to the north. The sun was now beginning to dry up the pools, and no time was to be lost. By means of forced marches, Captain Sturt and his men passed over a very inhospitable tract of country, and reached as high as lat. 29½°, when they unexpectedly came upon a picturesque spot, well watered and supplied with food for the cattle. To this was given the name of the Rocky Glen Depôt; and here Captain Sturt determined to allow both men and horses to recruit for some time, while he explored the country beyond, for the purpose of selecting the most safe northern route. With dismay he gradually ascertained that no northern route was to be found. The Rocky Glen ceased as suddenly towards the north as it had opened, and the country beyond became an absolute desert. In vain Captain Sturt and the officers under his command followed the course of every creek—now a cracked, baked channel—and made long and harassing excursions into the district around. Neither water nor pasture was to be found beyond the Rocky Glen. Retreat, too, was cut off. The summer's sun had now dried up every pond and creek which had supplied them on their line of march, and six months' imprisonment in the Rocky Glen Depôt became certain.

For six months no rain fell. The violence of the sun became insupportable. To escape from its rays, a large underground chamber was excavated, to which the men retired during the heat of the day. Gradually the surrounding desert closed in on them. The whole vegetation of Rocky Glen became mere snuff, and was carried away by the hot blast. Nothing was left but the naked rocks, and the pool of water on which their lives depended. Day by day, it too yielded to the fury of the sun. 'Under its effects, every screw in our boxes had 'been drawn, and the horn handles of our instruments, as well 'as our combs, were split in fine laminæ. The lead dropped 'out of our pencils; our signal rockets were entirely spoiled; 'our hair, as well as the wool on the sheep, ceased to grow, 'and our nails had become as brittle as glass.' Scurvy now

attacked the whole party. Some of the men would be unable to proceed with the expedition, and Mr. Poole was dying. In this condition, the winter months came slowly round, and the first refreshing shower fell. The way was again open, and it might be possible to save Mr. Poole. A litter of boughs and dried leaves was already prepared; and with Mr. Poole six of the men endeavoured to make a retreat on Adelaide. But the winter had been too long in coming. Mr. Poole died a few hours after his attendants had quitted the camp, and his body was brought back just as Captain Sturt and the remainder of the expedition were about to start on their northern course. His companions raised a rude pyramid of stones on a neighbouring hill to mark the place of his interment, and Mount Poole is all that is left to tell of the weary days spent in the Rocky Glen Depôt. 'That rude 'structure,' writes Captain Sturt, 'looks over his lonely grave, 'and will stand for ages, as a record of all we suffered in 'the dreary regions to which we were so long confined.'

About fifty miles further on, a fresh halting-place was discovered, called Park Depôt. And from Park Depôt Captain Sturt made two sustained efforts to reach the centre of the continent, passing each time through districts of a most singular nature. And now, for the first time, we approach the great Interior,—that region from which the Murray had formerly borne Captain Sturt aside, and from which the gloomy prospect seen from Mount Hopeless had, more recently, compelled Mr. Eyre to turn. Doubtless, to the results of these two efforts is to be mainly attributed the opinion, up to a late period so almost universal, that all Central Australia would be found of a very worthless character. How strong were the grounds for this opinion we shall the better judge when we have followed our explorers on these two excursions from Park Depôt.

Accompanied by Mr. Brown and three men, Captain Sturt started from Park Depôt, maintaining a course 25 degrees west of north, or, in other words, bearing right down on the centre of the continent. In a short time, the country assumed all the appearance of a desert. Neither grass nor water was any longer visible, and the eye rested on nothing, to the brink of the horizon, but reddish-brown sand. Gradually, as they advanced, this sand swelled into long parallel ridges, running from east to west, and rising higher and higher, until at length our explorers found themselves toiling over a very ocean of solid billows, some 50 or 60 feet high, and succeeding each other in endless uniformity. This formation bore no traces of the action of water, and must have been the slow result of a prevail-

ing wind accumulating its solid waves in the gradual course of ages. At the distance of about 200 miles from Park Depôt, this singular country came to an abrupt termination, and our explorers stood before what is now known as Sturt's Stony Desert. The parallel sand ridges, running from east to west, were suddenly chopped off at right angles, and, in their stead, stretched an immense level plain, uninterrupted all round the horizon from south to north, and thickly strewn with small fragments of quartz, firmly packed together, and rounded as if waterworn. Still adhering to their course, 25 degrees west of north, our party descended into this singular plain, and proceeded on their way over its natural pavement. Neither herb nor shrub protruded through the firmly-wedged quartz fragments. No sound or movement could be heard or seen all round them, and the dray-wheels and hoofs of the horses left not the least impression on the surface of the plain. All that could attract or sustain animal and vegetable life Nature seemed to have rigidly excluded from this scene of desolation. Thus the sun went down, and Captain Sturt and his men encamped for the night in the Stony Desert.

With the morning, our party was again under weigh; and, at the distance of about thirty miles from its commencement, the Stony Desert was found to come to an equally abrupt termination. An immense plain of clay, or dried mud, now lay before them, entirely destitute of vegetation, and resembling, as Captain Sturt describes it, 'a boundless ploughed field, on 'which floods had settled and subsided.' No water, however, could be found, and the earth, cracked by the heat of the sun, abounded in immense fissures, which were avoided only by extreme watchfulness and care. Still maintaining their original course, our party arrived at the termination of this plain also, and found the tall sand ridges re-appear, precisely as they had left them on the eastern shore of the Stony Desert. In fact, the whole district seemed merely interrupted by the course of the Stony Desert and Mud Plain from north to south, and again resumed its former appearance without any disturbance whatever. Again our explorers toiled over this solid ocean of red billows—an ocean seen, as it were, under the glare of some great conflagration*, lashed into waves running mountains high, and then suddenly frozen all round from centre to horizon. From want of

* 'Even the lower surface of the clouds assuming a lurid tinge, from the reflection of the bare surface of red sand.' (*Despatch of Mr. A. C. Gregory, published in Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society for* 1857.)

food and water, the horses were now almost exhausted; and the men, who could bring nothing with them from Park Depôt but some tea and a little flour, were scarcely better able to encounter the difficulties of this most harassing country.

At length a small creek appeared ahead, and revived the hopes of the party. It received the name of Eyre's Creek. It contained some good water, and communicated sufficient fertility to its neighbourhood to furnish a meal for the horses. On following it down, however, it soon died out on the desert, leaving merely a few incrustations of salt, and leading to a country as destitute of vegetation as that they had already traversed. Resuming their original course, from the slight deviation along Eyre's Creek, the party again proceeded on their way, and penetrated to lat. 25° 50′ without meeting any further signs of vegetation, and only a creek—whether a continuation of Eyre's Creek was not ascertained—which afforded no relief to man or horse. 'Its channel was glittering white, and thickly 'encrusted with salt, nor was any water visible; but, on going 'down to examine it, in several places, where the salt had 'the appearance of broken and rotten ice, we found that 'there were deep pools of perfect brine underneath, on which 'the salt floated, to the thickness of three or four inches.' They were now more than 400 miles from Park Depôt, and, with the exception of the head of Eyre's Creek, some fifty miles behind, had nothing in the intermediate region to fall back upon. They had advanced 200 miles beyond the Stony Desert, without meeting any indications of a permanent change in the nature of the country, or any encouragement whatever to proceed further. Both men and horses were so weak that any further advance would greatly endanger their retreat on Eyre's Creek. Under these circumstances, Captain Sturt decided to fall back on Eyre's Creek, and, by its assistance, to regain the Depôt. To reach the centre of the continent, in their present condition, would strain both horse and man; and should the centre of the continent be found a desert, their destruction would be certain.

'Yet I turned from it with a feeling of bitter disappointment. I was, at that moment, scarcely a degree from the tropic, and within 150 miles of the centre of the continent. If I had gained that spot, my task would have been performed, my most earnest wish would have been gratified; but, for some wise purpose, this was denied me. Yet I may truly say that I should not thus have abandoned my position, if it had not been a measure of urgent and imperative necessity.'

The party regained the main expedition with considerable

difficulty, and in a most exhausted condition. And so ends the first excursion from Park Depôt.

After some short rest at Park Depôt, Captain Sturt again started with Mr. Stuart and two men. His present object may be shortly explained. The whole appearance of the Stony Desert — its immense deposits of mud on its western bank, the waterworn appearance of its quartz pebbles, the sudden change from sand ridge to level pavement and from mud bank to sand ridge, the similarity of the country for so many miles on each side of it — all led him to the conclusion that it was the dry bed of some immense watercourse coming down from the north. Should this conclusion be correct, the Stony Desert would be again met by a more northern route, and might possibly furnish a key to the solution of this strange country. With this object Captain Sturt left his former course to Eyre's Creek a little on the left, diverging from it at a small stream which he called, in honour of his friend and fellow explorer, Strzelecki's Creek, and maintained a course from Strzelecki's Creek almost due north.

After some days' travelling, our explorers were agreeably surprised by increasing signs of fertility, and on the seventh day of their journey they came upon the banks of a fine creek flowing through an extensive and even picturesque tract of pastoral country. This is Cooper's Creek, so recently associated with the melancholy fate of Burke and Wills, after they had solved the most important problem of Australian exploration. Returning to their original course, after some examination of the Cooper's Creek district, Captain Sturt and his small party soon left this oasis behind them, and were again toiling over a sea of red sand ridges, exactly similar to those met with in the first excursion from Park Depôt. At the end of another week's travelling, the Stony Desert again appeared in all its awful stillness. It seemed broader at this point, and, though preserving the same features on its eastern bank, some changes were now observed on its opposite shore. There was no mud plain, and the Stony Desert itself, instead of being replaced by the red sand ridges, seemed to extend its character to the surrounding country. Some hills were completely covered to their summits with the same description of quartz fragments, so closely strewn as to obstruct all vegetation. Nor could any water be discovered. The country beyond seemed of a most forbidding character, and both men and horses were now suffering severely from want of water. For half an hour Captain Sturt sat on the summit of one of those quartz-clad hills, sweeping the horizon with his telescope, hoping to find some encouragement to advance. But no change in the nature

of the country could be detected, and the attempt was abandoned.

'I was now nearly fifty miles from water, and feared that, as it was, some of my horses would fail before I could get back to it. Yet I lingered, undecided, on the hill, reluctant to make up my mind, for I felt that, if I thus again retired, it would be a virtual abandonment of the task undertaken. I should be doing an injustice to Mr. Stuart and my men, if I did not here mention that I told them the position we were placed in, and the chance on which our safety would depend, if we went on. They might well have been excused, if they expressed an opinion contrary to such a course; but the only reply they made me was to assure me that they were ready and willing to follow me to the last. After this, I believe I sat on the hill for more than half an hour, with the telescope in my hand; but there was nothing to encourage me onward.'

Reluctantly the horses' heads were turned, and the most protracted effort yet witnessed to reach the centre of the continent was finally abandoned. The party now hastened to throw themselves back on Cooper's Creek, some 200 miles distant, and the nearest halting-place. It was a journey for life or death. The horses which refused to proceed were abandoned on the way. When a horse fell, his light baggage was hastily distributed among the rest, and the retreat continued. Uninterruptedly, night and day, they retreated. At night one of the men went before them with a lantern, and thus assisted in their course over these vast sand ridges, and through the unbroken solitude of the Stony Desert, our explorers safely reached Cooper's Creek. Over these regions, the hot winds, so disagreeably felt even on the coast settlements, blow with unusual violence. On the morning of their arrival at Cooper's Creek, one of these hot winds began to blow, and towards midday raged with great fury. The leaves of the trees along the creek became crisp in a few moments, 'and fell like a snow 'shower around us.' The wastes of sand ridges, from which they had just escaped, seemed now a very ocean. The crests of the sand billows were cut off, and whirled on high in thick spray. Blinding torrents of fine sand, driven before the wind, were poured over the Cooper's Creek district, smarting and blistering the feverish skin. Towards the horizon, sea and sky were mingled in one red mass. Every living thing turned from the glow. An all-pervading relaxation seized man and beast. The horses were unable to bear the weight of their own heads. Propped against trees, and turned from the hot wind, they let their heads fall to the ground as if the muscles of the neck had been severed. A thermometer, graduated to 127°, burst from the excessive heat, though placed in the fork of a large tree.

And, in all probability, had this tempest overtaken our party in the desert, they would have all perished. Passing through Cooper's Creek district, Captain Sturt with his men again joined the main expedition at Park Depôt, greatly weakened by sickness, and scarcely capable of any further exertion. On the following day, he found himself unable to walk. In a day or two more, his muscles became rigid, and his limbs contracted. 'Gradually also my skin blackened. The least movement put me 'to torture, and I was reduced to a state of perfect prostration.'

But Park Depôt was many hundreds of miles from Adelaide, and an immediate retreat was now necessary. Already another summer had come round, and the sun was drying up all the pools and watercourses on the way. It was doubtful, indeed, whether the way was still open. Mr. Brown proposed to go and ascertain, lest the expedition should be again caught in the desert. Unless Flood's Creek, about 150 miles nearer Adelaide, contained sufficient water, it would be dangerous to move the expedition, and Mr. Brown determined to learn the condition of Flood's Creek. The hide of a bullock was sewn together so as to form a water-tight bag. This, filled with water, was placed on the way some seventy miles in advance, and on the following morning Mr. Brown started with a light spring cart, containing about thirty gallons of water. By this contrivance he was enabled to supply himself and his horse with water half way on his journey, without encroaching on the store which he carried with him. Anxiously the men watched for his return. On his report depended another six months' imprisonment in Rocky Glen Depôt, and both officers and men recalled Rocky Glen Depôt with horror. On the eighth day they came to Sturt's tent to tell him that Mr. Brown had appeared in sight, and in a few minutes he stood before him. '"Well, 'Brown," said I, "what news?—is it to be good or bad?" '"There is still water in the creek," said he; "but that is all I 'can say. What there is, is as black as ink; and we must 'make haste, for in a week it will be all gone."' A bed of leaves was placed in one of the carts, into which Captain Sturt was lifted, and the whole expedition commenced its retreat from Central Australia. Flood's Creek was safely reached, and it enabled them to push on to the Murray. The news was carried down the Murray that Sturt, now nineteen months absent and supposed dead, was returning. The settlers along its banks hastened to place their carriages at the service of himself and his exhausted men. Under the light of an Australian moon, they again passed the clustering vines and golden wheat fields which surround Adelaide.

'I reached my home,' writes their commander, 'at midnight, on the 19th of January, and, on crossing its threshold, raised my wife from the floor, on which she had fallen, and heard the carriage of my considerate friends roll rapidly away.'

While the people of Adelaide were seeking an extension of settlement towards the north, the people of Sydney were also occupied by a project of their own. Between Sydney and India, China, and the rich islands of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago, lay the whole continent of Australia. If their ships went to the south-west, there was more than half the continent to sail round. If they went to the north-east, there were the great Barrier Reef, 1,200 miles long, and the dangerous Torres Strait, where the timbers of many a stout Sydney barque lay mouldering on the small islands which choke the passage. An overland route to the Gulf of Carpentaria would bring the Indian Archipelago almost to their door. With a practical route to the Gulf of Carpentaria, the whole commerce of Southern and Western Asia and its islands would be thrown open to the Australian colonies. What then appeared a golden dream is doubtless now on the eve of being accomplished. Burke and Wills have laid a way to the shores of the Gulf, and, but for the terrible mishap of a few hours, might have lived to see it occupied by the iron road and the electric wire.

Sir Thomas Mitchell, who was then Surveyor-General of the colony of New South Wales, warmly advocated this project. He invited Dr. Leichhardt, who was already known for some explorations he had conducted in the neighbourhood of Moreton Bay to the north of Sydney, and which eventually laid the foundations of the new colony of Queensland, to accompany him on an expedition to the shores of the gulf. As however there was no probability that Sir Thomas Mitchell could leave Sydney during that year, Dr. Leichhardt accepted the command of the expedition, and started on his way in 1844, the same year in which Captain Sturt had already started from Adelaide. Dr. Leichhardt's journey adds nothing to our knowledge of the interior. It was entirely a coast route, and though of enormous length — extending from Sydney to Port Essington, a distance, along the coast, of not less than 3000 miles—and leading the way to much excellent land afterwards occupied by the colonists of New South Wales, it would possess little interest for us now but for the impenetrable mystery which still enshrouds the fate of a succeeding expedition commanded by the same leader. Nor had it any influence whatever on the discovery of an available overland route to the Gulf of Carpentaria. An elevated coast range, we have already seen, extends from Sydney to the shores of the Gulf.

The eastern slope of this range, overlooking the Pacific, is well watered by numerous coast streams, and possesses extensive terraces of fine pastoral land, though every now and again interrupted by broken and almost impassable districts. Along these slopes Dr. Leichhardt led his party, with abundance of water and pasture for the cattle; but its position, and the nature of the country, render it, for a commercial high road, as little useful as the north-west passage to India.

In the following year, Sir Thomas Mitchell started in his turn, with Mr. Kennedy,—a young surveyor, in the employment of the Government,—Dr. Stephenson, and a well-equipped party of twenty-six men. Dr. Leichhardt, we have seen, proceeded along the eastern slope of the Great Dividing Range. Sir Thomas Mitchell now decided on examining its summit and western slope, expecting to pick up some stream, at its source, which would lead him to the shores of the gulf. No such passage was found; but the discoverer of Australia Felix was, in a great measure, compensated by the magnificent country which now disclosed itself within tropical Australia,—in many spots, indeed, exceeding in luxuriance and beauty of scenery the Australia Felix of 1835. Advancing beyond the Darling, and making direct for the tropic, Sir Thomas Mitchell found himself within a network of streams, taking their rise in the Dividing Range, and flowing through the broad rich table-lands which were now found to form its highest elevation. Here, at the very time Captain Sturt and his men, in the same latitude, and at the foot of the very same Dividing Range, were buffeting the red sand billows and inhaling the scorching blast of the desert, the expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell was wandering through the most lovely Claude-like scenery, and following the course of such streams as prompted their discoverer to name them, the 'Claude,' the 'Lorraine,' the 'Salvator,' &c.

'Here,' he writes, 'the weather was most pleasant, temperate, and English-like, though we were still within the tropics. A sweet breeze blew from the south-west, and the degree of temperature was between 50 and 60 degrees of Fahrenheit,—the most agreeable of any, I believe, to the human frame. There was abundance of water, and the young grass was daily growing higher.'

But Sir Thomas Mitchell's chief discovery in this district was the river Victoria,—of course, wholly unconnected with Captain Stokes' Victoria, on the North-West Coast, at the opposite extremity of the continent. Here, at length, appeared to be the long-sought stream opening a passage to the Gulf of Carpentaria; and anxiously the expedition followed it down the western

slopes and table-lands of the Great Dividing Range, along banks waving with perfumed lilies, through rich deep meadows, with splendid reaches of water, capable, as Sir Thomas Mitchell writes, of floating steamers of the largest tonnage. The Victoria was followed for about 200 miles, when the provisions of the expedition, reduced by their previous explorations, totally failed them, and the pursuit was abandoned, though the stream appeared still tending towards the north. Strangely enough, Sturt and Mitchell were then on the banks of the same stream, —for the Victoria and Cooper's Creek have been since ascertained to be the same river,—and could they then have compared notes, it would have been known that the hopes of a passage to the north, by the Victoria, were altogether delusive. That stream, shortly after Sir Thomas Mitchell's farthest point on it, takes a turn towards the south, and thenceforward maintains an entirely southern course. Mr. Gregory, who, at a subsequent period, followed the course of the Victoria through most inhospitable wastes,—'ridges of red drift sand, ten to fifty 'feet high, running parallel to each other, and in a nearly north 'and south direction,—boundless mud plains,—and tracts resem-'bling the stony desert described by Captain Sturt,'—found it, at length, to form the western arm of Lake Torrens, which is separated from the head of Spencer Gulf, near Adelaide, by a narrow isthmus, flooded only during a rainy season.

Of the Victoria, however, nothing was then known in Sydney, save what Sir Thomas Mitchell had just seen. A noble stream, through a garden of lilies, and making for the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, seemed well worth following, and Mr. Kennedy, the second in command of Sir Thomas Mitchell's late expedition, was instructed to trace its further course. Taking it up where the late expedition had been forced to retreat on Sydney, this young officer proceeded along its banks. But, even in the comparatively short distance between Mitchell's furthest and the rich Cooper's Creek district, the Victoria traverses an absolute desert. Scarcely any water, and no food for the horses, could be found; the river-bed had taken a permanently southern direction, and, as a road to the north, was valueless. Having satisfied himself, therefore, that the Victoria was the Cooper's Creek of which Captain Sturt had just brought intelligence to Adelaide, Mr. Kennedy returned to Sydney.

We may here, almost without interruption to the order of events, follow the short career of this spirited young officer.

Though unable to discover a practical overland route to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the people of Sydney were not inclined to abandon all hope of communication with its

shores. York Peninsula is that enormous isosceles triangle which forms the eastern arm of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The base of this triangle is an imaginary line from Rockingham Bay to the head of the gulf. A land communication along this imaginary line would save a considerable distance of sea voyage, and would wholly escape Torres Strait. The Indian and Chinese traders, and the Dutch islanders, might then land their wares at the head of the gulf. A few coasters from Rockingham Bay to the colonies would complete the rest of the journey. But York Peninsula was a *terra incognita*, and Mr. Kennedy, some months after his return from the Victoria River, was sent to explore it. He was to examine the peninsula on its Pacific side, from Rockingham Bay to its vertex, Cape York. A colonial sloop was to lie off Cape York, to supply stores to the exploring party, on its arrival there, when the exploring party was to turn, and examine the gulf side, down to its head.

In 1848, Mr. Kennedy and his party of twelve men, including a native black, named Jacky Jacky, were landed at Rockingham Bay, and the colonial sloop 'Albion' took up its post off Cape York. The whole particulars of the terrible tragedy enacted on York Peninsula we shall probably never learn. Month after month, the 'Albion' lay off Cape York, but the man on the look-out reported no signal from the shore. At length, at the end of six months, the signal-man called the officers to witness a strange appearance on the sea-beach. A native — naked, emaciated, and apparently dying — was seen to crawl from the dense woods which overhang Cape York. He held a bough in his hand. Gaining the beach, he waved the bough in the direction of the 'Albion.' A boat was immediately lowered, and the native brought on board. He proved to be Jacky Jacky, at death's door, from wounds and hunger. For fourteen days, he said, he had tasted nothing but water. His clothes, which, as a member of the exploring expedition, he had received from the Government store at Sydney, he had used to bury Mr. Kennedy. While he greedily devoured the food placed before him, the officers and men of the 'Albion' listened to his tale. When the party landed at Rockingham Bay, they found the country covered with a dense and tall scrub. For four months, they literally cut their way towards Cape York, through this scrub, with saws and hatchets, and seldom making more than a mile or two a day. Their provisions became exhausted, and they ate their horses. When they had eaten their horses, they were still 200 miles from Cape York. The soil, excluded from sun and air by the dense scrub, was found most unhealthy. Most of the men, from sickness and insufficiency of food, were

now too weak to proceed any further. In this strait, Mr. Kennedy placed eight of the men in camp, near the sea-shore, at Weymouth Bay, and, taking Jacky Jacky and three of the strongest men with him, set forward to procure assistance from the 'Albion.' A savage tribe now appeared in their track. After some days' travelling, a dangerous accident happened to one of the men from the explosion of a gun, and he could not be moved. Leaving the other two men to protect him, Mr. Kennedy again hurried on with Jacky Jacky. The blacks now got ahead of them. At Escape River they showered their spears on them. Jacky was wounded in the face. Mr. Kennedy received several spears in the back, leg, and sides. He fell, but immediately stood up again; fired his gun, and then fell again. Jacky stood over him, with his gun cocked. It missed fire, but he still covered the savages. Mr. Kennedy's aim had been true — one savage was writhing in the agonies of death. The rest drew back, and peered from behind the trees. Jacky seized his master, and carried him down to the stream, through a belt of scrub.

'"He said," continues the faithful fellow, "'Don't carry me far.' Then Mr. Kennedy looked this way (imitating him), very bad. I said to him, 'Don't look far away,' as I thought he would be frightened. I asked him often, 'Are you well now?' and he said, 'I don't care for the spear wound in my leg, but for the other two spear wounds in my side and back;' and he said, 'I am bad inside, Jacky.' I told him, 'Black fellow always die, when he gets spear in there.' He said, 'I am out of wind, Jacky!' I asked him, 'Mr. Kennedy, are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you.' He said, 'I am very bad, Jacky; you take the books to the Captain of the "Albion;" but not the big ones. The Governor (of New South Wales) will give anything for them.' I then tied up the papers. He then said, 'Jacky, give me paper, and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil, and he tried to write; and he then fell back, and died. And I caught as he fell, and held him; and I then turned round myself, and cried. I was crying a good while, until I got well. That was about an hour, and then I buried him. I digged up the ground with a tomahawk, and covered him over with logs, then grass, and my shirt and trousers."'*

Jacky kept watch until dark. Then he slipped silently into the stream, and waded up its channel, keeping his head only above water, until he was sufficiently far to escape detection. From Escape River he crept on through the silent woods, exhausted by wounds and hunger, and 'falling asleep,' as he

* Examination of the black, Jacky Jacky. Investigation of York Peninsula Exploring Expedition — Sydney 'Morning Herald,' 1849.

said, for whole days beside ponds and waterholes, until at length he reached Cape York.

On hearing his story, the 'Albion' was immediately got under weigh, and all haste made to relieve the remainder of the party. Jacky pointed out where the wounded man and his two companions had been left, along the coast. Captain Dobson landed, but could find none of them. Nor has their fate been yet discovered; though portions of European clothing were found among the savages in the neighbourhood, which left little doubt but they had been murdered. From this the 'Albion' crowded all sail to Weymouth Bay, where the remainder of the men had been left in camp. On landing, the ship's officers discovered a European at a well's side, sitting on his pitcher. They hastened to him, but he was quite dead. They proceeded to the camp. A horrible smell caused them almost to faint. Few had the nerve to enter. Five bodies were lying in their beds, and had lain for some weeks. Two beds showed signs of having been occupied within some hours. Their owners were looking for shell-fish on the beach. They had seen the 'Albion,' and now staggered back to camp—mere skin and bone, and so weak that they had been unable to drag their dead companions out of their beds to bury them. Search was next made for the body of Mr. Kennedy, but his grave had been opened, and the body removed. No trace of it, or of his papers, has been yet discovered. Jacky says he hid the papers in the hollow of a tree, but they could not be found.

The Victoria River was yet again to be associated with disaster. Dr. Leichhardt had been for some time making preparations for an expedition, even more important than his great overland Expedition to Port Essington. He proposed to bisect the whole continent by taking the greatest diameter possible as a base route. Moreton Bay and Perth are the two extremities of such a diameter, and Dr. Leichhardt was preparing to cross from the Moreton Bay district to the capital of Western Australia, by a line passing through the centre of the continent. Mr. Kennedy had just brought the news from Sydney that the Victoria had abandoned its northern course, and was coming round to the west. It seemed, therefore, to offer a passage into Central Australia, and Dr. Leichhardt determined to avail himself of it. Early in 1848, a month or so before Mr. Kennedy started for York Peninsula, he left Sydney with a large and well-equipped party under his command. Of the fate of himself and his whole party, no trace has ever been discovered up to the present moment. A horse, said to belong to the expedition, did arrive at Adelaide some years ago, but

this affords little clue. Horses abandoned by Captain Sturt in Central Australia, as dying, have arrived after many years in Adelaide. The little that we do know of the proceedings of the lost expedition may be told in very few words indeed. It will be recollected that nothing was then known of the Victoria beyond Cooper's Creek district, nor that the Victoria was the Cooper's Creek of Captain Sturt, except from Mr. Kennedy's conjectures. No one then imagined that the Victoria, after its wanderings in Central Australia, would bring the traveller back again to settled districts. It is, at least, certain that Dr. Leichhardt made direct for the banks of the Victoria. It is also certain that Dr. Leichhardt abandoned the Victoria when he found it leading him too much to the south. Mr. Kennedy, in his excursion down the Victoria, had discovered a large and imposing tributary joining it on the right-hand bank. This he called the Thomson. It then possessed a considerable body of water — indeed, was as large as the Victoria itself. In spring time it would doubtless hold out a tempting offer to an expedition seeking to penetrate the interior. Dr. Leichhardt left Sydney in April, and would arrive at this portion of the Victoria about the beginning of the Australian Spring. Mr. Gregory some ten years after, in 1857, shortly after his return from his explorations on the North-West Coast, started from Sydney, under instructions from the New South Wales Government, to discover, if possible, some traces of the lost expedition. Their marks were not yet obliterated on the banks of the Victoria. So far into the interior as the 146th meridian, Mr. Gregory found a tree marked 'L,' after which no further trace could be discovered on the Victoria. The 146th meridian is, however, higher up the stream than the junction of the Thomson. Mr. Gregory accordingly arrived at the conclusion that the expedition had, at this point, abandoned the Victoria and passed up the Thomson. Under this conjecture he himself passed up the Thomson almost to the tropic. It was then summer, and the river at that point presented merely a dry and baked channel, without water or grass. It was evidently leading out into Sturt's great desert, but offered no inducement to proceed. There can scarcely be a doubt but that Dr. Leichhardt, passing up the Thomson at a more promising season of the year, launched out on that terrible country which had so nearly entombed Captain Sturt and his men. Whether the impending summer cut off retreat, or a hostile tribe attacked them on the western borders — for it is almost certain that no tribes, unless perhaps a few isolated families mutually afraid of each other, inhabit Central Australia — is left to mere conjecture. Yet it

is impossible but that traces of so large an expedition are still extant. If they died within Central Australia, their remains are still there, probably undisturbed. If they were murdered by a border tribe, it is certain that their arms and implements are still preserved by them. Now that secure halting places have been discovered within Central Australia, and that its explorer is no longer driven to a series of forced marches for life or death, it might be yet possible, without risk, to clear up the mysterious fate of Dr. Leichhardt and his men.

With the lost expedition of Dr. Leichhardt we have come down to a period so fresh in the memory of our readers that there is little left for our narrative to supply. Indeed, with the unpromising account brought by Captain Sturt from Central Australia, the tragic fate of Mr. Kennedy's expedition, and the disappearance of Dr. Leichhardt's whole party, enterprise in Australian exploration received a considerable check. Nothing of importance was attempted until Mr. Gregory's Victoria River Expedition landed on the North-West Coast in 1855, for the purpose of carrying out, under the instructions of the British Government and the Royal Geographical Society, the recommendations of Captain Stokes. It will be sufficient to give a very rapid sketch of the progress of that expedition — premising that the loss of the 'Tom Tough' in the river, and the mismanagement of the depôt of stores for the overland party at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, very much weakened its resources. Following up the Victoria of Captain Stokes to lat. 18° 12′ and long. 130° 39′, where it appears to take its rise, Mr. Gregory found himself on the summit of a dividing range, similar to the Dividing Range of the East Coast. Descending the slope of this range towards the interior, he penetrated, by help of a small creek, so low as lat. 18° 31′, long. 131° 44′. Turning thence eastward, he proceeded along the borders of a very inhospitable tract of country, in hope of meeting some fresh inlet, until at length another creek was discovered making for the interior, to which the name of Sturt's Creek was given. Sturt's Creek led the exploring party as low south as lat. 20° 16′, long. 127° 35′, or five degrees below the mouth of the Victoria, and wanting about two and a half degrees of the centre. For the first 100 miles traversed by it, the land along its right bank 'consisted of vast plains of rich soil covered with beautiful 'grass.' * As they followed it, however, the country gradually deteriorated, and Sturt's Creek at length terminated in a chain

* Report of Mr. Gregory to the Secretary of State for the Colonies — Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, 1858.

of dry salt lakes, for which no outlet could be found. Unable to penetrate any further towards the south, Mr. Gregory proceeded to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, but, finding no stores to meet him there, he was forced to retreat on Sydney by Dr. Leichhardt's old route.

Nothing further remains to be noticed until we come to the late explorations of Mr. Stuart from Adelaide, and of the expedition under the command of Messrs. Burke and Wills from Melbourne. Nor have we anything to add to the accounts of these so recently published, save to endeavour to award to each of these travellers his fair share in the solution of the two problems which had so long resisted the efforts of Australian explorers—to reach the centre, and to cross the continent. It is quite true that Mr. Stuart solved the one, and Messrs. Burke and Wills the other. Yet this is a judgment scarcely fair to Mr. Stuart. He has certainly done something more. If to cross the continent means to cross from known to known, then Mr. Stuart had solved both problems before the expedition under Messrs. Burke and Wills had left Melbourne. If to cross the continent means to cross from sea-beach to sea-beach, then had Mr. Stuart been repulsed from almost every point of the compass, in no less than seventeen attempts, and been twice driven back on Adelaide before Messrs. Burke and Wills gazed on the waters of the Gulf. A rapid sketch of the results of Mr. Stuart's explorations may not be uninteresting, more especially as it will afford a view of the relative position of the two expeditions in the field.

Since the return of Captain Sturt from Central Australia, the people of Adelaide had sought in vain for an extension of territory. They always kept explorers in the field, and Messrs. Hack, Swindon, Freeling, Warburton, and lastly Mr. Babbage, had cleared up a good deal that was vague and uncertain in and around the Torrens Basin. The large flock-owners, too, were not idle, and many of them had eaten their way into the surrounding country as far as safety allowed. Yet the colony of South Australia was still little more than the Adelaide district in an immense and unknown wilderness. At length, in 1858, Mr. Stuart made some discoveries of great importance to the colonists. Penetrating to the west of Lake Torrens with one white man, and a native — who treacherously deserted them — he came upon an extensive district of country abounding in natural springs, and clothed with the Kangaroo grass so highly prized by the Australian flockowners. For this discovery the Colonial Government presented him with a large tract of land within the district.

Towards the close of 1860, news arrived in Adelaide that Mr. Stuart and two men had reached the centre and crossed over to the north coast, and, in a few days, Mr. Stuart himself arrived in Adelaide, and lodged his maps and papers in the hands of the Government. As these documents alter all preconceived opinions of the character of the interior, we make an extract here and there. Mr. Stuart and his two men commenced their exploration on March 1, 1860, from Chambers' Creek, in the district discovered by him in 1858, and journeyed in the direction of the centre:—

'*March* 29.—The country travelled over to-day is the best I have ever seen.

'*March* 30.—Struck another large gum creek [a creek fringed by the gum tree, or *eucalyptus*], coming from the south of west, and running to the south-east. It is a fine creek: its courses of water spread over a grassy plain a mile wide. The water holes are long and deep, with immense plants growing on its banks, indicating permanent water. The wild oats on its banks are four feet high. The country gone over to-day, although stony, is completely covered with grass, and even better than that passed over yesterday.

'*April* 3.—We passed over a plain of as fine country as any man could wish to see—a beautiful red soil, covered with grass a foot high. . . . I have not passed such splendid country since I have been in the colony.

'*April* 12.—Again struck the creek coming from the west, and several other gum creeks coming from the range. We have now entered the lower hills of the range, and have travelled through a splendid country for grass.

'*April* 15.—The country in the ranges is as fine a pastoral country as a man could wish to possess, having grass to the tops of the hills, and an abundance of water through the ranges.

'*April* 22.—I find, from my observations of the sun, that I am now camped in the CENTRE of AUSTRALIA. About two and a half miles to the N.N.E. is a high mount. I wish it had been in the centre. I shall go to it to-morrow, and build a cone of stones, plant the British flag, and name it, Central Mount Stuart. . . . Splendid grass all around.

'*April* 23.—Centre. Took Keckwick and the flag, and went to the top of the mount, which I find to be much higher and more difficult than I supposed; but, after numerous slips and knocks, we reached the top. It is as high as Mount Serle, if not higher. The view to the north is over a large plain of gum, mulga, and spinifix, with watercourses running through. The large gum creek that we crossed winds round this hill, in a north-east direction; at ten miles, it is joined by another. . . . Built the cone of stones, in the centre of which I placed a pole, with the British flag nailed to it. On the top of the cone I placed a small bottle, in which is a slip of paper,

stating by whom it was raised. We then gave three hearty cheers for the flag.'

We have extracted sufficient to show that Central Australia is very far from being the worthless country which it was so long supposed to be. Our extracts are from the rough notes of Mr. Stuart taken down at the end of each day's journey, and placed in the care of the Colonial Government without any further revision. Beyond the centre, their great difficulties commenced. Mr. Stuart made three efforts to reach the coast by a north-west course, and each time was driven back on the centre by dense belts of scrub and scarcity of water, both men and horses suffering severely from illness and fatigue. A north-west course to the sea was at length abandoned, and Mr. Stuart attempted to reach the coast by a north-east course from the centre. On this course, as our readers are aware, Mr. Stuart and his small party were attacked by savages, and obliged to retire. His extreme northern point, in this year, was lat. 18° 47′, long. 134° 0′. Mr. Gregory, we have seen, descended from the north, along his Sturt's Creek, to lat. 20° 16′. Mr. Stuart, therefore, even on this occasion, overlapped the explorations of Mr. Gregory by close on 1½ degrees of latitude. In fact, Mr. Stuart had arrived within a district already marked by the routes of Mr. Gregory, Captain Stokes, and Dr. Leichhardt. This attack of natives occurred in June, 1860, when the exploring expedition under Messrs. Burke and Wills was still in Melbourne. With the first day of the new year, 1861, Mr. Stuart again started from Adelaide, with a party of twelve men under his command, for the purpose of actually reaching the sea-coast. And now the two expeditions were in the field. Mr. Burke's expedition had left Melbourne in August, 1860; but Messrs. Burke and Wills did not start from Cooper's Creek on their journey to the Gulf of Carpentaria until December 14, just a fortnight before Mr. Stuart left Chamber's Creek. The two routes through Central Australia are pretty parallel, the distance of Cooper's Creek from Chamber's Creek, about 300 miles, being mainly adhered to. On this occasion, Mr. Stuart found no difficulty in making good his former route, and was able to advance nearly two degrees beyond its extremity—his extreme northern point now being lat. 17° 0′, long. 133° 0′. The continuation of his former route, also, opened some fine country—wide grassy plains 'consisting of black alluvial soil from 16 ft. to 20 ft. deep, 'and covered with luxuriant grasses, 4 feet and 5 feet 6 'inches high,' chains of lakes, some of them 10 and 12 miles long, abounding with fish, and lined along their banks with

troops of 'pelicans, white cranes, ibises, and native com-'panions'—and, as Mr. Stuart confidently states, accessible to cattle from Adelaide at all seasons of the year. This fine country, however, towards the north was backed by belts of dense scrub, and from it attempts were made, in no less than fourteen different directions, to force a passage to the coast. In June, 1861, the task was abandoned; while in February, Messrs. Burke and Wills had actually visited the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria by a more easterly, and entirely independent, route. With the few particulars of this route, found among the rough notes and charts of Messrs. Burke and Wills, the public are acquainted from the papers recently laid before Parliament. Their solution of the last problem of Australian Exploration is perfect. From the shores of Port Phillip Bay to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, they laid down a direct and practicable route for their fellow-colonists, and returned to their Depôt on Cooper's Creek—to find it abandoned. How bitter their disappointment—how protracted their sufferings—how nobly they died, when thus forsaken in the desert, we may spare ourselves to recount. When Australian settlement shall have spread into the interior, and occupied the shores of the great Gulf, it will still be remembered that Burke and Wills were the first to overcome all obstacles, and to force a passage from shore to shore. Still will be remembered the tribute paid to them by the Governor of their colony*:—'So fell two as gallant spirits as ever 'sacrificed life for the extension of science, or the cause of 'mankind. Both were in their prime; both resigned comfort 'and competency to embark in an enterprise by which they 'hoped to render their name glorious; both died without a mur-'mur, evincing their loyalty and devotion to their country to 'the last.' To the representatives of Richard O'Hara Burke the Royal Geographical Society has most deservedly awarded its great Gold Medal—perhaps the highest honour a scientific body can bestow.

* Despatch of Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria, 20th November, 1861.

ART. II. — *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G.* Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Vols. VI., VII., VIII. London: 1860, 1861.

WE respect the filial pride which induces the Duke of Wellington to complete the records of his father's correspondence. The Supplementary Despatches of the great Duke throw light on several parts of his career which the Gurwood series had left untouched, and, bringing us more closely in contact with the man at all points of his memorable life, convey a still more perfect notion of his individual genius and character. In the three volumes we are about to examine we see, for the first time, the views of the Duke in reference to the Copenhagen expedition, and to the projected attack on New Spain, which possibly contributed to the Peninsular War; and we gather from them much valuable information respecting the military and political events which marked our continental struggle with Napoleon. No other work contains so full and accurate an account of the difficulties thrown in Wellington's path by the incapacity of the feeble governments which ruled England from 1808 to 1814; and we doubt if even the 'Gurwood Despatches' disclose more clearly the arduous tasks which were cast on him as a general and a statesman. Independently too of its positive worth, this book possesses a negative value which induces us to commend its publication. Exhausting, as it does, the correspondence of the Duke, and revealing to us his public life from the inner side in all its details, it brings his character to the strictest test; and Englishmen must rejoice to learn that in no respect will it really detract from their estimate of their great fellow-countryman. If it shows that Wellington was not omniscient on all questions of speculative politics, it fully attests his marvellous sagacity and commanding genius as a general and an administrator; and it adds, if possible, to the list of the proofs we already possess of his sterling patriotism and his single-minded devotion to duty.

In a former article we followed the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley as Chief Secretary of Ireland. In this capacity he simply carried out the policy of quieting the Orange oligarchy by gorging it with corrupt patronage, of steadily upholding Protestant ascendancy, and of meeting the claims of the Catholic nation by open force and acts of oppression. A sub-

ordinate as yet, he characteristically accepted the system as he found it, and worked it out with vigorous assiduity—distributing among the Protestant gentry the spoils of office with cool indifference, and laying down an admirable plan for holding the country in military subjection. But unlike the contemporary statesmen of his party, he was fully alive to the manifold perils of this mode of misgoverning Ireland; and in the following remarkable letter, composed when Massena was in his front, and the fate of Portugal appeared desperate, he thus refers to the evil consequences of unmitigated repression:—

'I concur entirely in opinion with you upon the state of Ireland. The Ministers in England are not aware of the great and general detestation of the Union, and the indifference, even of their friends, respecting the British connexion. You will find even among these last a very prevalent opinion that Ireland could stand alone as an independent nation. . . . I would recommend you to prevent Foster's laying on any new taxes. It is a favourite notion with the Treasury politicians that the income of Ireland ought to be made more equal to the war expenditure; and they allege what is true—that Ireland is taxed neither in proportion to her means or her expenses, nor to the taxation of the other parts of the empire; but they forget the political situation of Ireland—the detestation of the whole people of the connexion, and particularly of the Union and all the measures which have been the consequence of it, and the indifference even of friends which has grown out of it; and they can't see that in the present temper of that country an unpopular tax might lead to the greatest excesses, and even to general resistance of the measures of the legislature. What I would recommend, therefore, is that you should confine your exertions, till the war is over, to measures for improving the collection and produce of the old taxes, and that nothing should induce you to consent to lay on new. *So much for Ireland, where I think matters are in a much more dangerous state than they are even here.*' (Vol. vi. p. 587.)

When we add that 47,000 bayonets, entirely lost to the cause of Europe, were detained in Ireland to uphold this policy, it may be conceded that Lords Grey and Grenville were not in the wrong when, in 1807, they urged the claims of the Irish nation, although Lord Liverpool characterised this resolve 'as an unwarrantable attempt to surprise the King's 'conscience on a subject on which he was known to have the 'strongest scruples.'

In 1807 the expedition to Copenhagen removed Sir Arthur Wellesley from Irish politics to a sphere more fitted to his military talents. In the sixth volume of these Despatches we have several details about this enterprise which hitherto have not been made public, and we wish we could quote a memorandum (p. 30.) which gives an account of the operations.

As is well known, he negotiated the capitulation, commanded the troops which covered the attack, and, at Kioge, completely defeated a superior force of the Danish army. It will always, perhaps, be a moot point whether, looking at the various circumstances of the time, this expedition admits of justification, on any grounds of right or of policy. In any case, it appears certain that we might have attained the object we sought, and have got possession of the Danish fleet, without resorting to the extremity of bombarding the capital city of a neutral nation. The opinion of the Duke on this point is decisive; and probably of the officers employed, he alone perceived the difficulty of the subject:—

'We have it in our power to place ourselves much nearer the town than we are at present; and I think it probable that an advance to this position, the occupation of Amag, and the storming of the Crown Battery, will produce an effect on the minds of the inhabitants which will lead to a capitulation without obliging us to resort to bombardment. . . . I acknowledge that I would prefer an establishment upon Amag as a more certain mode of forcing a capitulation than a bombardment. . . . . I think it *behoves us to do as little mischief to the town as possible, and to adopt any mode of reducing it rather than bombardment.*' (Vol. vi. pp. 5. 9.)

Between 1806 and 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley was in communication with the Grenville and Portland Governments, in reference to the best method of attacking the Spanish colonies in America. The objects of this projected expedition, which has been very unwisely ridiculed, were to weaken the power of Old Spain, then in complete submission to France, and to open a market for British manufactures, shut out from Europe by the Continental system. In the sixth of these volumes we find the papers which Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote on this subject, detailing with great minuteness the means of invading New Spain with European troops—a question which has recently acquired great interest since military operations in Mexico have been undertaken by France. The proposed attack was to take place from England, India, and the West Indies, from which points considerable forces were to meet upon the coasts of Mexico; and the mode of promoting the junction of the troops, of guarding them from the effects of the climate, and of providing for their subsistence, is calculated with extreme nicety. It was fortunate, however, for the cause of the world that the only result of this project was to form the nucleus of the expeditionary army which first bore our standards to Portugal. However advisable it might have been to have weakened the strength of Charles IV. while holding Spain as Napoleon's

satrap, the case was different when the events of 1808 had disclosed the character of the Spanish insurrection, and given England a battle-field in the Peninsula. It is well known with what timid hesitation the English Government adopted the course of embarking in this momentous struggle, although it is certain that at this juncture they had 60,000 bayonets at their disposal, which probably would have proved irresistible, if brought to bear on the proper point immediately after the rout of Baylen. It is evident from the following minute, that Sir Arthur Wellesley saw from the first the importance of the outbreak in Spain; and it is not improbable that his opinion may have led to the resolution of the Cabinet:—

'The events which have lately occurred in Spain, and the intelligence received from Gibraltar, appear to deserve the serious attention of the King's Ministers. . . . . That which I recommend is to send to Gibraltar all the disposable force that can immediately be found from England, there to join General Spencer's corps, to be prepared to act as circumstances would point out. Arms and ammunition in large quantities ought to be sent with this corps, and its commander to be instructed to encourage the insurrection to the utmost of his power. If it should be found impracticable to make any impression upon the French authority in Spain by the means of the insurrection, he should be then instructed to encourage the principal people of the kingdom to emigrate to America, under the engagement of establishing there an independent government. As the troops are not at present wanted in England, and the transports are already in the service, no inconvenience can result from this measure.' (Vol. vi. p. 80.)

From this period the Duke's career pursues the course of that great contest which struck down the power of France in the Peninsula, and more than any single event, except the expedition to Moscow, contributed to the fall of Napoleon. Independently of its stirring incidents, that struggle possesses a moral interest, and affords memorable political lessons, which have not even yet been sufficiently elucidated. It shows what a great commander can accomplish against very superior forces, if certain conditions concur in his favour. It attests signally the success in war which attends the union of forethought and perseverance with skill in strategy and military combination. It gauges in a remarkable way the strength and the weakness of a patriotic resistance to regular armies, well organised, but wanting in certain elements of power, and operating in a difficult country. It teaches a terrible lesson of the disgrace which divided counsels, disunited generals, commanders subject to autocratic power, and a vicious and licentious military system, may inflict on troops of the highest character. In the base servility of the

notables of Madrid, in the senseless arrogance of the Spanish generals, in the noisy factions of the Cortes at Cadiz, it testifies to the moral decline of the upper orders of Spain and Portugal, while it equally shows the latent energy, the capacity for war, and the love of country which have ever distinguished the people of the Peninsula. But above all, it affords a proof how, in carrying on a protracted contest, a settled and constitutional Power, even under very unfavourable conditions, may have elements of strength and of ultimate success, which may overthrow a military despotism, though guided by the highest individual genius. If at this period the governments of England displayed frequently great incapacity, and committed many administrative blunders,—if they lost several occasions of success, and wasted the military resources of the empire,—if they did not appreciate the nature of the struggle, or the skill and wisdom of their commander,—they did not arm two nations against their troops by reducing plunder and rapine to a system, they did not exact compliance with schemes of sieges and battles planned at a distance, nor were their efforts paralysed or crossed by ruinous jealousies among their generals. By thus avoiding the fatal errors which marked Napoleon's Peninsular rule, made all his brilliant victories useless, and deprived his armies of half their influence, they managed — notwithstanding their shortcomings — to emerge at length victorious from the struggle, though it must be allowed that Wellington's genius was the principal agent in their triumph.

These cardinal truths, as may be supposed, appear plainly in the volumes before us. We shall not trace them the less clearly if we follow the course of Wellington's campaigns, and add to our illustrations of them a few other incidental observations. When, in 1808, the Tory Cabinet resolved to send a force to the Peninsula, it had the means and the opportunity to strike a terrible blow at Napoleon. Our fleets were dominant in every sea, our transport service of enormous extent, and our land forces, independent of volunteers, were nearly two hundred thousand strong, in a high state of discipline and efficiency. Had even one-fourth of this formidable array been disembarked in Portugal or Andalusia, it must have destroyed either Junot or Dupont, who were isolated from their main supports by the impenetrable masses of the Spanish insurrection. Such a blow, however, was beyond the Administration; and in the measures which were actually taken, Lord Castlereagh evinced a curious felicity in paralysing and checking the strength of the empire. To attack Lisbon, and to enter Cadiz with a force not equal to 30,000 men, was the plan of campaign he set down on

paper; and this was to be accomplished by isolated corps, detached from England at different times, proceeding on different lines of operation, and subject to a happy arrangement that brought three generals-in-chief together to thwart each other at the decisive moment. From the following letter it would now appear that even this plan had not been matured when Sir Arthur Wellesley, with 10,000 men, had been sent to make an attack on Portugal, where Junot had nearly 20,000 and was in possession of all the fortresses.

'Spencer has sent me a paper of information, stating that the French force in Portugal amounts to 20,000 men; and although he knows I have only 10,000, and that he was not employed on any service to the south, he had determined to remain on shore at Xerez, near Cadiz; but I have ordered him to join me, and I expect him in a day or two; and as I don't believe the French have so many as 20,000 men, I shall commence my operations as soon as he with his 5,000, or a reinforcement expected from England of 5,000 men, shall join me. He sent this same account to England, where they took the alarm, and ordered out 5,000 men and Moore's corps of 10,000 men, with several general officers, senior to me, and Sir Hew Dalrymple to command the whole army. I hope that I shall have beat Junot before any of them shall arrive, and then they will do as they please with me.' (Vol. vi. p. 95.)

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having been joined by these two corps, of 5,000 each, and hearing that Moore's 10,000 men were about to land on the coast of Portugal, resolved to march against Junot at once, to cut him off from Lisbon if possible, and with the auxiliary force of Moore, which he wished to be placed on the line of the Tagus, to intercept the retreat of the French, and thus to complete the ruin of their army. This combination was worthy of his genius; but it was foiled by his senior officer, Sir Harry Burrard, who superseded him at the crisis of the campaign, and ordered this corps to another direction. We now know the results of this movement:—

'I send you my letters to General Burrard (which I request you to return to me when you have perused them). They contain my opinion of the line of operations which ought to have been followed by Sir John Moore's corps; and as the troops under his command were nearly all landed by the 21st, it is almost certain that if this plan had been persevered in, and the troops had not been re-embarked, we should have been some days ago in a situation to have refused to the French any capitulation excepting on the terms of their laying down their arms.' (Vol. vi. p. 128.)

Though thwarted in the plan of this campaign, Sir Arthur Wellesley at the battle of Vimiero would probably have cut Junot off from Lisbon, had it not been for Burrard's interference.

At the Court of Inquiry held subsequently, Sir Arthur expressed himself cautiously on this point, but we see his real opinion in these words:—

'And I doubt much whether Sir Harry Burrard ever reported what he did on that evening, which I consider to have been fatal to the campaign. . . . . I never saw such desperate fighting as we had on the 17th August, or troops receive such a beating as the French did on the 21st; and it is unfortunate that I was not allowed to carry my own measures into execution after the action of that day. If I had, we should have destroyed them entirely. As usual, I had an unanimous army, who would have undertaken anything for me; and I took care that the troops should be well provided with everything they wanted.' (Vol. vi. pp. 162. 176.)

The Convention of Cintra, and the inquiry on the conduct of its authors, were the only results of this campaign, which, although not entirely unsuccessful, fell far short of what might have been accomplished. So far as regarded the principle of the Convention, Sir Arthur Wellesley was in favour of it, on the ground that, after the blunders committed, the French might retain their hold on Portugal, and this too was Napoleon's opinion. For the part Sir Arthur took in this negotiation he was exposed to a storm of ignorant obloquy. It is characteristic of his nature that when thus assailed, and ungenerously dealt with, he should have steadily refused to publish a single line in his own vindication:—

'I shall adopt no illegitimate means of setting them right, and shall neither publish anything myself, nor authorise a publication by anybody else; nor shall I, in order to raise myself in the public opinion, state circumstances respecting the difference of opinion between Sir H. Burrard and myself on the 20th and 21st August, although those circumstances led to the expediency of allowing the French to evacuate Portugal.' (Vol. vi. p. 168.)

In the next campaign, from which we should date the real commencement of the Peninsular war, the strength and weakness of the rival powers were displayed in the clearest manner. In the winter of 1808, Napoleon had crossed the Somosierra, had entered Madrid at the head of his armies, and had set in motion a formidable force 'to chase the leopard into 'the ocean.' He was summoned away by the attack of Austria, yet left in Spain such a military power as seemed to set opposition at defiance. At first the progress of the marshals was irresistible; Sir John Moore retreated to his ships; the Spanish levies were repeatedly overthrown and swept behind the Sierra Morena; and the French arms advanced in triumph to the foot of the ranges bordering on Portugal. The only visible elements

of opposition were the garrisons of Saragossa and Gerona; the numerous bands of partisans who gathered around the track of the invader, and a feeble remnant of the British army which still held the rocks around Lisbon. The French emperor confidently expected that Soult from Oporto and Victor from the Tagus would soon meet in the capital of Portugal, and though the Cabinet was forming plans of rescuing Spain with a few divisions, and was squandering millions on Spanish subsidies, Sir Arthur Wellesley did not fail to comprehend the nature of the danger:—

'The plan of operations for the French will be to move Victor's corps from Badajoz to Abrantes; then cross the Tagus; and as soon as that corps is ready to move on towards Lisbon, to bring on the other two weaker corps from Oporto and Salamanca; and the whole to join in the neighbourhood of Santarem; unless, indeed, they should be certain that Cradock cannot move, in which case they will move down according as they may find it convenient.

'As soon as the junction and co-operation of the three French corps shall be secure, they will detach from 5,000 to 10,000 across the Tagus to the southern bank, where we have not a man, either British or Portuguese. They will post this corps upon the heights of Almada, which, you will recollect, are opposite Lisbon, and in their continuation command the harbour. As soon as they will have possession of this ground, the Admiral will find out that he cannot remain there with his ships of war; and the General, that he cannot embark his troops; and by this manœuvre alone the French will obtain possession of Lisbon most probably before I shall arrive there.' (Vol. vi. p. 227.)

And yet at this time we see from these volumes that the French armies were wholly unable to complete their conquests. There is little justice in Napoleon's complaints that the inactivity of Soult and Victor in the early part of 1809 was the cause that they did not advance to Lisbon. The following passage from an intercepted despatch of Soult shows how the system of military exactions had aroused an insurrection in Gallicia, and trebled the peril of a movement on Portugal: —

'Cette province est toujours en état de fermentation. Les ménaces de mort et d'incendie qu'employe La Romana; les nombreux agents qui agissent en son nom; les exécutions qu'il fait; les dévastations qui ont inévitablement lieu par les fréquents mouvements des troupes; la ruine de la plupart des habitants; l'absence de toute autorité qui représente Votre Majesté; l'influence des prêtres, qui sont très-nombreux, et la grande majorité opposante; l'argent que les Anglais répandent; la détresse des généraux Français, qui, faute de moyens, ne peuvent souvent payer les émissaires qu'ils employent; toutes ces causes contribuent à augmenter de jour en jour le nombre des enne-

mis, et à rendre la guerre qu'on fait dans ce pays très-meurtrière, infiniment désagréable et d'un résultat fort éloigné.' (Vol. vi. p. 311.)

In consequence of the same system, which made the subsistence of the French armies depend entirely on the resources of the districts in which they happened to be quartered, the force of Victor was also paralysed, as we see from the following significant letter from that marshal to King Joseph:—

'Je peindrai difficilement la peine que j'éprouve. Ma position est affreuse. Je touche au moment de voir la dissolution du Ier Corps d'armée. Les soldats tombent d'inanition. Je n'ai rien, absolument rien à leur faire donner. Ils sont au désespoir. Je ne vois pas sans effroi les effets de cette détresse; ils seront funestes à notre gloire. Ils le seront à Votre Majesté. Je n'y vois aucun remède que celui que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui proposer par ma lettre d'hier. Encore en l'adoptant sera-t'-il trop tardif. Je suis forcé par cette circonstance de me replier sur Talavera la Reyna, où il n'y a pas plus de ressources qu'ici. Que devenir au milieu d'une telle calamité? Des secours prompts nous seront indispensables, mais où sont ils? Qui peut nous les fournir? Si Votre Majesté m'abandonne dans le cas malheureux où je me trouve, honneur, service, tout est perdu pour moi. Je ne serai pas la cause du désastre qui menace mes troupes, néanmoins j'en porterai la peine. Je serai demain à Talavera de la Reine, où j'attendrai les ordres de Votre Majesté.' (Vol. vi. p. 298.)

In this state of things we now know what England might have accomplished in 1809, had her real powers been employed in the Peninsula. General Napier maintains that 90,000 men might have been easily spared for this service; and had this force, well found and equipped, supported by a national insurrection, and with the impregnable base of the sea, been landed either at Lisbon or Cadiz, it is not improbable that it might have driven the French armies behind the Ebro, and thus anticipated the triumphs of Vittoria. Yet, although the time was singularly propitious, for the great bulk of Napoleon's force was held in check on the plains of Germany, no effort of the kind was even contemplated; and the strength of the empire was idly wasted in a series of isolated and disconnected operations which, in one instance, ended in disaster, and in none were productive of real advantages. Twelve thousand troops were employed in Italy, and withdrawn completely from the theatre of war, in an expedition evidently useless. A magnificent army perished at Walcheren in an enterprise both ill-timed and ill-managed. And, although in Portugal, and even in Spain, Sir Arthur Wellesley, with an insignificant force, under 30,000 British soldiers, contributed much to the honour of our arms, his efforts were baffled at the close of the campaign, and, after the battle

of Talavera, he was wellnigh crushed by superior numbers. Instead of achieving positive success, the only results of the campaign of 1809 were to leave us Portugal as a base of operations, to prove the excellent character of our soldiers, to make our great commander acquainted with the real state of affairs in the Peninsula, and to give him an opportunity of maturing those deep-laid plans of strategy and policy which at length crowned our standards with victory. These results in the long run were important, but fell far short of what might have been accomplished by the great strength and resources of the empire at a much earlier period.

It has been said that the Walcheren expedition, which withdrew our force from the Peninsula at this juncture, was well conceived though ill executed. This was not the opinion of the Duke at the time, as we gather from the following sentence:—

'I find by a letter from Lord Castlereagh of the 4th that they did not expect to be able to do more than take the island of Walcheren, *which I think they can't hold, and, at all events, they will not get the fleet.*' (Vol. vi. p. 337.)

General Napier has shown with his usual clearness the peril which menaced the British army when, after the battle of Talavera, three French corps appeared on its flank, while Cuesta exposed its front to Victor. The Gurwood Despatches hardly disclose the extent of the danger, although it is plain that Sir Arthur Wellesley was well aware of it.

'The day before yesterday General Cuesta abandoned Talavera, and arrived on the morning of the 4th at Oropesa, on the ground that Soult and Ney, joined, had come through Plasencia, that I was not strong enough for them, and, moreover, that he was threatened on his left flank and in his front. Soult was then at Navalmoral, and the bridge at Almaraz was taken up. In my opinion there remained for us *but one line to adopt*, General Cuesta's intelligence being correct, and that was to withdraw across the bridge of Arzobispoa, re-establish as soon as possible our communication with Seville and with Lisbon.' (Vol. vi. p. 325.)

The real use of the campaign of 1809 consisted in the experience which it gave the English general of the character of the contest. He had been made aware of the strength and the weakness of the French armies in the Peninsula; and this had led him to the conclusion that, however formidable they were in the field, they might, nevertheless, be kept out of Portugal, from whence as from an impregnable outwork, disastrous blows might be levelled at them. In this trying campaign he had also been disabused with respect to the character of the Spanish juntas and of the regular armies of Spain, while he fully appre-

ciated the powerful aid which might be derived from the national insurrection.

'Their government is a miserable one, deficient in every quality which a government ought to possess in these days. Their military establishment is very defective, and they have neither general nor inferior officers of any talents, nor sufficient numbers of troops; and these last appear to me to be worse as soldiers than their general officers are as generals. The troops have neither arms, clothing, accoutrements, discipline, nor efficiency: there are no magazines, and no means of collecting from the country the supplies which all armies require. There is no plan of a campaign, either for carrying on the war, or for continuing the contest; and the efforts of the rulers appear to be directed, in the first instance, to keeping their own situations, and, in the second, to exciting and keeping up in the country a kind of false enthusiasm by which it is supposed that everything can be effected; and they endeavour to effect both these objects by the undertaking of little operations with little means by the circulation of false intelligence, by the exaggeration of little successes and the concealment of great disasters. In this consists the secret of the government. . . . . At the same time they are cordial haters of the French, and I think, whatever may be the result of the military contest in the Peninsula, much time will elapse before the French can establish a government in Spain, and still more time before they will derive such advantage from their influence in that country as they did before they invaded it.' (Vol. vi. p. 388.)

A new direction in accordance with these views was given to the contest from this period; and Wellington — he received a peerage in consequence of the battle of Talavera — though often thwarted and ill supported, was allowed to mature the elements of success by keeping to his own course of action. The whole of Portugal was organised for defence; the militia of the ordenanzas were called out; the inhabitants were instructed so to waste the country as to cut off supplies from the invader; and the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras were made 'as a last 'refuge of the independence of the Peninsula.' The British armies were withdrawn from Spain, not to enter it for a considerable time; but every encouragement was given to the insurrections which smouldered or blazed in all parts of the country. By these means an impenetrable barrier was raised against the aggressions of the French; they were harassed by a consuming warfare; and the greatest possible advantage was taken of the weakest point of their military system, their inability to support their armies except by a method of organised rapine. Meanwhile, though ill understood at home, the diplomacy of England at Lisbon and Cadiz was admirably conducted by the British general with Sir Charles Stuart and Sir Henry Wellesley; and great as were the difficulties in their way, in consequence of

corruption or faction, and of false views and niggardliness in England, they happily managed to overcome them. So deep and sagacious a scheme of war against such an enemy as Napoleon is without any parallel in history; and had it been seconded as it deserved, its success could never have been doubtful. The governments of the day did much, however, to thwart it, by their vacillation and parsimony; and though they shared in the glory of the triumph, they are only entitled to the negative praise of not having mischievously interfered with the operations connected with the war, and of having permitted their great general to carry out his own views of strategy. Yet, even as it was, the arms of England emerged victorious from the contest; and though, after 1809, the French added to their conquests in Spain, the safety of Portugal and ultimately of the Peninsula, was assured by Wellington at Torres Vedras.

The campaigns of 1810–11, when Massena having invaded Portugal, was driven out of it with enormous loss, are the well-known proofs of the wisdom of this strategy. On these there are numerous details in these volumes which confirm our general observations, and contain passages of much interest. We wish we had space to transcribe the correspondence between Wellington and Sir Richard Fletcher relating to the lines of Torres Vedras; for it gives perhaps the fullest account which has yet appeared of these memorable constructions. The operations of 1810 commenced with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo; and though Wellington was strictly on the defensive, he was subjected to much criticism at home for not having advanced to relieve it. The following is his vindication of his conduct:—

'I see that the French papers have lately begun to abuse me, and the English newspapers will soon follow their example, and the opposition will follow theirs, because I did not strike a blow against the French before their force was collected for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

'First, it must be observed that I had not 32,000 men, nor even 25,000, in this quarter, till the beginning of summer. The Portuguese troops were not clothed or equipped, and the British troops had not recovered their sickness, till late in the spring; and there was always in my front, since January last, the sixth corps, consisting of 31,000 men. There would have been many difficulties—some, in that season, amounting to impossibilities—in attacking them; and, if I had attacked them, I could not have gained any important success before they would have been joined by the eighth corps, which were never further from them than Leon. There would then have been 57,000 men against 25,000; and whatever might have been my first success, I must have retired with loss, and the army, which would have been exposed to the bad weather early

in spring, would not now have been half so efficient as it is.' (Vol. vi. p. 562.)

Though ill-supplied with men and money, and with an army considerably weaker than that which he had been led to expect, he did not, even at this critical juncture, believe the cause of the Peninsula to be hopeless.

'The enemy are wofully strong—I should think not less than 80,000 men, whom they can bring into Portugal; but I don't give the game up as lost, and I think it will be gained if Government will only lend me some infantry to fight the battle near Lisbon. . . . . I see more, and must know more, of what is going on here than others, and I certainly have no prejudice in favour of the continuance of our exertions here, founded upon any partiality for the business of guiding them; but I sincerely feel what I write—that, if the resources of Great Britain were fairly applied to this contest as they have been to any other in which the country has been engaged, the French would yet repent the invasion of Spain.' (Vol. vi. p. 564.)

The hostile armies met at Busaco, where Massena suffered a severe repulse, but afterwards turned the position by Coimbra. M. Thiers takes an opportunity of sneering at English slowness on this occasion: from the following brief remark of Wellington we may estimate the value of the criticism:—

'The croakers about useless battles will attack me again on that of Busaco, notwithstanding that our loss was really trifling. But I should have been inexcusable if, knowing what I did, I had not endeavoured to stop the enemy there; and I should have stopped him entirely if it had not been for the blunders of the Portuguese general commanding in the north, who was prevented by a small French patrol from sending Trant by the road by which he was ordered to march. If he had come by that road, the French could not have turned our position, and they must have attacked us again; they could not have carried it, and they must have retired. The question is, whether, having it in my power to take such a position, it was right to incur the risk of a general engagement in it? That which has since happened shows that, if not turned, I could have maintained it without loss of importance, and that, if turned, I could retire from it without inconvenience.' (Vol. vi. p. 606.)

The following passage from an intercepted despatch shows how keenly Massena felt the efficacy of the plan adopted by Wellington for cutting off their supplies from the French, and their absolute ignorance of the Lines of Torres Vedras, although within a few marches of them:—

'Lord Wellington avec l'armée Anglo-Portugaise est en pleine retraite sur Lisbonne. Il annonce le projet de vouloir nous disputer toutes positions. Je marche réuni, et je ferai tout ce que je pourrai pour le décider à livrer bataille, seul moyen de le détruire, ou de

le forcer à se rembarquer. On porte le nombre des deux armées Anglais et Portugaise à 60,000 ou à 70,000 hommes; parmi lesquels 25,000 Anglais. L'ennemi brûle et détruit tout en évacuant le pays. Il force tous les habitants à abandonner leurs foyers. Coimbra, ville de 20,000 âmes, est déserté. Nous ne trouvons aucunes subsistances. L'armée vit avec le bled de Turquie et les légumes que nous trouvons encore sur plante. Lord Wellington, n'osant nous attendre en rase campagne, cherche à nous détruire en ruinant tout ce qui pourrait nous alimenter. Les habitants des villes et des villages sont très-malheureux. Il les contraint à servir sous peine de la vie; enfin aucune époque de l'histoire n'offre d'exemple d'une aussi grande barbarie.' (Vol. vi. p. 609.)

The following notice of the effect produced in Europe by Massena's retreat is from an interesting paper in these volumes compiled by an agent of Lord Wellesley:—

'Secret information arrived daily from Prussia, Austria, and Russia, of the extraordinary effect produced in those countries by the success of the Spanish cause, and of the British arms in the Peninsula.

'Prussia was then foremost in zeal. Gneisenau was fortifying the lines at Spandau in imitation of Torres Vedras. I have seen many letters from thence, stating the sanguine hope of Gneisenau and Blücher to rival the efforts in the Peninsula. The Hanoverians showed the same spirit. The joy betrayed at Vienna on the retreat of Massena showed that a proper feeling was arising in Austria. And although Russia was not ready, yet from the details brought by Prince Lubomirski of the activity of the Emperor Alexander in recruiting and new-modelling his army, it was clear that she was sincere. These were the first fruits of our efforts in the Peninsula, and they filled Lord Wellesley's mind with hope; and though he still lamented his hands were not free, he was less impatient of his situation.' (Vol. vii. p. 267.)

While Wellington was thus convincing Europe that Portugal could be successfully defended, the English Cabinet remained incredulous. It threw on him the entire responsibility of keeping the army within the lines, and warned him that a retreat to his ships was considered absolutely necessary in England. The following letter from Lord Liverpool is a fair specimen of this correspondence:—

'I should apprise you that a very considerable degree of alarm exists in this country respecting the safety of the British army in Portugal; and as it is always some advantage to know, on a question of doubtful policy, on which side it may be best to err, I have no difficulty in stating that, under all the circumstances, you would rather be excused for bringing away the army a little too soon than, by remaining in Portugal a little too long, exposing it to those risks from which no military operations can be wholly exempt.' (Vol. vi. p. 493.)

It is worth remarking that the only favour which Wellington's plans received at this time appears to have come from the old King, then on the point of disappearing from the scene. A letter, written in April 1810,—that is, some months before Massena's advance,—from Sir Herbert Taylor to Lord Liverpool, attests this in a striking manner, and is most creditable to George III.:—

'I have had the honour of submitting your Lordship's letter to the King, and of reading to him the private letter from Lord Wellington to which it refers; and His Majesty desires you will accept his thanks for this communication, which has proved in the highest degree interesting and satisfactory to him.

'I think it my duty to acquaint your lordship that, in the course of the reading, the King observed that the arguments and remarks which this letter contains, the general style and spirit in which it is written, and the clearness with which the state of the question and of prospects in Portugal is exposed, have given His Majesty a very high opinion of Lord Wellington's sense, and of the resources of his mind as a soldier; and that, as he appears to have weighed the whole of his situation so coolly and maturely, and to have considered so fully every contingency under which he may be placed, not omitting any necessary preparation, His Majesty trusted that his Ministers would feel with him the advantage of suffering him to proceed according to his judgment and discretion in the adherence to the principles which he has laid down unfettered by any particular instructions, which might embarrass him in the execution of his general plan of operations.' (Vol. vi. p. 515.)

Nor were the obstacles cast in the way of Wellington at this time by his Government those only of vacillation and faint-heartedness. At this very time, when the French armies were marching on Cadiz, through Andalusia, and Soult was ordered to co-operate with Massena, through Estremadura and Alentejo, the Cabinet gave a decided countenance to the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies. This step was calculated, beyond all others, to arouse the jealousy of the Spanish nation, and to open a path to the conquest of Portugal: it actually caused the greatest irritation; and the following letter of Sir A. Wellesley points out the consequences it was producing:—

'Thus are petty British objects of commerce suffered to interfere with the great and interesting work of releasing this country from the yoke of France; and unless the British Government takes the decided line of discouraging the spirit which has broken forth in the colonies, and that, too, in the most open manner, it will create such a jealousy here as never can be got under, and will probably be the ruin of the whole cause.

'It is wonderful that they cannot be satisfied in England with a commercial arrangement which would be attended with immense

advantages to ourselves, and would likewise be greatly beneficial to Spain. I apprehend this to be the true spirit of all commercial treaties; and why are we to take advantage of the weakness of Spain to endeavour to impose terms upon her which would be ruinous and disgraceful?' (Vol. vi. p. 589.)

The inability to obtain specie for the military chest and other purposes, was another difficulty to which Wellington was exposed, at this and other periods of the contest. Beyond dispute, the main cause of this was the great depreciation of the currency at home, which, driving away the precious metals, made it no easy matter to recall them. Of course, however, supplies of specie could have been obtained in England and elsewhere by paying for it at the market price — and Wellington actually procured a great deal by buying corn, and re-selling it for gold; but the Government, with peculiar shortsightedness, relied on the trade of Lisbon exclusively to attract gold and silver to Portugal, and this too, exactly at the time when any specie that entered Portugal was almost instantly exported from it, in consequence of the condition of the country. On several occasions Wellington's movements were paralysed by the want of money; and the army of the richest nation in Europe was generally in arrear of pay, and comparatively destitute. There are several remonstrances from Wellington on this point as early as 1810; we quote the following, though somewhat later: —

'The Commissary-in-Chief and the Treasury have disapproved of my sanctioning bargains for importing specie from Gibraltar, for which bills were to be granted by the Commissary-General at a more disadvantageous rate of exchange than the market rate of Lisbon. I have therefore been obliged, within these last three days, to refuse to give my sanction to an offer of 500,000 dollars upon a similar bargain. I can scarcely believe that the Treasury are aware of the distresses of this army. We owe not less than 5,000,000 dollars: the troops are two months in arrears of their pay; and I have been able to allot only 100,000 dollars to the payment of the Portuguese subsidy in this month. The Portuguese troops and establishments are likewise in the greatest distress; and it is my opinion, as well as that of Marshal Beresford, that we must disband part of the army unless I can increase the money payments of the subsidy. The Commissary-General has this day informed me that he is very apprehensive that he shall not be able to make good his engagements for the payment of meat for the troops; and if we are obliged to stop that payment, your Lordship will do well to prepare to recall the army, as it will be quite impossible to carry up salt meat, as well as bread, to the troops from the sea-coast. The Treasury cannot expect that I shall take upon myself to sanction measures of which they have expressed their positive disapprobation; and I hope that they will recall that disapprobation, or that they will adopt some efficient measures to

supply this army with specie. From this statement your Lordship will observe that it is not improbable that we may not be able to take advantage of the enemy's comparative weakness in this campaign *for the want of money.* I think it most probable, however, as I have explained in my letter of the 11th to my brother, that a great effort will be made, by a concentration of the whole of the enemy's force, when the harvest will be on the ground, to weaken the impression which our early successes have made; and this is the reason why I am anxious for a diversion on the eastern coast.' (Vol. vii. p. 318.)

It is not surprising that the anger of Wellington should have been aroused at such treatment as this, though at no time in the campaign of 1810 did his confidence in himself desert him. The following passage expresses the state of his feelings when, with Massena before him, he had vainly attempted to induce the Cabinet to carry on the war with energy and honour:—

'There is a despondency among some,—a want of confidence in their own exertions,—an extravagant notion of the power and resources of the French, and a distaste for the war in the Peninsula, which sentiments have been created and are kept up by correspondence with England, even with Ministers and those connected with them.

'All this is uncomfortable. With the exception of Beresford, I have really no assistance; I am left to myself, to my own exertions, to my own execution, the mode of execution, and even the superintendence of that mode; but still I don't despair. I am positively in no scrape; and if the country can be saved, we shall save it. Government have behaved with their usual weakness and folly about reinforcements, and I shall get none of those which have been promised me, but the Duke of Brunswick's infantry instead.' (Vol. vi. p. 589.)

Notwithstanding these discouragements, however, a great outwork of the Peninsula was wrested permanently from the invader in this immortal campaign of Wellington. From this time we incline to think that the absolute conquest of the Peninsula was beyond the strength of the French armies—at least, in the actual mode of their organisation. It is true that their hold on Spain grew tighter, that no inconsiderable party in that country began to favour the rule of Joseph, and that Wellington failed in 1811 to penetrate beyond the Spanish frontier. But, vast as were their forces on paper, and formidable if for an instant united, the French commanders were paralysed in their efforts for the want of money and magazines; and although they occupied five-sixths of Spain, they had no means of crushing the enemy who, from his impregnable lair in Portugal, lay watching the opportunity to attack them. From the same cause, the French armies for the most part were isolated from each other, and were full of vices of insubordination and

indiscipline; and the following letter, written in 1811, when their power in Spain appeared at the highest, and before one draft had been sent to Russia, gives a clear notion of the elements of weakness which sapped the strength of these proud legions and threatened the domination they were upholding:—

'I have had a good deal of information lately respecting the state of the French armies; and I have no doubt but that Napoleon is much distressed for money. Notwithstanding the swindling mode in which his armies are paid, the troops are generally ten and eleven, and some of them twelve months in arrears of pay. Provisions are never paid for, and it is acknowledged by the French officers themselves that their system has turned into a desert the finest provinces of Spain. . . . . It is impossible that this fraudulent tyranny can last. If Great Britain continues stout, we must see the destruction of it.' (Vol. vii. p. 233.)

But though Portugal had been saved in this campaign, the Government, in their relations with Wellington, continued their mean and timid policy. They complained of the vast cost of the war, insisting on charging sums to this account with which it really had nothing to do, exacted from their general a statement of the destination of all his reinforcements, and kept him under galling restrictions with respect to promotions and other arrangements. The failure at Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo — a failure due, in a great degree, to their own neglect to provide siege tools — increased their sense of the hopelessness of the contest; and this was aggravated by the doubtful issue of Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera. Throughout 1811 we find Wellington complaining bitterly of this vexatious and ruinous pusillanimity:—

'I agree entirely in opinion with you that it is desirable, nay necessary, to reinforce this army at an early period to a large amount, and of this opinion I have repeatedly apprised Lord Liverpool in some public despatches, and in many private letters: but after what has been stated to you, you will hardly believe that I have now scarcely the force which was originally promised me, which was to be 35,000 infantry. Then when the last reinforcements were sent out, not only was I told that I was to expect no more, but I was desired to send home some of the troops in case Massena should retire. I even begged to *borrow* 10,000 men from England or Ireland for a short period, which was refused; and then they tell you that I don't apply for specific numbers to perform specific operations.

'What I have already written will show you how the facts stand respecting my applications, and I will now state how they stand respecting objects. Before the siege of Almeida I urged in the strongest terms to be reinforced; I pointed out from whence I could be reinforced; and stated the probability that if I were reinforced, I could save everything.' (Vol. vii. p. 41.)

The following is Wellington's candid estimate of Albuera and Fuentes de Onoro:—

'The battle of Albuera was a strange concern. They were never determined to fight it; they did not occupy the ground as they ought; they were ready to run away at every moment from the time it commenced till the French retired; and if it had not been for me, who am now suffering from the loss and disorganisation occasioned by that battle, they would have written a whining report upon it, which would have driven the people in England mad. However I prevented that.

'Lord Liverpool was quite right not to move thanks for the battle at Fuentes, though it was the most difficult one I was ever concerned in, and against the greatest odds. We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy was fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there we should have been beaten.' (Vol. vii. p. 177.)

When war between France and Russia grew imminent, the Government, still incredulous of the importance or the real state of the Peninsular contest, desired to withdraw our army altogether, and to land it somewhere in the north of Europe, to act upon the flanks of Napoleon. This scheme, if carried into execution, would probably have been completely abortive; but fortunately Wellington's counsels prevailed; and the result signally vindicated his wisdom. Beyond dispute, in 1814, the diversion on the Pyrenean frontier powerfully aided the success of the allies; and the following letter, written in 1811, deserves notice for its deep sagacity:—

'But the principal point on which I wished to write to you is the disposal of this army, supposing that there should be a general breeze in Europe. I think that you have miscalculated the means and resources of France in men, and mistaken the objects of the French Government in imagining that, under those circumstances, Buonaparte will be obliged or inclined to withdraw his army from Spain. He will not even reduce it considerably, but he will only not reinforce it. If I am right, the British army cannot be so advantageously employed as in the Peninsula. Of that, I trust, there is no doubt. If the British army is not employed in the Peninsula, that part of the world would soon be conquered; and the army which would have achieved its conquest, reinforced by the levies in the Peninsula, would reduce to subjugation the rest of the world. But that is not exactly the view which you have taken of the subject. You appear to think it probable that Buonaparte would be inclined or obliged to withdraw from the Peninsula; and you ask, what would I do in that case? I answer, *attack the most vulnerable frontier of France, that of the Pyrenees. Oblige the French to maintain in that quarter* 200,000 *men for their defence; touch them vitally there, when it will certainly be im-*

possible to touch them elsewhere, and form the nations of the Peninsula into soldiers, who would be allies of Great Britain for centuries.' (Vol. vii. p. 245.)

Lord Wellesley resigned in January 1812, disgusted at the lukewarm support his brother was receiving from the Government, and perhaps instigated by personal resentment. From a very interesting paper in these volumes (vol. vii. pp. 257—288.) it seems that some at least of his colleagues had little scruple how they assailed him: —

'The friends of Ministers now had recourse to very unhandsome means of stemming this tide of popular feeling towards Lord Wellesley by depreciating his character, and circulating all possible reports to his disadvantage. . . . . As soon as it was rumoured that Lord Wellesley had resigned, a variety of reports were circulated respecting the cause, and the partisans of Mr. Perceval's government did not scruple to state publicly that it was the failure of an intrigue to obtain the office of Prime Minister. Lord Wellesley was applied to by his parliamentary friends for information to enable them to answer the inquiries with which they were assailed, and to contradict the injurious reports they heard in every quarter. They urged him to give them a short statement of his motives for retiring in writing for the greater accuracy. Lord Wellesley refused to write any statement, saying that the only place in which a full explanation could be given with propriety was in his place in Parliament, and that in the meanwhile he wished them to confine themselves to a general answer, viz. that he had retired because his advice was not listened to respecting the Peninsula and other matters.' (Vol. vii. pp. 266. 277.)

The following is Wellington's commentary on the subject:—

'I have received your letters of the 4th and 7th. I had already written to you about your retirement from office. In truth the republic of a cabinet is but little suited to any man of taste or of large views. I believe that the Government are not aware of the difficulties in which I am constantly involved from defects and deficiencies of all descriptions; nor of the shifts to which I am obliged to have recourse to get on at all. I am not a competent judge of the resources of the British Empire, but I am convinced that if Great Britain had carried on the war in the Peninsula with the same generosity, not to say profusion of supply, with which other wars had been supported, matters would now have been in a very different state.' (Vol. vii. p. 307.)

In 1812, a new aspect was given to the Peninsular contest, and though retarded and even endangered, the final issue began to show itself. The French armies in Spain had been much weakened by heavy drafts for the Russian war, while they still retained their isolated positions; the long line of their communications from Bayonne absorbed considerable masses of their troops; and the Spanish frontier was ill guarded by the separated forces of

Soult and Marmont, who disliked each other and had different objects. The English general issued from Portugal; attacked Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and took those fortresses in the face of the marshals; and having established a base in Spain, advanced against the army of Marmont and defeated him with much loss at Salamanca. This blow struck at the vital point, — the line of the French communications with Madrid — laid bare the real weakness of the invasion; and had Wellington been properly seconded by a strong diversion from the eastern coast, and received adequate reinforcements, he would probably have crushed the French armies of the north, and driven those of Valencia and Andalusia in hurried retreat behind the Ebro. Disappointed, however, in these respects, he was only able to penetrate to Madrid, and detach a part of his force to Burgos; and the army of Andalusia under Soult, having broken through the feeble barrier which Ballasteros had placed in its way, and joined those of the North and Centre, the English general was driven to a retreat which, but for the circumspection of his foes, had wellnigh terminated in a great disaster. The campaign proved in a striking manner how weak was the hold of France upon Spain, and caused the final evacuation of Andalusia; but, though brilliant, it was chequered with peril; and even its success was not nearly commensurate with what Wellington had hoped to accomplish.

From the following, written in March 1812, we see that Wellington was confident of success long before the battle of Salamanca:—

'It appears that the state of home politics is not very satisfactory, and that people in England are but little prepared for the great part they might act on the approaching scene. But it cannot be helped: we must do the best we can with the instruments which we have at command.

'I give you no news from hence. You are aware of the great operation which I have in hand. If I should succeed, which I certainly shall, unless those admirably useful institutions, the English newspapers, should have given Buonaparte the alarm, and should have induced him to order his marshals to assemble their troops to oppose me, Spain will have another chance of being saved.' (Vol. vii. p. 303.)

We quote this brief résumé of this campaign from an 'officer 'of rank,' dated Freneda, 2nd December 1812, the rather as the extent of the danger incurred during the retreat from Burgos has hardly been sufficiently noticed: —

'Our failure at Burgos was unfortunate; but even if we had taken it, we could not possibly have kept so forward a position, particularly as the army of Portugal had received *considerable* reinforcements, and the armies of the South were concentrated and moving on our

flank. We had nothing left for it but to raise the siege and retire, and form a junction with Sir Rowland Hill's corps, which we effected. We were in hopes that we should have been enabled to have held the line of the river Tormes, which nothing could have prevented us from doing; but, unfortunately, the river fell, and became fordable for both cavalry and infantry: we then had nothing for it but to retire; and though I am persuaded that Lord Wellington would have given the enemy battle at the Arapiles, if they attacked, yet the enemy had profited by the error of Marmont. Their object was not to fight, but to manœuvre at some distance from us and turn our flank, which they accomplished. Upon the whole I am happy that the enemy did not attack, as he was so vastly superior in point of numbers, but particularly in cavalry. We had most dreadful weather during our retreat, from which our army has suffered a good deal; but I trust we shall soon be in order again, as the troops have now gone into winter quarters.' (Vol. vii. p. 486.)

In truth, the campaign of 1812 fell far short of Wellington's expectations, because the Government at home was unable to direct the resources of the empire, and to strike with vigour at the proper moment. The main strength of Napoleon's forces being on the Vistula or the Niemen, this was obviously the time to carry on the Peninsular war with redoubled energy, and at least to take care that Wellington's means should be adequate to accomplish his projects. Yet the reinforcements and supplies he had expected for his own army and those of the allies were insufficient or arrived too late; he was left after the battle of Salamanca in a dangerous position without support; and, above all, the diversion in the East, on which he had been induced to rely, was so retarded that it was utterly ineffectual. And yet, from a paper written by Lord Wellesley, we know that at this moment the Government had the means, not only of securing the attainment of the objects which Wellington had originally contemplated, but, after the extraordinary success at Salamanca, of striking a mortal blow at the invasion. After showing that, in 1812, our regular army exceeded 218,000 men, and our militia and volunteers 350,000, independently of 140,000 seamen, Lord Wellesley thus sums up his conclusions: —

'1*st.* You have 57,000 regular soldiers distributed into depôts, sixteen regiments of cavalry, and forty-five battalions of infantry; the Foot Guards at home alone amounting to upwards of 4,000 men.

'2*nd.* You have a recruiting service which produced in England, in 1812, about 7,000 men a quarter, subject to casualties "at home."

'3*rd.* You had the Cape of Good Hope and other foreign stations which might have been reduced with great safety, at this particular crisis, to a standard below the ordinary strength.

'And 4*th.* You had an armed force of militia and volunteers of

350,000 men, besides marines, artillery, garrison, and veteran battalions, for your home defence, in addition to your powerful navy, employing upwards of 140,000 seamen, at a time when France was engaged with Russia and Spain, and the navies of your enemies were afraid to appear on the ocean.

'I ask whether, under all these circumstances, it was an impracticable effort for Ministers to send those reinforcements in April, which they afterwards sent in September, or to have added a few thousand men to those reinforcements, and thus, before the battle of Salamanca, have sent 15,000 men to Lord Wellington, which would not only have replaced his casualties (not 5,000 men), but have given him an effectual augmentation of 10,000 men, which augmentation alone, even with the failure of the Sicilian expedition and the imperfect state of the Spanish and Portuguese armies, would have decided the fate of the campaign.' (Vol. viii. p. 13.)

Lord Liverpool seems to have thought it sufficient to answer charges of this character by showing that the efforts of Government were equal to those which England had made against France in the war of the Succession. The following reply, we should say, was hardly necessary:—

'But Lord Liverpool compares the effort of this day to that made in the time of King William. To this Sterling says: "The force "employed by the Ministers of the present day might have fully ac- "complished our national purposes in the time of King William; but "had the armies of Louis XIV. amounted to half the numbers brought "into the field by Buonaparte, the exertions made by England in the "beginning of the eighteenth century would have been recorded as "ridiculous, inadequate, and contemptible. Godolphin would have "been handed down to posterity as the weakest minister, and Marl- "borough himself as the least successful officer that ever mistook the "proportion between his means and his objects." In order to give also any force to his allusion, Lord Liverpool ought to prove the equality between the population and resources of England in those days, and her faculties of the same nature at the present era. He ought also to prove that the necessity for extreme exertion was then equal to what it now appears, and that the success of our efforts at the present day does not fall short of its amount at the former period. According to every true principle of reasoning, the magnitude of the means employed, if they be not employed with wisdom, constitutes the guilt, not the merit of Ministers; and if these means have not been followed by success, they may be designated as the weakness, rather than the power of the empire.' (Vol. viii. p. 15.)

In the next year the liberation of the Peninsula was effected by the battle of Vittoria. The events of 1812–13 had again reduced the French armies in Spain; and, though still a formidable force, they were much isolated and disheartened. On the other hand, considerable efforts had been made to strengthen Wellington's army; he had been appointed Commander-in-chief

by the Cortes; and he had obtained the guidance of the numerous insurrections which were breaking out with renewed intensity. With 200,000 men under his orders, although composed of the troops of three nations, with a large guerilla force supporting him, and with two British fleets co-operating on the northern and eastern coasts of Spain, he was now, for the first time, stronger than the French, and felt confident that in the approaching campaign he would bid 'a long farewell to Portu-'gal.' Directing Murray with Elio and the fleet to operate against the eastern seaboard, and hold in check the forces of Suchet, he marched the mass of his veteran army upon the line of the French communications, and by a series of remarkable manœuvres having dislodged Joseph from the positions which might have been taken on the tributaries of the Douro, he forced him to fight under great disadvantages, and without his full strength, in the basin of Vittoria. Three-fourths of the beaten army were driven through the Pyrenees to the French frontier, while another fourth escaped to Saragossa; the standards of Wellington crowned the Pyrenees; Pampeluna and San Sebastian were invested; and the base of Portugal being abandoned, a new base was formed on the coast of Biscay.

At this juncture Wellington, however, became exposed to a sea of troubles. The operations in the East had failed; and it seemed probable that Suchet and Clausel would be free to menace his flank through Aragon, while Soult, lately appointed to this command, would attack him in front with Joseph's army. The regency at Lisbon, who had always chafed beneath his ascendancy and that of England, and were angry that the profits of the war had been finally withdrawn from Portugal, began to complain that their troops in Spain were being employed in operations in which their country had no interest. And, at the same time, the factions in the Cortes, having never been really cordial with England, gave numberless proofs of jealousy of Wellington, deprived Castanos and Giron of their commands, and threatened to close the ports of Spain against the troops of the British army. Had this notable expedient been tried, it is probable that the English general could not have established a base in Spain and must have fallen back to Portugal; and, as it was, he actually resigned the command he held of the Spanish forces, and advised his Government that it was not impossible that war with Spain would be the consequence. From a very interesting paper in these volumes, addressed to the Duke by Don A. A. de la Vega, we quote this account of the menacing state of Spanish opinion at this critical moment:—

'Among the *Serviles*, my Lord, they make converts under the pre-

tence of religion and the English constitution, which, as it limits in their opinion too much the authority of a king, they assure them is not compatible with the authority of a monarch, for whom this class of people are panting, but which, they added, is opposed by the English. The Liberales, on the contrary, they endeavour to persuade that the constitution of your country is defective, and that it gives too much latitude to the regal authority; and that the English, sensible of the defects of which ours has been purged, will set about reforming theirs if they find that ours lasts any length of time, and that there is a large party formed in its favour; that this not being agreeable to the Cabinet of St. James, nor the different ranks of people that enjoy the influence in the state and compose the Parliament, the British Government is determined to prevent our constitution from establishing itself solidly. All the actions of the English are consequently represented in this light. Those who merely wish for independence are told that you resist it because you do not assist and forward our expeditions to America, to encourage the European party in that country who desire the dependence of America and the monopoly of trade. You are represented as the fosterers and supporters of the ultramarine insurrection, because you do not unite your means with ours to extinguish these commotions by force of arms. And, finally, they talk to the patriots their language, by saying that in not reinforcing your armies, you give a death-blow to the national independence; that this is done in order to prolong the struggle, which will terminate only with the extermination of ourselves and our national independence. If you send troops to us, it is for the purpose of subjugating us and depriving us of our freedom. If the opening of the campaign is delayed, as it should be, they say it is for the purpose of giving time to the French to lay waste the country. If successful actions are fought, it is for giving us the law. If you neglect our armies, it is for the purpose of exposing them to be beat by the enemy. If you discipline them and provide for them, it is to alienate their affections from the nation and making us dependent on England, and thus we shall have been fighting to change masters.' (Vol. viii. p. 183.)

Nor, even in this, the hour of victory, did the Government at home do their general justice, or rise above their wonted incapacity. Although the enthusiasm of the country had reached such a pitch of excitement that, as was remarked, 'a conscription was possible,' and 20,000 men could have been sent in six weeks to Wellington's standards, the reinforcements he received were small, and so badly equipped and supplied, that desertions among them became frequent. The battering train for the siege of San Sebastian was delayed nearly three weeks on its passage,—the fault, as we see from the following letter, being laid upon the Ordnance Department:—

'Believe me, my dear Lord, that nothing connected with the executive government of the country requires reform more than this

Ordnance Department. It is, as now constituted, the greatest clog about the state. It is a mélange of jealousy, intrigue, and stupid prejudice; and to nothing but the neglect of the *board* is the failure in your supplies to be attributed. There are two powers in the Ordnance Department, always acting in opposition and in contradiction to each other; the one is that of the Master-General himself and his secretary, and the other is the Board and their secretary. They are jealous of each other; and although the former is generally as efficient as the latter is the contrary, yet the Board, upon the subject of supply in particular, possess an independence at variance with the prompt control the chief *ought to exercise.* The constitution of the whole thing is radically bad.' (Vol. viii. p. 198.)

In addition to this the stores for the army were not seldom intercepted by French and American privateers; the aid of even a part of the fleet for the siege of San Sebastian was refused; and at a time when the English cruisers could have sealed up every mile of the coast, the communications between that fortress and Bayonne were left open, and considerable supplies for the garrison and the main French army were allowed to be smuggled along the seaboard. It was in vain that Wellington repeatedly remonstrated; the only answers Lord Melville vouchsafed were in this style of stolid impertinence:—

'There are some matters, however, which depend merely on naval opinions, and on which it is indispensably necessary that you should be apprised of our sentiments and intentions. I will take your opinion in preference to any other person's as to the most effectual mode of beating a French army, but I have no confidence in your seamanship or nautical skill. Neither will I defer to the opinions on such matters of the gentlemen under your command who are employed in the siege of St. Sebastian, and which happen to be at variance with those of every naval officer in His Majesty's service.

'In the first place, then, you are not to expect any effectual assistance in that operation from line-of-battle ships; because, from the situation of the place and the nature of the coast, they cannot anchor without extreme risk, and are exposed to almost certain destruction in a gale of wind, when, from the direction in which it blows, they can neither haul off nor run for shelter into any port. If you will ensure them a continuance of easterly wind, they may remain with you, but not otherwise. In the next place, all the small craft in the British navy could not prevent the occasional entrance of small boats at night into St. Sebastian, though it may be rendered difficult and very uncertain. The same observation applies to the communication along the coast between Bordeaux and Bayonne, where also the nature of that coast renders a perfect and complete interruption to the communication, at all times and in all weathers, scarcely practicable. In the third place, without at all entering into the question of whether your convoys have been as frequent and as securely protected as the nature of the service would admit, I wish you distinctly

to be apprised that we will not be responsible for ships sailing singly, or without convoy, between this country and Spain or Portugal, or for any considerable distance along the coasts of those countries.' (Vol. viii. p. 224.)

These hindrances were the cause of delay, and of a great effusion of English blood; but at last their effects were overcome, and Wellington with his conquering legions was set free for active operations. We need not follow that tide of victory which, rolling from the heights of the Pyrenees, burst over the southern plains of France, and, notwithstanding the obstacles opposed to it by skill and valour, was only arrested on the banks of the Garonne by the peace which followed the fall of Napoleon. These volumes abound in interesting details respecting this glorious close of the struggle, and we wish we had space to quote the directions which Wellington gave for the passage of the Bidassoa, and the forcing of Soult's vast lines on the Nivelle, a rampart that seemed wellnigh impregnable. In this last campaign, it must be remembered that, though Wellington was stronger, on the whole, than Soult, who alone opposed him actively, he was much weaker than that marshal and Suchet, who might easily have joined his colleague; and, as General Napier justly observes, it was one of the strangest phases in that war that the great forces of those French leaders were never united against one army. Not that the Dukes of Dalmatia and Albufera were wanting in skill to effect this combination; on the contrary, Soult proposed a plan for effecting it on the grandest scale in a manner worthy of his reputation; but mutual jealousy prevented the attempt and betrayed the cause of France and the Emperor. To this, moreover, we should add the tenacity with which Napoleon, even to the last, insisted on keeping his hold on Spain, and isolating Suchet's army on its frontier,—a resolution which, whether it arose from ignorance of the true state of affairs, or, as Napier thinks, from deficient information, was fatal to the Duke of Dalmatia's efforts. Imperialism and Imperial commanders contrasted badly in this campaign with constitutional government and its general; and the following pertinent remark of Wellington, in a commentary on Choumara's work, shows how fully he appreciated the contrast:—

'Here we find two Republican generals, with great titles and fortunes, and holding the greatest military rank and exercising the greatest authority, quarrelling, as did the sons, legitimate and illegitimate, and the Marshals in the service of Louis XIV.; neither party ever thinking of the public interest, excepting as connected with his own personal objects of ambition and aggrandisement, and

each appealing to Buonaparte, as the others did heretofore to Louis XIV., and Buonaparte following the example of Louis XIV. in giving no answer.' (Vol. viii. p. 752.)

A secondary cause of the splendid success achieved by Wellington in this campaign was the strict discipline which he enforced in preventing pillage and protecting the country after his army had crossed the French frontier. The effects of this were not only to deprive the French general of what he had hoped for, a patriotic resistance to the invader, but to aid powerfully the Bourbon cause, and so to invert the relations of the antagonists, with respect to the population of France, that Wellington was actually hailed as a deliverer, while Soult was hated as a systematic plunderer.

'We have found the French people exactly what we might expect —not from the lying accounts in the French newspapers, copied into all the others of the world, and believed by everybody, notwithstanding the internal sense of every man of their falsehood, but from what we knew of the government of Napoleon, and the oppression of all descriptions under which his subjects have laboured. It is not easy to describe the detestation of this man. What do you think of the French people running into our posts for protection from the French troops, with their bundles on their heads, and their *beds*, as you recollect to have seen the people of Portugal and Spain?' (Vol. viii. p. 510.)

From the following passage it would certainly appear that the excesses at San Sebastian had been exaggerated; and it must be remembered, they received publicity, in the first instance, through Spanish libels:—

'I am perfectly certain also that all the commanding officers exerted themselves to the utmost, not only to prevent outrages to the inhabitants, but to give them every assistance to secure and transport out of the town whatever property could be saved from the flames, notwithstanding in so doing they were fired on by the enemy. I myself sat with a Court-martial in the Plaza Vieja, near to the gate, to listen to all complaints, with a gallows there erected, and a deputy Provost-Marshal (Williams)—now, I believe, at head-quarters—who can, I should suppose, report the exact number (I know there were a good many) of severe punishments inflicted by my orders on soldiers and sailors found with plunder. The plunder was put in a heap for the inhabitants to claim, which they did, and were escorted out of the place with it, and every assistance given to secure their effects. I can with confidence appeal to every inhabitant then in San Sebastian, to state whether they were not furnished with safeguards and escorts whenever they applied for them to me or the other commanding officers, and whether any men they complained of were not examined, and generally punished on the spot.' (Vol. viii. p. 310.)

The battle of Toulouse, which closed this campaign, was gallantly contested and subsequently was claimed by M. Choumara as a French victory. General Napier has shown with his usual skill that this claim is without foundation, and, that once Mont Rave had been taken by the Allies, the whole position became untenable. The concurring testimony of Wellington is decisive :—

'M. Choumara pretends that the position of Toulouse was the whole position—that is to say, the town, the *tête de pont* on the Garonne, the canal, its fortified bridges, houses, the works on Mont Calvinet. The last only were taken. Marshal Soult remained during the night of the 10th and the day of the 11th, in possession of the remainder; therefore he won the battle. If Toulouse was to be considered as a fortress, of which possession was to be held till the body of the place should be entered, M. Choumara's idea would be correct. In that case, Marshal Soult must have been prepared with means of all descriptions to enable him to remain in the town. Even in that case the possession of Mont Calvinet would have given the Allies the means of a fire by enfilade upon the canal, very near to its junction with the Garonne. But Toulouse could not be considered as a fortress. It was a field of battle, of which the principal fortified position, most important in the view of those who attacked as well as of those who defended it, was taken by the Allied army after a desperate combat. The consequence of the battle was that the Allied army took possession of the passages of the Canal de Languedoc above the town. In his letter to the Ministre de la Guerre (p. 265.), of the 12th April, Marshal Soult says that the Allied army occupied the heights of Bazièges, by which he was to retire. In his letter on the 11th, he had expressed to the same minister, and to Marshal Suchet, his apprehension that he should have to fight his way out of Toulouse, as he certainly would if he had not marched when he did.' (Vol. viii. p. 757.)

While Wellington was invading France, he was, of course, in constant communication with the Allies, in their long and doubtful struggle with Napoleon. These volumes are full of curious details respecting the operations of 1813–14; and several letters from Lords Cathcart and Burghersh, describing the shifting phases of the war, and a sketch of Leipsic by Sir Hudson Lowe, will well repay a careful perusal. They also contain abundant proofs of the diplomatic relations of the Alliance, with their long train of disputes and uncertainties, and of the reluctance with which they resolved to throw down the gage of battle to Napoleon. The following letter from Lord Liverpool to Wellington shows how faint was the hope of a general Coalition before the news of the battle of Vittoria had arrived to balance Lutzen and Bautzen.

'The information of your success, which will be transmitted to the

north of Europe this night, will arrive there most opportunely, and cannot fail to produce the most important effects. If Austria would now declare, we might really hope to put an end to the tyranny which has been so long oppressing the world; but on this event no reliance can, I fear, be placed. The dispositions of Russia and Prussia are good, and Bernadotte is using every endeavour to persuade them not to make peace. . . .' (Vol. viii. p. 50.)

Vittoria, however, had a decisive effect, as Count Nugent thus wrote to Wellington:—

'The account of the state of affairs in Spain, and your plans,—in short, everything you desired me to say,—had the greatest effect, and contributed very much to the decision of the Austrian Government; and the battle of Vittoria, I think, finished the matter. Things are now so far advanced that I am authorised to inform your lordship that there is no doubt that hostilities will commence on the 16th of August.' (Vol. viii. p. 133.)

Still discord remained in the allied camp, and, even in July 1813, Napoleon spoke with perfect confidence of the certainty of the triumph of his arms. The following is from a letter of Lord Cathcart:—

'Metternich's audiences with Buonaparte were *very* long: one lasted eight or nine hours. Buonaparte's temper changed very often, and he was in several violent passions. He said he knew Austria could not go to war, and that he would not forget her having proposed humiliating conditions. That he would be in Vienna early in September. That Austria was a fat country, and his army should pass the winter in it. That the Russian and Prussian troops were very fine, and fought well, but that they had no head, and he would always beat them; and that Austria should never forget the visit he would now make.' (Vol. viii. p. 135.)

The 10th of August, however, came; and after a long and terrible struggle, Napoleon was dislodged from the Elbe, and driven out of Germany at Leipsic. It may be doubted whether, in this campaign, he displayed his wonted genius and calculation, or whether he was seconded by his lieutenants with the zeal and energy of former years; but setting aside the defection of allies, unquestionably one of the causes of his overthrow was the physical weakness of his army of conscripts. 'They 'melted like snow,' was his pitiless remark, comparing them to the old Guard; and the following description, in September 1813, of the dejected state of the French soldiers will account, perhaps, for the rout at Leipsic:—

'Vous ne croirez jamais que les Français jetaient armes et bagages, fuyant à la débandade: un seul Cosaque en prit cent dans un village, s'empara de leur argent, et donna leurs hardes à quelques paysans Prussiens qui se trouvaient là. La grande nation n'est plus à reconnaître. Je peux vous en citer des traits qui vous surprendront, et qui je vous garantis sur ma parole d'honneur. D'abord c'est que

lorsqu'ils se retirent, la cavalerie s'en va la première, et l'artillerie, mêlée à un peu d'infanterie, couvre la retraite.' (Vol. viii. p. 294.)

When the Coalition approached the Rhine, the well-known propositions of Frankfort were offered by the Allies to Napoleon, and, though reluctantly, Lord Aberdeen assented to them. A fair comparison of subsequent dates, and a just review of the Emperor's conduct, will acquit the Allies, in our judgment, for having afterwards evaded these conditions, when Caulaincourt struggled to claim their benefit; but the following letter from Sir Charles Stewart shows how heavily the obligation weighed as late even as January 1814:—

'I must, however, first premise that I shall ever deplore not only the manner, but the whole tenor of the Frankfort negotiations: we shall find them hang like a log round our neck, and we shall in vain try (now France is prostrate) to disembarrass ourselves from those promises we have voluntarily shackled ourselves with in a moment of neither cause nor necessity. We find even in the last note of M. de Caulaincourt that he relies upon our own proposed basis. Can nations (like Buonaparte) depart from the line they themselves chalk out? A despot without character may do anything. The Powers of Europe, on the other hand, must in some degree uphold themselves by the great principles of faith, justice, and moderation.

'Where was the necessity, if the state of France as to her beaten forces was actually ascertained (and that the Austrian Minister could be ignorant of this, one can hardly imagine), of a furtive negotiation at Frankfort which every hour brings on its more baneful effects? Is it not clear that the manner in which we are committed, influences present ideas and future decisions on the most important points? This I shall hereafter more plainly elucidate.' (Vol. viii. p. 498.)

The sword, however, was thrown into the balance, and the invasion of France determined by the Allies. The fearful exhaustion of the country at this time has been vividly described by M. Thiers, and is thus portrayed by Lord Burghersh, a contemporary observer:—

'No single act of hostility has been committed against them, and in some places they have been received with acclamations. The people of the country express a most anxious hope of peace; they accuse their government of the misfortunes which at present, as for years past, have weighed upon their country, and they seem desirous of any change which would open to them a prospect of better times. The conscription lately decreed by Buonaparte has in no place in this part of the country been attended to. The spirit of the people is broken; they seem destitute of the means of an exertion.' (Vol. viii. p. 542.)

It will always be a matter of astonishment that Napoleon, with a people in this mood, and an army which at no time in this campaign exceeded 60,000 combatants, should have long bade defiance to his foes, and even nearly destroyed the

Coalition. The highest admiration is due to the genius and heroism which wrought these wonders; nor is it any detraction to point out that, but for the Allies' numerous blunders, the result could never have trembled in the balance. But the arms and counsels of the Coalition were paralysed by mistrust and division; and the following passage, which discloses the spirit in which they opened this memorable campaign, explains the opportunities they afforded to the great soldier who lay in their path, and accounts in part for his splendid exploits:—

'For the moment, all plans are at a standstill. The army, which has marched nearly to Basle, may have to come back again; in short, all is confusion. Schwarzenberg will write to you as soon as the plans are settled. God knows when that may be. His army is still moving, and in a very short time will be placed in *échelon* between Stockach and Basle. It is impossible for him, however, to enter France from thence, threading the needle between the fortresses of Hunningen, New Brisach, and Strasburg on one side, and the doubtful neutrality of Switzerland on the other. I cannot write more at this moment; you shall hear from me by the first opportunity. You may guess how things are here by the contradictions in this letter. The Emperor Alexander three weeks ago was the most anxious for the occupation of Switzerland. The plan was formed upon that basis; the army was moved. He has now tacked about, and God knows what will be undertaken.' (Vol. viii. p. 409.)

Such facts as these confirm our belief that the independent command of Wellington, and his occupation of the South of France, were amongst the main causes of the success of the Allies. Had he been merely a general of the Coalition, placed somewhere in Belgium or Lorraine,—a subordinate of Frederic William or Alexander,—his army might have been idly wasted in false manœuvres and disastrous operations, while Soult and Suchet must have been set free to act on the flank or rear of the Austrians. What would have been the probable result, had both these marshals been disengaged, and thrown upon the army of Schwarzenberg, while Napoleon was crushing Blücher on the Marne, in a series of overwhelming victories?

Before we close these interesting volumes, we would say a word of the evidence they afford of the Duke's capacity as a military administrator. When the British army came under his command, it was ill-organised for extensive operations, and antiquated in its structure and equipments; its commissariat arrangements were bad, a cumbrous material retarded its movements, and its general officers, though personally brave, were not habituated to active service. The following passage describes one of the chief of these deficiencies:—

'I declare that I do not understand the principles on which our military establishments are formed, if, when large corps of troops

are sent out to perform important and difficult services, they are not to have with them those means of equipment which they require and which the establishment can afford, such as horses to draw artillery, and drivers attached to the commissariat, when these means are not wanted at home; and what is more, considering that the number of horses and drivers in England, all of whom the public could command in case of emergency, never can be wanted excepting for foreign service.

'ARTHUR WELLESLEY.'

(Vol. vi. p. 87.)

And this is a somewhat humorous account of the value of some of the general officers who were to encounter Ney and Massena:—

'Really when I reflect upon the characters and attainments of some of the general officers of this army, and consider that these are the persons on whom I am to rely to lead columns against the French generals, and who are to carry my instructions into execution, I tremble; and, as Lord Chesterfield said of the generals of his day, "I only hope that when the enemy reads the list of their names he "trembles as I do." —— and —— will be a very nice addition to this list! However, I pray God and the Horse Guards to deliver me from General —— and Colonel ——.' (Vol. vi. p. 482.)

By degrees, however, these ill-ordered elements were moulded into a structure, beyond comparison, for its size, the finest and most efficient in Europe. This great change was due, in part, to the general experience acquired by all, in part to the confidence derived from success, in part to the habit of perfect subordination which has always distinguished the British service, and in part to the stringent rules against pillage, which are a feature of our military system; but the main causes, beyond all dispute, were the ascendancy gained by Wellington over his troops and the active attention with which he regulated the numerous details of military administration. A full third of these volumes is taken up by orders and directions providing for the wants and improvement of the soldier, inculcating discipline and exercise in drill, and giving hints for the better arrangement of the various departments connected with the army. No just idea can be formed of the greatness of Wellington as a commander without consulting such records as these; and in this respect, as well as in judgment and forethought, he was not surpassed by any general of ancient or modern times. It would not, however, be possible to convey a notion of these great qualities by quoting extracts; and for full information upon the subject, our readers must search these important volumes.

ART. III.—1. *An Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients.* By the Right Honorable Sir GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS. London: 1862.

2. *Egypt's Place in Universal History.* An Historical Investigation, in five books. By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph. & D.C.L. Translated from the German by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq. M.A. Vols. III. and IV. London: 1859.

THE attempt to construct a Science of Astronomy appeared to Socrates both impious and absurd. It involved an intrusion into things which the gods had veiled in impenetrable mystery; and the curiosity of man was rightly recompensed by a Babel of conflicting theories worthy only of a society of madmen. For every problem each man had his own solution; and the utter want of agreement was itself the evidence that the end proposed was beyond the reach of human intellect. In the field of ethics it was possible to trace the connexion of cause and effect. Men might learn to know something of themselves and of others, and so to determine, in some degree, the principles of human action: to look for similar results in astronomy was a sign of the extremest folly. Time has curiously changed the terms of controversy. Metaphysical schools, which hold that a knowledge of motives would enable us to foretell the acts of men, yet admit that this knowledge is scarcely greater now than it was in the days of Socrates. The movements of the heavenly bodies are predicted with an exactness which has not been attained in any other branch of science; and the very completeness of the result has awakened in some a feeling not altogether unlike that of the Greek philosopher. Sir Cornewall Lewis does not look upon astronomical research as impious; but he regards the science as one 'of pure curiosity, directed 'exclusively to the extension of knowledge in a field which 'human interests can never enter.'

The objection is partly answered in his own pages. It may be possible, on the Ptolemæan theory of the universe, to demonstrate a certain order in the outward world, and so to counteract those superstitious fears, the extinction of which he holds to be one of the chief uses or ends of all the physical sciences. But as long as the scientific hypothesis rested on a foundation which might fairly be regarded with some suspicion, even this end was not sufficiently attained. In accomplishing this, the Copernican system, as completed by Newton's theory of gravitation, would not have been without practical influence

on the affairs of mankind, even if it had done no more; but the science which is the mother of the art of Navigation, and on which, consequently, the intercourse of man with man may be said to depend, cannot be dismissed with so curt a sentence of condemnation. The defence of modern astronomy is not, however, confined to its bearing on material interests. The direct education of the mind and spirit is a practical end well worth all the toil which can be bestowed upon it.* Whatever may be its future results, the past history of the science is connected with questions which, important at all times, have in our own day become questions of paramount interest. The history of almost every ancient people or nation professes to explain the origin and application of astronomical science. Roman tradition has its stories on the growth and changes of the calendar. With similar traditions, the history of Greece brings before us the theories of successive philosophers, and points to foreign lands as the sources of their scientific knowledge. We find the admission eagerly welcomed by the Egyptian priests, who boasted of observations extended over more than six hundred thousand years, and claimed to have unlocked the secrets of heaven to the star-gazers of Chaldæa. We find these in their turn vaunting the possession of observations taken during nearly fifteen thousand centuries; and, both in Egypt and in Syria, we have a history based upon these computations, running back to a time compared with which the remoteness of the Homeric or the Vedic age would be but as yesterday. The different versions of these chronicles, agreeing in little else, agree in extending the past existence of man over myriads of years. Their assertions may be inconsistent, but they are undeniably distinct. The lifetime of Menes may be dated three, or four, or five thousand years before the Christian era; but the unqualified assertion remains, that he was the first human king of Egypt, and that his successors can be severally named. Lists of these Egyptian and Assyrian dynasties have come down to us in the pages of old chroniclers or historians; and it has been reserved for the scholars of the last and the present century to compare these notices with national records and monuments long buried or forgotten. Their language was dead; the tradition of them had been lost for ages; but, in spite of overwhelming difficulties, the patience of modern research has recovered materials for reconstructing the old Egyptian history. By their aid the errors

* For the method and results of modern practical Astronomy see an Article in a previous number of this Journal, vol. xci., on National Observatories.

of foreign writers and the deficiencies of their priestly teachers have been satisfactorily corrected; and scarcely a gap remains to be filled up between the Macedonian Ptolemies and the founder of the first Egyptian dynasty. Nay, the same data which have enabled French and German scholars to determine the course of history up to the time of Menes, have led Baron Bunsen back to a period preceding that of Menes by more than 5,000 years, and have revealed to him the duration, not merely of the Egyptian people, but of the whole human race. The first place of human sojourn, the physical causes which drove men from their first abode, the origin of language and mythology, of religion and civil government, are among the discoveries which have solved for him the great problem of human existence, and furnished the reasons for which alone history is worth studying.

The field is vast, and, doubtless, it has great attractions. It is something to be able to connect the dim traditions of distant ages with the conclusions of geology and the results of philological research. It is something to show how long man has lived upon the earth, what he has done during the several stages of his sojourn, and to what goal the human family is tending. Still, it is perfectly clear that no one thing can be proved on evidence which applies only to another. The building, which Baron Bunsen has ingeniously raised on the foundations laid by Champollion and his followers, is astonishing enough. We gaze with wonder, if not with awe, at the colossal walls for which Menes and Sesostris furnish bricks not less sound and solid than Amasis or Psammenitus. It is hard to withhold some admiration from a philosophy of history in which Semempsis and Miebaes become as real as Themistocles or Cleon, and in which the date of Nimrod, some ten thousand years before our era, can be fixed with scarcely less certainty than that of the Peloponnesian war. But the doubt yet remains whether history is really a fit subject for the happy exercise of divination and combination*, and whether we are justified in accepting the necessity of throwing ourselves without reserve into the mind and feelings of others on so slight a chain of evidence. If, in place of all other convictions and all other facts, we can substitute Bunsen's ideas on history generally and on Egypt's place in that history,—if we can accept a method which from several dates assigned to a king selects one, and then, finding the name of that king on a monument, assigns the latter to the date so obtained, then we may resign ourselves to Bunsen's guidance, and meekly believe that the Egyptians migrated into the land of the Nile thirteen thousand years ago, and that 'in the forma-

* Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 264.; vol. iii. p. 155.

'tion and deposit of Sinism (20,000—15,000 B.C.)' we discern 'the 'earliest polarisation of religious consciousness.'* Baron Bunsen avows himself the disciple of Niebuhr, and naturally claims all Niebuhr's license in the treatment of history. But Niebuhr was dealing, at the most, with but three or four centuries of traditional tales; and these were concerned with a state of things of which the results were strictly historical. Apart from all legends of the Seven Kings, the commonwealth of Rome points to an earlier monarchy; but, if we object to Niebuhr that he treats Romulus and Numa sometimes as fictitious, sometimes as real persons,— that he assumes the existence sometimes of yearly chronicles, sometimes of national epics,— that he draws historical inferences in one place from statements which he had treated as doubtful in another, we shall see that his transgressions, when compared with Baron Bunsen's, are but as a mote to a beam. It may be satisfactory to think that the Herodotean Sesostris is the result of a confusion between Sesoosis, Sesorcheres, and Tosorthrus; but the clearness of the conclusion will not explain why the history of the second millennium B.C. should be judged by a different canon from the history of our own or any other day. When a writer, taking the conflicting accounts of Sesostris, Sethos, and Ramesses †, can gravely state that the question for critical inquiry is to determine what part of the Sesostris-Sethosis tradition belongs to Ramesses and what to his father Sethos, and how much again is to be abstracted from both of them and given to the two great rulers of the third and twelfth dynasties, it is time to insist on some definite rule by which we may distinguish fact from fiction. When scholars, however learned or estimable, claim to pass off as history a patchwork from inconsistent or contradictory chronicles, we owe a debt of no common gratitude to those who maintain boldly and plainly that there is but one law of historical criticism, and that we dare not apply it more loosely or leniently to one age than to another. History has its own difficulties; but they do not lie in doubts whether we are to receive as evidence for one time what for another we should at once reject. From known facts we may, if we can, draw a new inference. We may rehabilitate Themistocles, or Henry VIII., or Frederic the Great; or we may bring forward new evidence to prove that the verdict of a former age is wrong, so long as we can submit that evidence to as stringent a test as the facts already acknowledged. But, after all, the difficulties of history, whatever they may be, are confined within the narrow

* Egypt's Place, vol. iv. p. 485. † Ib. vol. iii. p. 171.

bounds of three or four generations. In the absence of written records, oral tradition may preserve a tolerably faithful account of events for about a century. Beyond that limit, we cannot assert the most probable event to be wholly historical; within it, we may reasonably accept statements which in themselves may be very questionable. The whole matter turns on the credibility of witnesses; and the history of nations must therefore be measured, not only by the standard of contemporary testimony, but by the degree in which they exhibit the historic faculty. We should not believe on the authority of Homer that Aphroditê rescued Æneas from the battle-field, or on that of Herodotus, that deified heroes fought against the Persian hosts at Delphi, because, on points like these, the poet and the historian are not competent witnesses. We take the tale of the Feast of Attaginus, and we believe at once that Herodotus so heard it from Thersander; but we cannot tell how far Thersander's imagination may have pointed its moral during nearly half a century. On the stories of Democedes and Histiæus we look with suspicion, not merely because they contain some improbabilities, but because they come in great part from a source on which we can place no reliance. Yet here we are dealing with persons whose historical character we can as little doubt as we doubt our own. From these we have to turn to a people who at no time exhibited any critical faculty; a people inured to all the monotony of Oriental despotism, and filled with a strong sense of their own importance, which had been grievously mortified by some incidents in their history. We have to take into account the paramount influence of a sacerdotal caste, who kept in their own hands every record, whether civil or astronomical. We have to remember further that these records were written in a character almost incredibly complicated, that they were preserved partly in picture-writing, partly in a symbolical and phonetic alphabet, and that the priests who professed to read them gave different accounts at different times to the foreigners who came to them for information. And then, remembering this, we are asked to believe that the records which they claimed to keep were really historical, that, in addition to these, they had a historical literature, now lost, and that their ruling desire was to preserve the history of the kingdom from its first beginnings in uncorrupt integrity; and, finally, we have to acquiesce in a method which will cut up one name into two or more persons, or reduce two or more persons to one, while it treats kings or dynasties sometimes as successive, sometimes as contemporaneous, as may best suit a foregone conclusion.

At the outset, therefore, we should welcome any protest against a system which would make history an inextricable labyrinth. Against a method which reconciles contradictory accounts by extracting some of their differences, we are prejudiced not by any love for theories of our own, not because we are unwilling to believe that men have lived on earth for ten, or fifteen, or twenty thousand years, or that language, religion, and government may have required millenniums for their development, but simply because, if we yield to it, we must be guided by rules, or rather arbitrary dogmas, which may be made to yield any result at pleasure. We are willing to accept any suppositions on the antediluvian history of man or the consolidation of Egyptian polity, as conclusions more or less probable. We may admit that calculations drawn from variations of the earth's orbit may explain some phenomena of the ancient world; but it is absurd to infer that such grounds are a warrant for framing an exact chronology, and even more absurd to think that a chronology can be manufactured without history, and that in some mysterious way the two may not only exist, but ought to be treated separately.

The vast fabric of Egyptology will not have been reared in vain, if its only result is to call forth such a protest as that of Sir Cornewall Lewis. The errors of a generation are well compensated by a clearer apprehension of the laws of historical credibility. When all that is worthless has been swept away, there will yet remain in Baron Bunsen's pages much that is profitable; but that residuum will be chiefly speculation rather than history; and it is well that his chronological arithmetic, if not his hieroglyphical interpretations, should be met by such an antagonist. No protest has ever come more opportunely. From Thebes and Memphis, from Nineveh and Babylon, a flood of discovery threatens, by the bulk of the records borne in upon us, to overlay the earlier history of the Western world. The work of Herodotus, whose object was to relate the struggle of European freedom with Eastern despotism, has been buried beneath an obscure mass of Persian and Assyrian lore; while the discordant lists of old chroniclers, by the aid of hieroglyphic inscriptions, have furnished matter for the still more ponderous learning of the Egyptologists. How much more there may be yet to come we cannot tell; but unless future researches on the banks of the Nile or in the mounds of Kouyunjek reveal something different in kind from what has been laid bare already, we are fairly justified in forming a judgment on the value of the treasures spread before us. The perfect deciphering of the hieroglyphics (beset although it appears with almost

hopeless difficulties), the unquestioning acceptance of all that has been read as a true interpretation, will not in the least degree affect the conditions of the controversy. The monuments have but added one more version to those which we had before; they have supplied no criterion whereby we may measure the credibility of the latter. We have still, as we had before, to deal with statements some of which may be facts and some of which are undoubtedly fictions. The attempt to disentangle the one from the other, and so to accept what is true and reject what is false, is as much or as little justified here as in the chronicles of the Trojan dynasty of England. They who do not choose to mix up history with speculation, will receive as golden words the remark of Sir Cornewall Lewis:—

'In history, as in philosophy, it is important to fix the boundaries within which knowledge can be attained, and not to waste the time of writers and readers in vain endeavours to determine facts of which no credible testimony exists, and of which the memory has perished. Researches into ancient history, which lead to merely negative results, are important and useful, as well as similar researches which lead to positive results. They distinguish between fiction which, however diverting, instructive, or elevating, can never be historical, and reality which is a necessary attribute of a historical narrative.' (*Astronomy*, p. 433.)

The task undertaken by Sir G. C. Lewis was not to controvert the conclusions of Egyptologists, or to throw suspicion on interpretations of hieroglyphic or cuneiform inscriptions, but to trace the history of astronomy among the nations of the old world, and to determine the amount of scientific knowledge possessed by each. His searching and elaborate inquiry has brought down the vaunted wisdom of Egypt and Assyria. It has proved that astronomy, with the latter, resolved itself into astrology, while by the former it was used more for religious than civil purposes. Rome claimed neither the reality nor the reputation of knowledge. In Greece, the history of the science exhibits speculation issuing perpetually in theories based not on inductions from experience, but (with scarcely more than a single exception) on some arbitrary hypothesis. This succession of speculative systems Sir Cornewall Lewis has examined with great keenness and fullness of research. Yet the thought that his work could not end here, may well have come in to lighten the task of tracing out assumption after assumption and fallacy after fallacy, and of describing cosmical systems, many of them differing only in degrees of absurdity. He has proved, indeed, the natural superiority of the Greek intellect over every other. He has shown that their astronomy

was as much their own as the rest of their philosophy; but the special importance of his work lies in the criticism which has struck at the roots of the newly-discovered or reconstructed history of Egypt and Assyria. The direction of this attack may well strike Egyptologists with dismay; for unless Sir Cornewall Lewis's position can be overthrown, all pretence to a real knowledge of Egyptian history before the Dodecarchy must be abandoned. To minds in which the critical faculty is weak there is much to impart to these constructive accounts the semblance of real history. The dates are precise; the notices circumstantial; and the names of kings in the lists of Herodotus or later writers are found in tombs and palaces. For many readers there is much authority in a printed book; for many more there is still greater authority in a carved inscription: and the legitimate inference that, if in a pyramid be found the name of one to whom that pyramid is ascribed, it must have been built by him and no other, is held to determine also that he lived at the time assigned to him. If in the absence of conflicting accounts this might perhaps be admitted, it is otherwise when the same name is assigned in various lists to different generations, or centuries, or millenniums. A building cannot assert its own date; an inscription is worth nothing more than a manuscript. The inscriber may have been either deficient in his knowledge of the event recorded, or under some temptation to misrepresent it. In most cases, therefore, it becomes necessary to test monuments by the statements of contemporary historians rather than to give weight to the latter because they agree with the former. If the Egyptian name equivalent to Cheops is found in the pyramid ascribed to Cheops by Herodotus, it is a reason for thinking that Cheops built it; but if we find that Cheops is assigned to three several dynasties, we cannot determine the time of its erection unless the pyramid attests its era.

If the criticism of Sir Cornewall Lewis appears to the advocates of constructive history to sweep away much available knowledge or block up a mine rich with materials for future discovery, to the critical historian the confusion introduced by Egyptologists into the first principles of evidence may reasonably be a cause of much greater anxiety. That mind must, in truth, be weak which can complain that its knowledge is circumscribed by excluding that which cannot be really ascertained. It is a question not of feeling, but of fact,—not of speculation, but of truth. To suppose that the migration of the people of Menes into Egypt took place in the eleventh millennium B.C., and that the sojourn of the Israelites in that

country extended over more than a thousand years, may add symmetry to the history of mankind; but to assert either as a fact is to substitute the pretence of knowledge for the reality, and, by fettering all honest thought, to check all genuine progress. The course of recent criticism has stripped of historical certainty many events which by the scholars of a former age were never called in question. It has not merely swept away legends such as those of Brute the Trojan, which Milton could not bring himself altogether to sacrifice. It has not merely put aside a fiction so plausible as the Servian constitution at Rome. It has also placed a strong line of demarcation between those ages for which we have no contemporary testimony, and others for which we can produce it. It has rejected unsparingly events or narratives, even in a historical age, for which adequate proof is wanting. The accounts of the battle of Bull Run are utterly contradictory; but the fact of the battle it is impossible to dispute. We accept the fact—we reject the details; and the lovers of myths charge us with analysing history into vacancy. If the legend of Thermopylæ be untrue as a whole, it is the very height of absurdity to make up our own version and cling to it. If the mere fact of the battles in Thermopylæ be true, and all the details uncertain, common sense would lead us to confine our belief to the former. Neither history nor religion have anything to fear from a real criticism. If Egyptology really sets aside the Rabbinical chronology of the Old Testament, all that is of authority for us stands as it stood before. If the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is by it extended from four to fourteen centuries, we have only to remember that the Rabbinical and Septuaguint chronologies are widely divergent.* We may be pardoned for thinking the Rabbinical computation to be the more probable, if we are prepared to give it up on the production of weightier evidence against it. But, as compared with the theories of Egyptologists, the work of demolition accomplished by Sir Cornewall Lewis is really a work of construction. A positive benefit is gained by the clearness of proof which reveals the unsubstantial texture of oral tradition. The conflicting accounts of the early astronomy of the Greeks and Romans are but a link in the evidence which proves how little to be depended upon is any tradition before the dawn of contemporary history.

When he commenced his great task of reconstruction, Niebuhr sought to throw an air of reality over the early annals of Rome by pointing out the existence of an accurate chronolo-

* See Edinburgh Review, vol. lxxxiii. p. 429.

gical system. Forgetful here, as elsewhere, that plausible fiction may palm itself off as real history, he concluded that the Romans had a year of twelve months before they used the decimestrial year of Romulus. The latter, he thought, was employed in connexion with the secle of 132 years, which, with the eight-day division of time called Nundinæ, they received from the profound astronomical science of the Etruscans. Then, inasmuch as the intercalation of a month of three Tuscan weeks twice in the cyclical period of twenty-two lustres gave at the end of that period 'a surprisingly close approximation to 'the true time,' he assumed that such an intercalation was in fact made. But on the year of Romulus and Numa, on the method and principle of intercalation, on the origin of the months and of the nundinæ, the ancient writers, taken as a whole, are full of contradictions. No means of determining uncertain points are open to us which were not equally accessible to them; and the statements of men living two or three centuries from a time which had no written literature can carry no more weight than those of writers of any later age. The Fasti of Ovid alone present a bewildering abundance of derivations for the names of the months, and other writers were not more agreed even as to the time when intercalation was first used in the calendar:—

'Licinius Macer, who held the primitive Roman year to consist of twelve months, stated that Romulus was the author of intercalation. Junius Gracchanus, who assumed a primitive decimestrial year, supposed this correction to have been introduced by Servius Tullius. Cassius Hemina, and Sempronius Tuditanus, two historians who lived in the second century B. C., stated it to have been first established by the Decemvirs in 451–49 B. C.; while Fulvius Nobilior placed its introduction even as late as the consulship of Manius Acilius Glabrio, 191 B. C., only two years before his own consulship.' (*Astronomy*, p. 43.)

The discordance is not less on the subject of the nundinæ:—

'Dionysius describes Romulus as the author of the nundinæ, which was a market held at Rome every eighth, or as the Romans expressed it, every ninth day. . . . Cassius Sempronius Tuditanus, a well-informed historian of his country, who flourished in the second century before Christ, referred the origin of this institution to the arrangement made by Romulus when he formed the joint kingdom with Tatius; and did not therefore include it among his original institutions at the foundation of the city. Cassius Hemina, a historian of the second century before Christ, and Varro, assigned its establishment to Servius Tullius. Other writers considered the observation of the nundinæ as a market day to be subsequent to the expulsion of the kings, and to have originated in the honours paid

by the plebs to the manes of Servius, the plebeian king, on the eighth day.' (*Astronomy*, p. 57.)

It is clear, as Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks, that those who attributed the nundinæ to Servius could not possibly have connected them with the year of Romulus. Of Etruscan science nothing more can be said than that it seems to have been confined to a system of divination from lightning. On the whole, the same uncertainty rests on the early astronomy of the Romans as on their constitutional history.

The mythology of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems has a negative value, as showing that the Greeks, in what is called the Heroic Age, had no complete astronomical system. In Hesiod the earth is a flat sphere, surmounted by a solid vault in which are fixed the sun, moon, and stars. It was a more recent myth which explained the passage of the sun from his place of setting to the East, by the golden cup given to him by Hephæstus. But while the Greek mythology exhibits no approach to any systematic astronomy, it is only in one sense true that it had little connexion with the heavenly bodies. Sir Cornewall Lewis has curiously inverted the case when he asserts that the personification of the sun led to his being regarded as a universal witness (p. 7.), and that only at a comparatively late period was Apollo identified with Helios, or Artemis with the moon (p. 63.). His general argument would have been strengthened by a closer examination of the growth of Greek mythology. In the Hesiodic poems we have an account of a lunation, and of the occupations to which each stage of it was held to be favourable. But with this knowledge of a recurring measure of time Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks that the poet still appears ignorant of any calendar of months, by which the time of year can be described. If the later poets identify Apollo with Helios, they revert in fact to an earlier notion; but that notion tells of the sun not as supplying a measure of time, but as a being endued with a life not less conscious and personal than that of man.

But from the mists of the mythical ages there emerges in Greece (and, as Sir Cornewall Lewis rightly insists, in Greece alone,) an astronomical science which is really historical and always progressive. While the names of Chaldæan, Babylonian, and Egyptian astronomers remain wholly unknown, with Thales begins a long line of philosophers who contributed to the advance of practical astronomy as much as they failed to improve it in theory. For the traditions concerning Thales no positive evidence can be adduced. Among other tenets he is said to have held that the fire of the sun and stars was fed by watery

exhalations; his practical science was shown in his prediction of an eclipse which broke off a battle between the armies of Cyaxares and Alyattes. But the statement will not bear criticism. The darkness caused by a solar eclipse does not bear out the story in Herodotus: and if it is strange that Thales should predict it to Ionians who had no direct interest in the event, it is still more strange that he could not foretell it within narrower limits than a year. But the tale is only a sample of many which extol the scientific knowledge of the earlier Greek astronomers. To his disciple Anaximander is ascribed the discovery of a gnomon or sun-dial, showing the time, the seasons, solstices, and equinoxes. By Anaximenes the chain of wild and arbitrary hypotheses was extended. With him the sun was a body of fire and in shape flat like a leaf, while the moon, being fiery, shone with her own light, and the form of the earth as a flat trapezium prevented it from sinking in space. Improving upon him, Heracleitus taught that the stars were fed by exhalations from the earth, that the sun was shaped like a bowl, and that its width was not greater than that of a man's foot. To Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic School, is ascribed the opinion that the stars were fiery clouds, lit at night like coals, and put out in the morning, and that the sun, resembling these in substance, was likewise renewed every day. Parmenides spoke of the universe as consisting of three circular bands surrounded by a solid firmament like a wall, and first taught, it is said, that the earth was spherical and situated at the centre of the universe. According to Empedocles, as also in the doctrine of Philolaus, there were two suns, one in the invisible sphere below the earth, the other in the upper hemisphere, sharing the motion of the invisible sun. The distance of the moon from the sun he judged to be twice as great as its distance from the earth. His guess was followed up by later philosophers, sometimes on grounds which were strictly astronomical, sometimes (as by the Pythagoreans) on mysterious ideas of the essential power and virtues of numbers. Like Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, the teacher and friend of Pericles, held that the earth was a plane, and believed the sun to be a mass of ignited stone larger than the Peloponnesus. From him probably Thucydides derived his knowledge that an eclipse of the sun takes place at the new moon, and an eclipse of the moon when it is full. But in explaining the movements of the heavenly bodies, he substituted the action of mechanical forces in place of the direct agency of the gods; and the influence of Pericles hardly sufficed to free him from the charge of impiety.

It was at this stage in the history of astronomy that Socrates interposed his protest and attempted to define the boundaries of human knowledge. The protest appears, at first sight, an unwarranted attempt to arrest the progress of the human mind. It was, in reality, the result of that clearness of mental vision which identifies his method with that of Bacon's new philosophy. With a zeal which no one before him had ever exhibited, he devoted himself to the uprooting of all opinions received simply because they were traditionary. Rigorously carrying out in himself that purification of the intellect without which any real advance was hopeless, he proclaimed a crusade against all pretence of knowledge without the reality, and entered on the warfare with an earnestness which became a passion. It was not possible that truth could be reached by guess-work; it was equally impossible that men could know things, the knowledge of which lay beyond the reach of their faculties. That among these unattainable things we must place the science of astronomy, was in him no strange or inexplicable assumption. A long series of philosophers had gone before him. Each one had propounded his theory; and in none of their many schemes was any scientific basis discernible. There was enough, in the long array of short-lived conjectures and in the pertinacity with which they were maintained, to induce the conclusion that men were herein meddling with what they had no right to touch. How far the intellect of Socrates resembled that of Bacon, or whether it was equal to it, we need not now determine, but Bacon himself, in the days of Anaxagoras, would probably have propounded doctrines not unlike those of Socrates. With a very scanty store of scientific observations, with no solid ground for extensive generalisations, he must at the least have maintained that any attempt to frame a theory of the universe was absurdly premature. The protest of Socrates virtually affirmed no more; but he rightly interpreted the jealous rivalry of the physical philosophers as a sign of weakness and of lack of knowledge, while their discordant theories strengthened a religious conviction, that if they could not learn or teach astronomy without squabbling like madmen, it must be because the gods did not choose to have their own domain invaded. We cannot doubt that Socrates would have abandoned this notion, if astronomers could have shown him that their scientific method was sound. As it was, he admitted that a practical knowledge of astronomy ought to be acquired, and so left the door open for the more accurate research of after ages. He may perhaps have shared, as Sir Cornewall Lewis thinks, the prejudices of his time; but his assaults on groundless theories

directed the intellect of later philosophers into a better channel, and gave the earnest of that scientific harvest which we are reaping. The portrait of Socrates as exhibited in the plays of Aristophanes was a ludicrous and malignant caricature. The injustice, if not so great, is scarcely less strange, which has led modern writers to identify his philosophy with that of Seneca. The issue of his trial must mainly be laid to his own charge; but he certainly never attempted to divert men from all that may render life useful and happy into the regions of a transcendental philosophy. The theories of later astronomers were certainly not more arbitrary than those which had been propounded before, while a new impulse was given to accurate and methodical observation. Even in his own time a great reform of the Athenian calendar was effected by the cycle of Meton.

If the groundwork of Greek astronomy was wrong, still (with the exception of the Epicureans, who never took the trouble to reason at all,) the conclusions drawn by astronomers from their premisses were strictly logical. They were all of them efforts to explain the phenomena of the heavens; and if they succeeded in explaining any, it was a positive benefit, which modern historians of science are too much disposed to undervalue. The philosopher who held the sun to be no wider than his foot, did good service if, even on an erroneous hypothesis, he put into clearer light any motions of the celestial bodies. The Epicurean alone stood aloof from real progress, when he clung to the tenets of Anaximenes or Heracleitus, because he chose to substitute what he called common sense for the 'low-minded technicalities of the philosophers.' If the Pythagoræans arranged the universe from ideas of the mystical properties of numbers and sounds, yet from their arbitrary starting point they displayed a force of reasoning, of which at the least we have no evidence among the astronomers of Asia or of Egypt.

On the subject of astronomy, the opinions of Plato were not in advance of the generally received theories. If, as Sir Cornewall Lewis thinks, Plato asserts nothing more in the Timæus than that the stationary earth is wound or twined like a ball of thread round the immaterial axis of the universe, it seems equally probable that his subsequent change of mind, if true in fact, was owing to the adoption not of any heliocentric system but of the Pythagoræan hypothesis of a central fire, round which the earth with the sun and the whole starry heaven revolves. But with Eudoxus of Cnidos the scientific astronomy of the Greeks began to move in a path more in accord-

ance with the method of Socrates. If it did not altogether abstain from theorising, it founded its theories on wider and more careful observations. With him originated the first systematic explanation of the periodic motions of the planets, which, as he asserted, were made in solid revolving spheres. This hypothesis of revolving spheres, while confined to the movement of the fixed stars, was simple and intelligible enough. When it came to be extended to the sun, moon, and planets, the multiplication of these spheres became a necessity; and in the loss of simplicity, as Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks, the system lost its chief recommendation. The intricacy was further increased by Callippus, who added seven spheres to the twenty-six of Eudoxus. The astronomy of Aristotle is remarkable not so much for the additions which it made to scientific knowledge, as because it formed one portion only of a philosophy which sought to embrace all human learning. With him, as with Plato, the earth was fixed at the centre of the universe, which, like Eudoxus, he held to be composed of revolving spheres. The motion of the bodies placed in these spheres was measured by their distance from the centre—that of the outermost spheres being the most rapid and the most simple. But Aristotle saw that the motions of some of the planets were more intricate than those of the sun and moon which he believed to be more distant from the external sphere. The solution of this difficulty he found in the conscious life of the stars, owing to which 'each orb accomplishes its circuit according to the best 'means at its command.' From the gravitation of matter to a centre he inferred the sphericity of the earth; and the comparative smallness of its size he gathered from the fact that a slight change of distance to north or south changes the position of the fixed stars in those directions. His system was in fact substantially that which under the name of Ptolemy maintained its ground till it was finally set aside by that of Copernicus. It was supported by the close and powerful logic of Euclid; and in Galen's day the demonstration was as thoroughly believed as that two and two make four. Against this system one remarkable protest was raised by Aristarchus of Samos. Unlike the Pythagoræans, who made earth, sun, and stars revolve round the central fire, Aristarchus propounded a theory which needed only Newton's hypothesis of gravitation to complete the system of modern astronomy. From Archimedes, who himself rejected it, we learn that Aristarchus believed the earth to revolve in a circle of which the sun was the immovable centre, the fixed stars being also motionless—that he assigned to the earth a rotation on its own axis, and that he explained the apparent

annual motion of the sun in the ecliptic by supposing the orbit of the earth to be inclined to its axis. Like Anaxagoras, Aristarchus was held by his opponents to be guilty of impiety; but men were more tolerant then than in the days of Pericles or Galileo; and Cleanthes could only vent in words his indignation at the boldness which dared to set the hearth of the universe in motion.

The Alexandrian school of astronomy is preeminently distinguished by the names of Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy. Between the two latter there intervened a period of nearly 300 years, during which the practical astronomy of the Greeks made little progress. But, in the words of Sir Cornewall Lewis, it had already achieved some signal triumphs over the superficial impressions of the senses; and, lacking many modern inventions (more especially the clock and the telescope), it accomplished fully as much as could be expected from it. The doctrine of epicycles, which Apollonius substituted for that of revolving spheres as applied by Hipparchus, had explained in detail the motions of the sun and moon; and the Greeks had learned to regard the earth as a solid sphere, and the heavenly bodies as moving uniformly in circular orbits. To measure fairly the value of the results so gained, we have to remember that the doctrine of the earth's figure is now a matter of physical geography. The problem has been solved by the experience of the eye:—

'With the ancients it was otherwise. This doctrine with them rested almost exclusively on astronomical grounds, and it was only reached by a gradual advance of astronomical reasoning. The conception of the fixed stars as revolving in a solid sphere round the earth was perhaps not difficult of attainment; but the reduction of the motions of the sun, moon, and five planets to circular orbits, was far removed from ordinary ideas, and implied deep concentrated thought and scientific abstraction. The theory of composite spheres devised by Eudoxus, and developed by Callippus and Aristotle, was ingenious, and required much geometrical resource; but it was intricate, and it failed in the essential point of explaining all the phenomena. The Apollonian and Hipparchian theory of eccentrics and epicycles proceeded on the same astronomical basis; it was more intricate, but it exhibited more geometrical subtlety, and it accomplished the important end of explaining all the known phenomena.' (*Astronomy*, p. 210.)

If we are inclined to wonder that the simpler scheme of Aristarchus failed to supplant a system so complicated, Sir Cornewall Lewis bids us remember that his hypothesis, like that of Copernicus, appeared to contradict both our reason and the evidence of our senses. It is natural to conceive that a

revolving body is influenced by that round which it turns and must always be directed to it as to a centre. Copernicus himself 'supposed the axis of the earth to be always turned towards the 'sun. It was reserved to Kepler to propound the hypothesis 'of the constant parallelism of the earth's axis to itself.'

The origin of the Greek science of astronomy, which, with all its strained and groundless guess-work, exhibits the real efforts of men to discern the laws of the universe, involves questions connected directly with the history of the great empires of the Eastern world. Was it from the first as completely their own as their art, their poetry and their freedom? or had the keen intellect and quick imagination, which clothed in its garb of exquisite beauty a mythology shared in common with the Roman and the Teuton, simply moulded into system scientific ideas which it had received elsewhere? The Egyptian in this case claimed to be the teacher; and the later Greeks made no resistance to the claim. It remains to be seen whether it had any foundation in fact.

By Thales, who is stated to have gained his knowledge in Egypt, the Egyptians are also said to have been taught how to measure the pyramids. The assertion is not more likely than that he discovered the seasons; and his speculations on the risings of the Nile would not prove that he had even seen it. Sir Cornewall Lewis remarks that Herodotus speaks of the opinion that it was caused by the Etesian winds without mentioning Thales; and the phenomenon was one which attracted the attention of Greek observers in general. The reports of the sojourn of Anaxagoras in Egypt Sir Cornewall Lewis affirms to be a mere figment of later writers. The words of Marcellinus would equally authenticate the golden thigh of Pythagoras. The Egyptian origin of the Metonic cycle rests on the authority of the Scholiast on a passage of the astronomical poet Aratus. Democritus of Abdera unquestionably visited Egypt as well as other countries; but he affirms his own superiority, whether to Egyptians or others, in geometrical demonstrations. Plato, who speaks of some of the planets as being first named by Egyptians, yet calls them by names which are distinctively Greek. The accounts given of the visit of Eudoxus are inconsistent; and it is at least clear that he could not have been in Egypt in company with Plato; but Sir Cornewall Lewis admits that the fact of the visit is well attested, 'that the Egyptians preceded the Greeks as prac-'tical observers of the celestial bodies, and that they had at the 'beginning of the fourth century before Christ, accumulated a 'larger stock of astronomical facts than their more intelligent

'and more scientific neighbours' (p. 157.). He adds, however, that Aristotle makes no mention of Egyptian astronomical treatises, or indeed of anything received from them in writing. It is not pretended that Aristotle or later writers derived their knowledge from Egypt; and the plea that they revealed to Hipparchus the precession of the equinoxes discovered by that illustrious astronomer, Sir Cornewall Lewis pronounces to be a purely gratuitous assumption. On the visit of Pythagoras he remarks that, like the mediæval chroniclers, each successive writer seems to know more than his predecessors. But if Egypt was not the parent of Greek astronomy, it cannot claim with greater truth to have originated that of Rome. It is said that Cæsar, who wrote a learned treatise on the motions of the stars, received instruction in Egypt; but he received it not at the hands of Egyptian priests, but in the Greek school of Alexandria.

If the relative precedence of Egyptian and Asiatic astronomers were to be determined by their own assertions, we should have simply to reject a mass of claims and counter-claims, all equally incredible and absurd. The wildest legends may have some foundation in fact. The tale of Troy may conceivably have arisen from some historical war; but no test is at hand by which we may sever the facts from the fable. We can make nothing out of statements which tell us that Zeus Belus taught the Syrians astronomy, or that Egyptian and Chaldæan observations extended over three or four or five hundred thousand years. The legend that Belus, son of Libya, led a colony from Egypt to Babylon, may mean that the people and the science of the latter country are older than the former; but we cannot affirm or deny it. The debt due from Greece to Egypt was expressly repudiated by Hipparchus; but, if taken in their widest meaning, the statements of Greek writers come to no more than this,— that in their time the Egyptians had amassed a store of astronomical observations,— that they had a calendar scarcely so accurate as the Greek,— and that they used sundials for the notation of time. The accounts of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo do not agree as to the length of the Egyptian year, or the number of its days. If there is nothing to contradict Herodotus, when he says that the Egyptians were careful in recording the occurrence of unusual phenomena, there are yet the more significant facts, that no single Egyptian astronomer is known to us by name, and that even Ptolemy never mentions any observation made by a native Egyptian.*

* Astronomy, p. 287.

They had laid up materials for scientific induction; and of these the Greeks may doubtless have availed themselves. Of an Egyptian astronomy which attempted to explain the movements of the heavens, there is not the faintest trace. With the records of phenomena they began; and, in accordance with all the characteristics of Eastern intellect, with these they ended. The most that can be said for Egypt is that, if its science was meagre and its influence weak, they seem both to have been at the least harmless.

It was otherwise with the Babylonians.

'If the East could not give science to the West, it could give superstition. If it could not give astronomy, it could give astrology. Though it could not guide, it could pervert the human intellect. Its soil, though incapable of producing plants fit for the food of man, could generate poisons.' (*Astronomy*, p. 291.)

The great gift of Syrian science was the boon of genethliac astrology. The Egyptians drew from the day of birth omens of the life which was to follow; but these signs were not connected with the stars. The Greeks observed the heavenly bodies, but they went no further than to associate them with the recurrence of certain seasons, and to see in them tokens of atmospheric changes. The divination of the Greeks and Romans lay in the interpretation of oracles and dreams, in augury and meteoric signs, as well as prodigies of every kind. It was the special work of Chaldæan astronomers to link the fortunes of man with the position of planets at his birth, and to draw out into elaborate system a superstition which more than almost any other dwarfs and cripples the human intellect. Against this system the Greek astronomers raised their voice; the laws of Rome forbad its practice. But the superstition of Sulla was a type of the temper of his countrymen; and the Greeks, instead of regarding the rising of stars as accompanying signs, had only to look on them as the causes of atmospheric change, to open the door for the astrological system of Assyria. In Egypt then that system was an exotic, not less than at Athens or Rome; but Egyptian vanity, or the weakness of Egyptian intellect, was dazzled by the mysterious art; and forged treatises sprang up in abundance to prove that it was of ancient and indigenous growth.

But, whether harmless or hurtful, the science of Egypt and Syria is inseparably linked with their civil history. The scientific literature of those countries has perished, if it ever existed; and the record of events, whether drawn from written lists or monumental inscriptions, ceases to be of positive value, unless they can be ranged in true chronological order. The

poets of the Greek heroic age had some acquaintance with the land of the Nile; but it was not before the days of Psammeticbus that the country was really opened to Greek commerce, nor much before those of Amasis that we can be said to approach a contemporary history. How far beyond that time their astronomical observations extended, can be determined only on some real knowledge of the political history of the country.

That history has been recovered or reconstructed by modern Egyptologists, and the results, it would seem, are these. In a paradise, whose southern boundary was the 40th degree of northern latitude, but in which, nevertheless, flowed the Tigris and Euphrates, man (or at least that stock from which the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian races alike are sprung) came into being.* But Virgil tells us that the world was born in the genial days of spring; and it would be monstrous to suppose that man would be created in a temperature which could not fail to stunt his growth and dwarf his intellect. Now astronomers say that the greatest deviations of the earth's axis fall in cycles of 21,000 years; and 'the consequence of these deviations is a 'change of the proportions of cold and heat at the poles, the 'greatest of which gives eight days more cold or heat.'† The year 1248 of our era marked the end of one of these periods. By calculating backwards 5250 years from 1248 we arrive at a time when the seasons in the northern hemisphere were *in equilibrio.* So again in B.C. 9252 the cold had attained its maximum, and B.C. 19752 marks therefore the most favourable time next preceding. This then was the birth year of mankind. In those days all beyond 53° N.L. was an open sea, in which the Ural stood out as an island; and in the country which lay to the south of it, between the 60th and 100th meridians of longitude, the foundations of human society were laid. Here language was evolved from that consciousness of a personal God and of a living law of causation, which alone rendered either language or religion possible.‡ Here, at the end of the first 5000 years, 'the earliest polarisation of religious conscious-'ness issued in that formation of pure agglutinative speech which 'was the Eastern polarisation of Sinism;' and the germs of mythology became visible 'in the substantiation of inanimate 'things and properties.'§ But the unfavourable time was drawing nigh; and the eight days more of cold in the middle of the eleventh millennium sufficed to bring about a convulsion of nature which expelled man from his first home, and froze while

* Egypt's Place, vol. iv. p. 557.
† Ib. vol. iv. p. 53.
‡ Ib. vol. iv. p. 554.
§ Ib. vol. iv. p. 846.

it drove back the open northern sea. The great stream of migration began to flow westwards; but Egypt had been already peopled by settlers, who had therefore no traditions of a flood. In the millennium preceding that catastrophe, Egyptian nationality began in the foundation of Nomes or independent tribes, and in Osirism, or the psychical element of religion. The year 9086 B.C. closed the republican period; and a dynasty of sacerdotal kings, who reigned down to 7231, was followed by a series of elective monarchs, and these by a double contemporaneous line of hereditary princes, whose rule ended in 3624, when under Menes all Egypt was united under a single government. This period marks the introduction of animal worship and the beginning of Egyptian literature. The dynasty of Menes ended with the fifth king, Pemphos, in B.C. 3434. To the second or third dynasty belongs Gosormies or Sesostosis, the great lawgiver, the Sesostris of Herodotus, B.C. 3319, and Mares Sesorcheres, the builder of the oldest pyramid of Dashur. In the fourth are found Saophis II., the builder of the largest pyramid, and Menkeres I., who built the third pyramid.*

* The Egyptologists affirm that the names Suphis and Menkeres have been deciphered in the pyramids, of which Herodotus mentions Cheops and Mykerinus as the builders. If it may therefore be held that kings so named raised these structures, the pyramids tell us nothing to fix their date. A comparison of them with other Egyptian buildings may assign them to a particular age on architectural evidence; and if it can be proved on such evidence that the pyramids belong to the earliest period of Egyptian architecture, we should have some approximate notion of the time at which these kings lived. Sir Cornewall Lewis has examined minutely the reasons for assuming the great antiquity of buildings in Egypt, and comes to the conclusion that there is no sufficient ground for placing any of them at a date anterior to that of the building of the Temple of Solomon, 1012 B. C. (*Astronomy*, p. 440.) This conclusion has been received by some with 'profound astonishment.' Yet it is obvious that Sir Cornewall Lewis does not fix their date. His assertion is simply that we have no *historical* warrant for assigning to them any greater age. Architectural evidence will only give the order of styles. Supposing that English history were a blank, we might, by a diligent comparison of Romanesque and Gothic buildings, assert that the nave of Durham was older than that of Westminster, and the latter than the chapel of Henry VII. But unless we could further compare them with similar buildings in other lands, of which the date was historically ascertained, we could not assign them to any particular century, still less to any particular part of a century. According to Herodotus, the pyramid kings reigned from about 913 to 813 B. C. Other writers assign to them an earlier date. Astronomers, who tell us that 3970 years ago, the star γ Draconis fulfilled

To the sixth dynasty (B.C. 2953—2948) belongs Nitocris, the rosy-cheeked queen, whom Herodotus confounded with the Greek Hetæra of an age not much preceding his own. The second king of the twelfth dynasty is Sesortosis Ammenemes (2755—2733), in whose reign the regal power, with that of the priests, was consolidated by his viceroy Joseph,—the arrival of Jacob in Egypt taking place B.C. 2743. He was followed by Sesortosis, the author of the Canal system* and the land-tax. The year 2547 marks the conquest of Egypt by the Amalika or Amalekites, assisted by the Philistæans. The Hycsos dynasties, then established, held the native princes as their tributaries for about 900 years.† The rise of the eighteenth dynasty, in 1625 B.C., was accompanied by the expulsion or withdrawal of the Hycsos, and the bondage of the Israelites. To the nineteenth belong Sethos I. the Great,—the mighty conqueror who subjugates Cyprus, Phœnicia, Assyria, and Media (1403—1391 B.C.)—and his son, Ramesses II., who, unworthily bearing the same title, was the builder of the great temple of Karnak and the oppressor of the Hebrews. His son Menophthah, on the departure of the Jews after a sojourn in Egypt of more than a thousand years,

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the office of a pole-star, accept that date for the pyramids (B. C. 2123 for the Great Pyramid), because they have openings on the north side, 'leading to straight passages which descend at an inclination 'varying from 26° to 27°, the direction of these passages being in 'all cases parallel to the meridian; now if we suppose a person to be 'stationed at the bottom of any one of these passages and to look up 'it, as he would through the tube of a telescope, his eye will be 'directed to a point in the meridian 26° or 27° above the plane of 'the horizon; and this is precisely the altitude at which the star 'γ Draconis must have passed the lower meridian at the place in 'question 3970 years before the present time.' (*Chambers' Handbook of Astronomy*, p. 270.) It might have been thought that the astronomical argument would be especially acceptable to Baron Bunsen; but it did not fit in with his scheme, and the pyramids are therefore thrown further back by more than a thousand years.

* Herodotus ascribes the Egyptian canals to the warrior Sesostris, who according to his scheme reigned in the eleventh century B. C. Bunsen (Egypt's Place, vol. ii. p. 300.) asserts that these canals must have been dug at the commencement of Egyptian civilisation, and that they must therefore be transferred from Sesostris the warrior to Sesostris the lawgiver, whom he states to have reigned in the fourth millennium B. C.

† It has been well urged that history furnishes no parallel to the hostile occupation of a country for so many centuries without either bringing about a successful rebellion, or the amalgamation of the conquering with the conquered race. Not more than one inscription is said to be the work of these invaders.

was compelled to retire into Ethiopia, with his son Sethos, then five years old. The conquests of Ramesses III. in Canaan, Phœnicia, and Ethiopia fall about 1280 B.C. The twenty-third dynasty began with Petorbates, 813 B.C., and closed with Zet, 725 B.C. The twenty-fourth consists of a single king, Bocchoris, who attempts internal reforms and is defeated by the Ethiopians. The next dynasty is followed by the dodecarchy; and the reign of Psamtik, the fourth king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, began 664 B.C. The names of his successors, closing with Psammekheres, are given in the order of Herodotus.

All this may have happened after the manner arranged by Baron Bunsen. But the intrinsic possibility of a history is no measure of its credibility. No narrative of the civil wars of England could appear more credible than the account of the war at Troy by Thucydides. Yet it is the account of a strife in which Aphrodite appeared to do battle for Æneas, and in which Sleep and Death bore away the dead Sarpedon on their noiseless wings. The version of Thucydides falls to the ground, because we have no means of proving its truth; but the marvels, and still more the contradictions, in the Trojan legend are as nothing compared with those which beset the thorny paths of Egyptology. Four writers at different times have left us an outline of the whole or of portions of Egyptian history. All four profess to have derived their knowledge from the same source, and, except in the period which succeeds the dodecarchy, these accounts seem to be utterly irreconcileable. If we are confined altogether to a comparison of these, there would indeed be no alternative but to reject them all. But the Egyptologists have found a refuge in the hieroglyphical records; and the old monuments of the people are said to furnish the groundwork for the verification of their history. Every Egyptian building is full of such inscriptions; and it is asserted that the key has been found, not only for deciphering them, but for constructing the whole grammar and dictionary of the language to which they belong. Sir Cornewall Lewis has stated with singular force and clearness the difficulties which stand in the way of such an achievement, and the enormous demands which it makes on our faith or our credulity.* The language is dead; its

* In reference to hieroglyphical interpretation, Sir Cornewall Lewis speaks only of the discoveries of Champollion. The omission of Young's name may cause some surprise; but while it is admitted on all sides that Champollion drew out a system where Young at most had only thrown out hints, it was unnecessary to determine the precise degree of merit attaching to either. According to Bunsen, Young's mistakes were greater than his successes. In 1815, we are

tradition has been broken for centuries; and the accounts which the old writers give of the Egyptian system of writing are not more consistent than their lists of successive or contemporary dynasties. The modern Coptic first made its appearance in the third century of our era. Its alphabet is almost wholly Greek; the relics of its literature almost entirely liturgical. Yet, however much we may doubt its applicability to hieroglyphical interpretation, the affinity of the Coptic with the old language of Egypt does not therefore fall to the ground. The modern Italian is sprung not from the old Latin, but from the dialects which formed the speech of the people while Latin was the literary language of Rome. It seems, at the least, equally probable that the modern Coptic may stand in a somewhat similar relation to the old sacerdotal language. That affinity might perhaps have been at once determined, if the old writing had been easily legible. But here lay the great mystery. The system was clearly a highly complicated one: how complicated, it was impossible to judge. To apply the analogy of cipher-writing was useless; because a cipher 'is a contrivance for disguising 'the alphabetical writing of a known language by a conven-'tional change of characters.'* There remained no hope but in the discovery of some record with its translation affixed; and this was supplied by the celebrated Rosetta Stone, and by the identification of the proper names which occur in it. The name of one of the Ptolemies was found also in an inscription on the small obelisk of Philæ; and the ring containing it was found to correspond with the one previously deciphered by Young. The occurrence of the name Cleopatra in the latter inscription supplied further the signs for *l, o, p, a, t* †; and a more extended examination revealed the fact that, both in the hieroglyphic, hieratic and euchorial writing, symbolical and alphabetical characters were intermingled, and that there were *homophone* signs, or different figures representing one and the same sound.‡ This latter hypothesis was rendered necessary by the fact that the language had only fifteen sounds, while the sounds discovered amounted to 200. A pure alphabet of such a kind would

told, that he went so far as to deny the existence of an alphabetic element in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic character; and his latest inquiries 'led him in many points still farther from the truth.' (Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 319, &c.) Sir G. Lewis remarks that the sudden illumination of Champollion in interpreting these monuments wears a suspicious appearance; and it is clear that his method has not been found altogether sufficient by his successors.

* Astronomy, p. 379. † Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 327.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 326.

be, as Baron Bunsen admits, not easy to comprehend; and the further discovery was made, that by far the greater part of the characters in Champollion's alphabet were not purely phonetic, i. e. not capable of universal application. The existence of the remaining thirty-four signs (on an average two for each sound), was explained by the necessity 'of employing sometimes a hori-'zontal, sometimes a perpendicular sign, sometimes a long, 'sometimes a broad figure, in order to give an artistic shape 'and finish to each group of words.'*

With this apparatus and with these assumptions, Champollion and his disciples proceeded to reconstruct the old language of the Egyptian priests. The venture was perilous, yet it would be rash to deny that the proper names have been rightly deciphered, or to assert that the more modern Coptic can furnish no analogy or guidance in the process of interpretation. A review of Baron Bunsen's Egyptian dictionary will show that these analogies are frequently wanting, and sometimes very far-fetched. But the greatest trial of our faith comes in the meanings attached to the five or six hundred words which make up the Egyptian lexicon. Several hundreds or thousands more have, it is said, been now discovered; but if their meanings are equally varied, it is not easy to see what purpose they can answer, except to render more perplexing a task already next to impossible. Not only may different signs stand for the same sounds; but the same sounds may signify a dozen things which have not the slightest apparent connexion with each other, while the same thing, to heighten the wonder, may have several names. It is true that there are 164 determinatives; but, inasmuch as a 'club' is determinative of 'names of foreigners,' 'to create,' and 'wicked,' and an 'eye' of 'to adorn,' 'to see,' 'to raise up,' 'to suspend,' 'to consent,' 'to conceive,' to 'imagine,' &c., the limitation would yet appear to leave a large margin for conjecture. Still any help must be welcome to the students of a language in which the word *ama* may mean 'a 'lark,' 'to be flogged,' 'sunbeams,' and 'to place,' while the word *ha* may have any of the following meanings, 'a cow,' 'to begin,' 'to go before,' 'a husband,' 'a duck,' 'a substance,' 'O hail,' 'a 'day,' 'to set up,' 'duration,' 'an elegant kind of boat,' 'field 'clay,' 'to rejoice,' 'joy,' 'the head,' 'a limb,' 'self,' 'also.' It is surprising that in this labyrinth, to which that of Mœris or Dædalus would be simplicity itself, recent Egyptologists are inclined to reject the slender aid which may be furnished by the analogy of Coptic, and to believe that it was used by Champollion 'rather as a justification to the world of the truth of his

* Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 333.

'statements than as the means of his interpretations.'* Yet perhaps not much is lost by casting aside a reed which may pierce the hand that leans on it.†

But if the system of the Egyptologists be the true one, then over the hieroglyphic writing rests the same mystery which makes the political history of the country a bewildering enigma. We start with the fact (which Sir Cornewall Lewis rightly terms utterly incredible), that this writing was not confined to the priests, but common to all educated classes, and that this system 'of so much intricacy, consisting of ideographic, syllabic, pho-'netic, and determinative symbols, with a large class of homo-'phones, or alternative signs for the same sound, should have 'remained in common use by a whole nation for twenty-two 'centuries without alteration.'‡ And then, knowing that for hundreds of years the country was accessible to Greeks and Romans, we are startled by finding not only that they did not believe those inscriptions to contain history, or, believing it, made not the least effort to preserve it, but that the accounts left to us of the Egyptian system of writing differ altogether from the explanation given by modern Egyptologists. The latter represent it as a system which, in its several forms, exhibits a combination of ideographic and alphabetical signs, the former having a phonetic power not less than the latter. The accounts of Chæremon, Horapollo, and Ammianus Marcellinus describe it as ideographic, and not alphabetical, and exclude the idea of phonetic power. Clement of Alexandria speaks of three characters, the epistolographic, the hieratic, and hieroglyphic. This last he divides into phonetic and symbolical; the latter again into tropical, allegorical, and enigmatical; implying, it would seem, that all were kept distinct. As it stands, the text of Clement does not suit Bunsen's theory in all respects; but a slight freedom of interpretation brings it into harmony. 'Clemens might have expressed himself better and more clearly; 'but it is sufficient to establish any sense for words which 'otherwise can have none at all.'§

Finally, on the supposition that the hieroglyphics have been rightly deciphered and the language at once rightly restored and rightly interpreted, comes the fatal conclusion that no

* Astronomy, p. 390.

† Sir Cornewall Lewis has selected some good examples from the many which show how impossible it is in all cases to determine the etymology of a word from a knowledge of its meaning. Many more may be found scattered throughout Professor Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language.

‡ Astronomy, p. 393. § Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 341.

greater certainty has been attained by aid of these monumental records than had been reached without them. Inscriptions have been found in which courtiers flatter kings and kings glorify themselves; lists of dynasties with names of rulers, some with a scanty notice, many more with none. Buildings have been examined, and the titles of those who raised them deciphered on their walls. Here and there have been found some astronomical records, but with nothing on which to raise up a chronology. All the researches of Egyptologists have failed to discover an era. There is nothing to surprise us in this failure. No trace of such an era is found in Herodotus or Thucydides, and they who do not adopt Baron Bunsen's estimate of Egyptian intellect, will not expect to find one among the subjects of Cheops or Sesostris. The disappointment was keenly felt; and M. Bunsen mourns over lost books of Manetho, lost chronicles of the priests, lost historical songs, the existence of which he assumes, just as Niebuhr mourned over the lost epic of regal Rome, and the lost annals of the Pontiffs. Like Niebuhr, M. Bunsen struggles hard to invest with a historical character books which were either legendary or liturgical. The volumes carried by the Chanter, the Horoscopos and the Hierogrammateus are exalted to a dignity which they merit far less than the mythical chronicles of Hecatæus and Hellanicus. With a less pardonable license he assumes the existence of a key, lost to us, which might have unlocked the mysteries of the lists preserved by the Egyptian priests, and which was actually used for that purpose. For lack of this he is thrown back on what the profane might term speculation, but what in Egyptology is a happy power of divination; and the right understanding of the lists is made to depend on a special faculty which answers to the converted state in the theology of the Puritan. But some misgiving still lurks in his mind. Although the national records were in the sacred guardianship of the priests, and although the predominant passion of the Egyptians was to preserve the history of their country in uncorrupted integrity, he admits that they exaggerated the dates of their history (i. 6.), that their chronology was not free from artificial elements (i. 68.), and that the priests were not altogether guiltless of imposture (i. 102.). He allows that the inscriptions on public buildings were not intended to convey any historical information (vol. iii. p. 101.), and that by adopting 'a delusive pivot as the basis of his researches, Champollion 'was led astray in his dates to the extent of several centuries.' (i. 222.) It is needless to cite further confessions that the ground on which he treads is not altogether sound, and that

none can hope to follow him who are not prepared to readjust dynastic lists, to take a king from the place assigned to him by Herodotus and transfer him to that which is given to him by Manetho, or to put him in one which is allotted to him by neither, or to cut him into two or three kings whose lifetime was separated by hundreds or thousands of years. It may well excite indignation in those who do not choose wilfully to blind themselves, when they are invited to accept M. Bunsen's solution of the contradictions in Herodotus and later writers. We are told that the priests really had historical records. We are told that this hieroglyphical writing was intelligible to all educated men; and then we find that these priests were in the habit of giving to foreigners different accounts at different times. It is impossible to insist too strongly on the fact that Herodotus and Diodorus rest their narrative on the authority of the Egyptian priests. Manetho himself enjoyed, it is said, a high position among the priestly caste; and the favour with which Baron Bunsen regards Eratosthenes is perhaps a sufficient proof that the source of his information was a good one. Yet after all his efforts, the attempt to reconcile these several statements is a complete and hopeless failure. In Herodotus Sesostris comes next after Mœris, 1046 B.C. In Manetho he is the third king of the twelfth dynasty, 3404 B.C. In Diodorus he is separated from Mœris by seven generations, and appears under the name of Sesoosis; but the notices appended agree precisely with those of Herodotus. Egyptology makes short work of all.

'Bunsen first takes a portion of him, and identifies it with Tosorthrus (written Sesorthus by Eusebius), the second king of the third dynasty, whose date is 5119 B. C., being a difference in the dates of 1799 years—about the same interval as between Augustus Cæsar and Napoleon. He then takes another portion, and identifies it with Sesonchosis, a king of the twelfth dynasty; a third portion of Sesostris is finally assigned to himself. It seems that these fragments make up the entire Sesostris, who in his plural unity belongs to the Ancient Empire; but it is added that the Greeks confounded him with Ramesses or Ramses of the New Empire, a king of the nineteenth dynasty, whose date is 1255 B.C.; who again was confounded with his father Sethos, which name again was transmuted into Sethosis and Sesosis.' (*Astronomy*, p. 369.)

Sir Cornewall Lewis is perhaps too rigid in his remarks on changes of Egyptian proper names. The language was doubtless hard to pronounce. Diabaes may be the same name as Miebaes, Mempsis as Semempsis, Sesostris as Sesorcheres; but the transpositions and transformations to which Bunsen resorts whenever they are needed are a mere juggle. Bunsen raised Sesostris to the third dynasty; Lepsius brings him down

to the nineteenth. Sir Cornewall Lewis may well ask what we should think

'If a new school of writers on the history of France, entitling themselves Francologists, were to arise, in which one of the leading critics were to deny that Louis XIV. lived in the seventeenth century, and were to identify him with Hercules, or Romulus, or Cyrus, or Alexander the Great, or Cæsar, or Charlemagne; while another leading critic of the same school, agreeing in the rejection of the received hypothesis as to his being the successor of Louis XIII., were to identify him with Napoleon I. or Louis Napoleon.' (*Astronomy*, p. 370.)

After all, the eagles are fighting over dry bones.

'The Egyptian dynasties of Manetho are a mere bead-roll or string of names, accompanied, at rare intervals, with a notice of some fabulous event. Such naked lists, even if they were founded on contemporary registration, would be valueless for historical purposes. We should gain nothing from a list of victors at the Olympic Games, if nothing else was preserved to us of Greek antiquity. To be told that Saites, Bnon, Pachnan, Staan, Archles, and Aphobis were the six kings of the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned over Egypt from 2607 to 2324 B. C., conveys no available information. We should learn as much from an authentic account of the succession of a breed of crocodiles or hippopotami in the Nile, or of a series of sacred apes in a temple, for the same period.' (*Astronomy*, p. 358.)

With some astonishment and a sincere pity for great powers wasted and labour thrown away, we survey the huge and ill-cemented fabric which the Egyptologists have raised with so much ingenuity and so much patience.* The question resolves

* The method in which the recent interpreters of cuneiform writing have treated the early history of Assyria differs in no material respects from that of Egyptologists. The system of cuneiform writing is less intricate than that of the hieroglyphics. The tradition of the old Persian language stands on a very different footing from that of the literary dialect of the old Egyptians, and a marked distinction must be drawn between the Persian and Assyrian inscriptions. But even if it be granted that all the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto found have been rightly deciphered, the discovery has not been followed by any substantial results. Professor Rawlinson affirms, indeed, that each fresh discovery has tended to authenticate the chronology of Berosus (Herodotus, vol. i. p. 433.); but the narrative of Berosus is only one of many versions which might just as reasonably be thought to relate to different times and countries; and his historical method is stamped by the fact that he assigned 432,000 years to the antediluvian kings. Sir Cornewall Lewis has also remarked, that even the scientific doctrines of Berosus were founded on a fabulous basis, for his astronomical writings are

itself into first principles; the controversy hinges on the very nature of historical truth. To reject, or at least to suspend our judgment on, the most plausible narrative, unless it comes before us with a sufficient attestation, is a plain and homely rule, the observance of which would be fatal to all reconstructions of

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given in the form of a translation from a work of the primitive king Belus. Like the Egyptologists, then, the readers of inscribed bricks are thrown back on the accounts of Herodotus, Ctesias, and the other writers who treated of Assyrian history. Their contradictions are quite as great as those which are encountered by Bunsen; and the same machinery is employed to reconcile them. Here also we have no right to assume the existence of any authentic materials at the time when Herodotus or Ctesias drew up their history in the absence of any positive evidence from the inscriptions. Sir Cornewall Lewis has shown that there are no grounds whatever for thinking that Babylon and Nineveh were the capitals of independent contemporary kingdoms. 'The only trace of a distinction between the 'two is to be found in Herodotus, who describes Cyaxares as taking 'Nineveh, and reducing all the Assyrians with the exception of 'Babylon and its district, in 606 B. C. He seems to have supposed 'that Babylon retained its independence, as head of a fragment of the 'Assyrian Empire, until 538 B. C., when it was taken by Cyrus. His 'narrative, however, excludes the idea that Nineveh and Babylon 'were ever at the same time the seats of independent kingdoms.' (*Astronomy*, p. 424.) The celebrated inscription of Behistun has been invested with a greater historical authority than at the most it can be proved to possess. It is a document belonging undoubtedly to a time closely bordering on contemporary history. We may make use of it to correct or to reject some passages in Herodotus; but we have no means of testing its accuracy as a general narrative of events during the earlier years of the reign of Darius. To the Herodotean account of the conspiracy which overthrew the Magian usurpers, it gives a summary contradiction. But that the subsequent wars and conquests are accurately represented, is at best a presumption. Revolts rapidly succeeding each other are enumerated with apparent candour, and the energy of Darius seems to have been as severely taxed as that of a man who has fallen into a nest of hornets; but, while we have no means of testing his assertions, it would be an extreme rashness to place any absolute trust in a long catalogue of victories couched in the usual strain of Oriental self-laudation. It is possible, however, that for these statements further confirmation may be discovered; and the statements themselves are not intrinsically improbable. But when Sir H. Rawlinson settles a date in Berosus by one which Clinton assigns to Phoroneus, he resorts to the chronological arithmetic of Bunsen. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv. p. 222.) Phoroneus is as historical as the god whom Hecatæus claimed as his progenitor in the sixteenth generation.

history. To treat as certainties things which at the most can be but probable, still more to draw out a detailed chronology for events which are described with infinite contradictions, is to inflict a wound on our sense of truth from which it cannot easily recover. The task of decomposing and recombining narratives for which we can have no contemporary evidence, may give room for a display of learning; but the process is essentially unsound. Sir Cornewall Lewis has shown its worthlessness as applied by Niebuhr to the early history of Rome; but Bunsen's method is unsound in his treatment not only of history but of mythology and language. His process is one not of experimental analysis but of induction from arbitrary assumptions. In his eyes the statements of an inscription assume an authority which must not be questioned; and a building declares its own date, because it reveals its builder's name. No amount of inconsistency or contradiction can convince him that he is dealing with that which may be a fair subject for speculation, but is certainly no part of authentic history. Sir Cornewall Lewis holds that insoluble difficulties must present themselves when chronology 'is dissociated from history, 'handed down by conflicting authorities and reduced to an 'arithmetical puzzle.'* In Bunsen's eyes a chronological inquiry 'becomes simply confusing when mixed up with historical dis-'cussions.'† In his hands it is converted into a machine, which to one skilled in its use will readily yield any result required. He fearlessly begins the reconstruction of the chronology between Menes and Alexander with the question whether, if we had lists of the Roman emperors from Severus to Theodosius, unaccompanied by historical illustrations, we should be justified in making the sum of their reigns tally with the real time which elapsed between the two emperors. (vol. i. p. 84.) This, he sees, would involve serious error; but, instead of admitting that the lists would then be useless, he takes refuge in the poor assumptions that some reigns may have been reckoned conjointly, and a historical key annexed by which the real duration of each reign might be ascertained. The assumption that Egypt was for many centuries split up into independent nomes leads him to the belief that Menes created in the Egyptians a sense of their national unity. A similar argument would invest with a historical personality the shadowy forms of Theseus and of Numa. Menes, again, we are told drained the site of Memphis by means of a dyke, and so was enabled to lay the foundations of the city. (vol. ii. p. 49.) There would be but

* Astronomy, p. 374. † Egypt's Place, vol. iii. p. 98.

little boldness, by comparison with this, in fixing the day on which the Etruscan Tarquin laid the first stone of the great cloaca at Rome.

It is the same with his speculations on the origin of language, mythology, and theogony. When, after a minute analysis of language, Professor Max Müller finds that the primary predicative roots are all the expression of general ideas, and from this infers that the power of framing such ideas is the essential distinction between man and brute and the explanation of the faculty of speech, he arrives at a conclusion which may be wrong, but which at least is based on the evidence before him. When from the fact that the Homeric Zeus appears in the Vedic poems as the impersonal Dyaus or Heaven, that Leto is still the night, and Procris still the morning dew, he infers that mythology is the petrification of primæval language, and that all theogonies are the later results of this petrifying process, his reasoning is strictly in unison with his premisses. Professor Max Müller's view represents the original condition of man as exhibiting a strict analogy to childhood; and the evidence of language and comparative mythology fully bears him out in so doing. But it is either unintelligible or untrue to say that 'the 'coining of a word into a noun must from its nature be con-'sidered as the act implying a personal God, and the expression 'of the copula connecting subject and predicate, the formation 'of the verb substantive especially, is an unconscious assertion 'of the existence of God.' (vol. iv. p. 450.) The root of *cave*, we are told, is *ku* or *sku*, and this root expresses the general idea of hiding or shelter; but how does it express the knowledge of God or a consciousness of causation? What Baron Bunsen may mean by saying that 'a noun of an intellectual 'kind, such as the lightning or the thundering, is a mytholo-'gical art in the garb of language,' we do not profess to understand.

Beyond the confines of contemporary history there yet lies a wide field for legitimate research and patient thought. But that field can never be surveyed or examined to good purpose, unless we remember that we cannot convert probable conclusions into historical certainties. We can no more doubt the existence of the civilisation of which the Homeric poems are a picture, than we can doubt the existence of our own. We cannot bring ourselves to think that the mythical tales of patrician and plebeian struggles at Rome, or of Hycsos invasions in Egypt, have no reference to actual facts. We do not hesitate to believe that before the construction of a systematic theogony, human thought expressed itself in simple phrases which were

afterwards hardened into mythical language. Doubtless all these things had their eras. Doubtless there was a real time when men thought and spoke like Agamemnon and Odysseus, and a real society in which women like Nausicaa and Andromache rose high above the degradation of Athenian women in the days of Pericles. These things tell us of a past which was really present; but we do not presume to map it out with the exactness of the Annual Register. Sir Cornewall Lewis has well remarked that exaggeration in numbers is the sign of a barren and inactive rather than of a lively and inventive imagination. In an equal degree, the wish to assign dates to events on grounds of mere probability betrays a historical sense which is dangerously weak. It may be hard to abandon the house which we have built on sand, but the sum of human knowledge is increased by the confession of ignorance or uncertainty, where these are unavoidable. The development of language may be traced in successive stages, and each of these stages must have had its period; but the time which appears needed for them in the judgment of some, seems either too long or too short in that of others. In the misty and conflicting traditions of ancient Egypt we may discern the outlines of events which must have taken place in a certain order; but we have no means of determining what that order was, and we gain nothing by fixing the polarisation of Sinism in the eleventh millennium before the Christian era. We add nothing to our knowledge by distinguishing Sesostris the Lawgiver from Sesostris the Conqueror, or by attributing to Egyptian priests a learning which they never possessed. It would end a needless strife of words to confess that their history is as uncertain as their science was worthless.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life of The Right Hon. William Pitt.* By Earl STANHOPE. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1861-2.

2. *The Miscellaneous Writings of Lord Macaulay.* (*Biography of William Pitt.*) 2 vols. London: 1860.

3. *The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland, with a Preface and Introduction.* By the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Vols. III. and IV. London: 1862.

THE lapse of more than half a century since the death of Mr. Pitt may justly be assumed to have wrought that prescription which extinguishes the passions of contemporary politicians and vindicates the truth of history. With two or three illustrious exceptions, the generation of statesmen who entered public life before the career of Pitt was prematurely closed, is no longer represented amongst us; and the generation of statesmen who immediately succeeded him is also nearly extinct, although their influence may be said to have extended to the present day in the administrations of Mr. Canning, of Sir Robert Peel, and of Lord Palmerston. But the old Tory toasts of the Pitt clubs are as little remembered as the toasts of the Jacobites. The vast citadel of bigotry, intolerance, commercial protection, agricultural monopoly, and repressive government, in which the nation had fortified itself against the ravages and the terrors of the French Revolution, has successively lost its outworks and finally thrown open its gates. The spirit of the last years of the administration of Mr. Pitt, which rendered that period so dangerous to the liberties of the country, is forgotten; the intemperate Toryism of the first quarter of the present century has been purged and expiated by thirty years of uninterrupted progress and reform. The ascendancy of liberal principles over the minds of the whole community is now even more complete than the ascendancy of the political party, which in those dark and evil days was the only champion of the liberal cause. Party predilections may now be dismissed from our estimate of a statesman, who was once the type of party in our modern history, but who now belongs less to party than to the nation. Above the feverish contests of his hour the imposing figure of William Pitt has risen into permanent greatness; showing how far he stood above the narrow policy which was ignorantly and unjustly connected with his

name, and how largely he anticipated the great measures of reform which it was not his fate to realise and accomplish.

The biography of Mr. Pitt has therefore within the last few years been conceived and attempted by several of our most eminent writers, in a spirit equally remote from the wretched adulation of Tomline and Gifford, as from the attacks and calumnies of his political antagonists. It adds lustre even to the fame of Lord Macaulay that one of the last productions of his pen was the biographical essay, now included in his miscellaneous works, where he exposed, with his usual vivacity, the absurdities long current with the public, under the name of Pitt-principles, and paid a candid and dignified tribute to those qualities which are the true basis of Mr. Pitt's fame.

Amongst the historical writers who have in our time addressed themselves to this great subject, none, however, unites the qualifications which we desire in the biographer of Mr. Pitt, to so high a degree as Lord Stanhope. His earlier labours in the field of our annals, which have given us the best existing history of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the peace of 1783, terminated precisely at the moment when Mr. Pitt entered Lord Shelburne's administration. In one sense, therefore, the present biography may be regarded as a continuation of those 'seven decades' of the history of England which bear the name of Lord Mahon. From the date of the appearance of Mr. Pitt upon the stage of public affairs, Lord Stanhope appears to have thought that the interest of his narrative would be more effectually sustained by grouping the series of events around one central figure, and the history of the country becomes for eighteen years the life of its Minister. To the execution of this task Lord Stanhope brought, in addition to his eminent talents and his high sense of historical justice, peculiar advantages. He was born in Mr. Pitt's house, and bred in affectionate reverence for his name. Since the extinction of all the male lines of the Pitt family, which can boast of consanguinity with Chatham and the son of Chatham, the heir of the Stanhopes may fairly be regarded as one of the nearest representatives of that illustrious house to which his own was allied by more than one marriage. The traditions of these families, and many of the papers and pictures which denote their long and confidential intercourse, are in his own hands: other manuscripts found at Arniston, at Belvoir, and elsewhere, were readily confided to so discreet and judicious an investigator. Hence the materials collected for these volumes are copious and original. But the highest merit which Lord Stanhope displays in this work is that dispassionate love of truth and fairness which is so credit-

able to his writings. It is no exception to this remark that he avows his predilection for the statesman whose character he has undertaken to delineate, and endeavours to vindicate him from the strictures which have been passed upon many passages of his life. He clearly and calmly states the grounds which appear to him to refute a calumny, to explain an error, or to extenuate a fault. And, although we cannot always arrive at the same conclusions as his lordship, we are always assisted by the candour and liberality he brings to the discussion of these events. Since it has become the practice to open the archives of State and the correspondence of past generations to historical research, biographical writing has lost that terse and vigorous personality which characterise such inimitable productions of the art as the 'Life of Agricola' by Tacitus, or the 'Life of Nelson' by Southey. There we have a finished statue of the man — here we have a series of bas-reliefs of his actions; and the materials of history somewhat choke the course of the stream. In this respect Lord Macaulay's sketch still remains the boldest delineation of Pitt. Like a drawing from the crayon of a great master it speaks to the imagination and strikes the memory even more powerfully than a highly finished performance. But Lord Stanhope has supplied, with great care and fidelity, the background and the foreground of the picture, and his work will be universally read with interest and advantage.

Of the other work which has been placed at the head of these pages, it is not our intention to speak at equal length; though it has an important bearing on the subject of Mr. Pitt's administration. The third and fourth volumes of the 'Auckland Correspondence' complete the publication reviewed by us in a recent number; and they contain numerous letters from Mr. Pitt, or relating to him, to which we shall presently have occasion to refer. In one or two instances the Editor has endeavoured to refute, by evidence from the Auckland Papers, statements previously published by Lord Stanhope, who had not the advantage of access to these documents before the publication of his own work. But we cannot think these arguments are sound and judicious, and in some places the inference we draw from Lord Auckland's letters is precisely the reverse of that suggested by the Editor of these volumes. They are, however, a curious contribution to the materials for the history of these times.

It may be inferred from what we have already said, and from the failure of several previous attempts to write the life of Pitt, that he cannot be regarded as a very favourable subject for biography. The statesman almost entirely absorbs the individual

—the history of the man becomes the history of a government. Lord Macaulay had already rendered us familiar with the characteristic anecdotes of his boyhood—with that astonishing precocity which marked him from his cradle for an orator, a ruler, and a 'thorn in Charles' side'—and with the somewhat niggardly culture bestowed on his prodigious faculties. Seven years at Cambridge, which gave him a full command of classical literature and a remarkable proficiency in mathematical reasoning, are the history of Pitt's education. He passed at once from the University to the House of Commons, and with an interval of only two years to the head of affairs. How he acquired by these means, and in that time, the knowledge of men and of things which never seemed wanting to him in his parliamentary career, is one of the mysteries of genius. This much, however, is apparent at the outset—Mr. Pitt owed everything to the *concentration* of his character. Whatever he did, he did with his might; never allowing anything to interfere with his main design, and seldom caring to step aside, even to attain any collateral object within his reach; hence it was that when he stood confronted by the matchless intellect of Burke, by the eloquence of Fox, by the wit of Sheridan, by an array of men who excelled him in most of the arts and accomplishments of life, his single power was more than a match for the varied splendour of their genius. There was at the bottom no want of human kindness in that proud nature and beneath that surface of bronze. His letters to his mother are stiff, partly after the fashion of the time, but they indicate a deep-rooted affection and veneration for Lady Chatham; and they not unfrequently contain indications of that most pleasing and graceful of the attributes of power—the wish to confer a benefit on a humble friend, of whom nothing is to be expected in return. He was strong and stedfast, we had almost said warm, in his friendships. His early letters to the Duke of Rutland, that gifted and amiable young nobleman, not much older than himself, who held the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1784, and died in 1787, at thirty-three, are singularly cordial and unreserved; more so, indeed, than any other known specimen of his correspondence. His firm friendship for Henry Dundas, his unvarying confidence in George Rose, his deference to Bishop Tomline, his attachment to Canning, and his kindness to some of the junior branches of the Stanhope family, prove that the customary signature of 'affectionately yours,' which he addressed to his nearest friends, was not a mere form of words. Yet even these had occasion in later years to complain of the outward appearance at least of indifference, and of confidence too often or too long withheld.

Self-reliant, self-complete, from first to last, he asked, and indeed he endured, no divided authority and no auxiliary power. It would be difficult to name another example of a man who lived and laboured in equal solitariness of purpose. Those who surrounded him were satellites. Not even with a woman could he share the burden and the glory of empire. Careless of money to a fault, for he rejected all occasions of enriching himself, and allowed his large official income to be squandered by his servants—exempt from vanity, for he cared not even to rescue from oblivion the most memorable of his own orations, after they had served their political purpose—devoid of prejudices to a remarkable degree — and enslaved by no passions second to that noble passion of political power which absorbed his existence — Mr. Pitt owed his greatness to the singleness of aim which marked his life. Yet this austere Minister was no ascetic. He drank hard, after the fashion of the times; he rode hard, and we think it is Lady Hester Stanhope who relates that three or four grooms died successively in his service from the pace at which he travelled; he was a keen, though not a very successful shot; and during the only interval of his life when he was out of office, he applied himself with great energy to drill the Cinque Port Volunteers. Although by no means destitute of high literary culture, he was absolutely insensible to the personal claims of literary men; and although strongly attached to the established Church, and to the religion of his country, he appears in his last moments to have acknowledged with regret that he had been too unmindful of its rites.

On these points, Lord Auckland ventured, on one occasion, to address him in the following curious language:—

'It is not sufficient for the most eminent person of the eighteenth and nineteenth century to possess the learning, and a true taste for learning: it is not only wise in a worldly sense, but wise and right in every sense, that he should be the patron and encourager of the learned. From an impression analogous to this, I have also thought that it is not sufficient for such an individual as I have alluded to, to possess all the purity of mind, and all the strictness of morality, that genuine goodness and right religion can give:— it is essential, not merely to his own character (for that is a secondary point), but to the welfare and well-being of others, that appearances should correspond with internal sentiments, and that he should not be supposed to be indifferent to the discharge of religious observances.' (*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 108.)

Lord Stanhope says, from his father's personal reminiscences of this great Minister, that Mr. Pitt 'was a most agreeable 'and amiable, as well as most interesting companion, and

'had a vast fund of anecdotes which he narrated admirably, 'and with much power of mimicry.' Lord Wellesley even went so far as to assert, that 'in all places, and at all 'times, his constant delight was society. There he shone with 'a degree of calm and steady lustre more astonishing than his 'most splendid efforts in Parliament. He was endowed beyond 'any man of his time whom I knew with a gay heart and a 'social spirit.' But great as the authority of Lord Wellesley is, his enthusiasm seems to have tinged this description of his friend. Whatever Mr. Pitt's social talents may have been, they were certainly confined within a narrow circle, and he appears to have been indifferent through life to the amusements and distinctions of general society. Men duller than most of his intimate friends were scarcely to be found in Britain.

One solitary incident in his life appears to bear a more romantic character, and as this passage has been made the subject of contradictory statements, we shall here advert to it. Lord Stanhope relates the occurrence in the following terms:—

'Busy and anxious as was the year 1796, Mr. Pitt had found opportunities to pass some short intervals of leisure at Holwood. There his nearest neighbour was now Lord Auckland at Beckenham. A close intimacy sprang up between them.* Lord Auckland would often pass a day or two at Holwood, and Mr. Pitt a day or two at Beckenham.

'It was not only the conversation of Lord Auckland in which Mr. Pitt took pleasure. He was much attracted by the grace and beauty as well as the superior mind of Lord Auckland's eldest daughter, the Hon. Eleanor Eden. She was born in July 1777, and therefore only eight years younger than Pitt. It would have been a very suitable marriage; and a report of it was not long in arising.

'This strong attachment—for such on Pitt's side it certainly was—did not, as many persons hoped, proceed to a proposal and a marriage. Shortly afterwards, however, some correspondence did take place between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland. The letters remain in the possession of Lord Auckland's family, and there are neither copies nor originals among the manuscripts of Pitt. But I have heard them described by a person entirely to be relied on who has more than once perused them. Mr. Pitt began the subject. In his letter to Lord Auckland he avows in the warmest terms his affection for Miss Eden, but explains that in his circumstances he feels that he cannot presume to make her an offer of marriage. He further says that he finds each

* The intimacy between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland may be said to have commenced fully ten years before, when he quitted the Whigs and was employed in the negotiation of the French Treaty. Miss Eden was not *eight*, but *eighteen* years younger than Mr. Pitt, she being at this time nineteen, and he thirty-seven.

of his succeeding visits add so much to his unhappiness, that he thinks it will be best to remit them for the present.

'The reply of Lord Auckland, as I am informed, acknowledges as adequate the explanation of Mr. Pitt. He was already, he says, aware in general of the circumstances of pecuniary debt and difficulty in which Mr. Pitt had become involved. He does not deny that the attachment of Mr. Pitt may have been fully appreciated; but he cannot wish any more than Mr. Pitt that his daughter, who, as one of many children, had a very small fortune of her own, should, under some contingencies of office or of life, be left wholly unprovided.

'There were yet two further letters as to the manner in which the notes of congratulation which had already begun to arrive at Beckenham might best be answered. Pitt answered that the blame, if any, should be borne wholly by himself.

'Thus most honourably, and without any breach of friendship on either side, ended this "love-passage"—the only one, as I believe, in the life of Pitt. More than two years afterwards, in June 1799, Miss Eden became the second wife of Lord Hobart, who succeeded in 1804 as Earl of Buckinghamshire. She had no children, and she died in 1851.' (*Stanhope*, vol. iii. p. 1.)

This statement is, however, impugned by the Editor of the 'Auckland Correspondence' in a postscript to his fourth volume, in which he states that 'a long and painful discussion took place 'on that occasion, which terminated honourably to all parties 'concerned.' The Editor denies that 'Lord Auckland was in 'the slightest degree averse to the marriage on account of Mr. 'Pitt's pecuniary difficulties: on the contrary, believing that 'his daughter was attached to Mr. Pitt, he was naturally 'anxious that it should take place.' In point of fact, it would seem, from a previous passage of the Auckland Papers (vol. iii. p. 374.), that several letters passed between Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt *suggesting arrangements* by which the marriage might take place in time without imprudence; but they were unavailing, and Mr. Pitt declared that 'though he was sacrificing his 'best hopes and dearest wishes to his convictions and judg-'ment, further discussion would only lead to prolonged sus-'pense and increased anxiety.' We therefore conclude that the arrangements favourable to the marriage were in fact suggested by Lord Auckland — a man certainly not insensible to the dignity and advantage of having Mr. Pitt for his son-in-law—and that it was Mr. Pitt who broke off the negotiation, having apparently acted throughout the transaction with great delicacy and self-command. Traces occur in the Auckland Papers indicating the affectionate interest with which Mr. Pitt continued to regard Miss Eden until her marriage was declared with Lord Hobart, in 1799. On that occasion he addressed to her father the following expressive note:—

Private.

'My dear Lord,—I have heard from the Speaker the circumstance you desired him to mention, and give you many thanks for your very kind attention in making the communication, and in making him the channel of it. There could be no event interesting to any part of your family which would not be so to me, and certainly this is not the instance when I feel that sentiment the least. I congratulate you and all around you with the most cordial good wishes.

'Ever affectionately yours,

'W. Pitt.'

And some short time later, soon after the marriage, which was celebrated by a ball, he writes from Bromley:—

'My dear Lord,—I dine here with some of your guests, but shall pursue my ride to Holwood when they repair to the crowd and gaiety of your ball. I hope very soon to have leisure to come to you when you are with a smaller party.' (*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 98.)

It is not our intention on the present occasion to revert to the ministerial changes and combinations in which Mr. Pitt was engaged, or to discuss his conduct in reference to those transactions. These topics have recently been examined at length in our own pages, and in several other contemporary publications, and we have nothing now to add to our former comments upon them. We shall, therefore, attempt rather to point out from Lord Stanhope's volumes what were the leading features of Mr. Pitt's administration, and to show how far Mr. Pitt's actual achievements fell short of the principles from which he started. The standard, after all, by which the reputation of a statesman must stand or fall in the great account of history, is not by what he said, however wise or eloquent, nor even by what he was, however firm and disinterested, but by what he did for the greatness of his country and the good of mankind: and this is the test which we shall endeavour to apply to the political career and public services of Pitt.

Lord Macaulay has recorded his opinion that Pitt was emphatically the man of Parliamentary Government—that it was his lot to be born in a country and at a time when the power of speaking in public assemblies and the art of conducting their debates and their divisions are the surest elements of political power; and that legislation and administration were with him secondary matters in comparison with the all-pervading necessity of convincing and persuading the House of Commons. But if these had been the sole, or the chief characteristics of Mr. Pitt's genius, his fame would not have come down to us with the increasing majesty which it has now acquired. Of his speeches, it is admitted that no more than the merest skeleton remains:

and in spite of the ascendancy which he owed in Parliament to his extraordinary argumentative powers, it cannot be asserted that in the gifts of oratory or language he was the superior of Burke, Fox, or Sheridan. The influence which rests on parliamentary tactics is short-lived, and no man ever passed for a great statesman merely because he kept together a working majority. The talents of Mr. Pitt were therefore of a higher order than mere parliamentary eloquence or parliamentary tactics: and the best proof of his political superiority to most of his contemporaries is the fact that the germs of almost all the great legislative and administrative reforms accomplished in the last thirty years may be traced in some portion of his designs. Had Mr. Pitt been invested with a more absolute power than he ever possessed, we think it highly probable that he would have carried a variety of measures of the greatest merit—measures, in fact, based on the liberal principles which it took another half century to establish in this country. But the minister had to deal with a sovereign of narrow intellect and of intense prejudices. It is evident from numerous details in these volumes that Mr. Pitt could very seldom rely on any appeal to the reason of George III., and that he was obliged to watch and wait, perhaps for years, for an opportunity to work upon that contracted mind, which was liable to be inflamed, by sudden emotions, to a paroxysm of insanity. Not less had Mr. Pitt to manage the prejudices of his own party—a duty which ever weighs heavily on an intelligent leader of the Tory phalanx, and to which the Cannings and Peels of our own time have, like Mr. Pitt, been compelled to sacrifice either themselves or their convictions. These prejudices were excited to madness by the horrors of the French Revolution, the sufferings of protracted war, the dread of invasion; until all liberal opinions were confounded in one extravagant denunciation of Jacobin principles, and the very objects which Mr. Pitt himself had once eagerly advocated were looked upon as treasonable designs to overthrow the Constitution.

The charge, therefore, which we are compelled to maintain against the administration of Pitt is this: We admire the profound and prophetic sagacity with which his youthful genius seized, as it were by intuition, on the true solution of most of the great problems of our national œconomy; but we find that scarcely in any single instance, even while he was at the height of undisputed power over a peaceful kingdom, did he really execute any one of these salutary reforms, which he comprehended better than any other man of his time. By some strange

infelicity, arising either from obstacles he could not overcome, or from a want of determination in his own mind, Mr. Pitt, who is supposed to have governed this country with almost absolute sway for eighteen years, did practically and effectually realise but a very small number of his own conceptions; and the reverses of his foreign policy in the war, which clouded the later years of his life, were prefigured by the singular reverses to which he had been compelled to submit at an earlier period in his domestic policy.* As this statement is very much at variance with Lord Stanhope's conclusions, and may sound to some of our readers like a paradox, we must illustrate it by some details.

Parliamentary Reform, Free Trade with Ireland and subsequently with foreign countries, Commutation of Tithes, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Reduction of the National Debt, the Reduction of duties with a view to increased revenue and diminished smuggling, the Repeal of the Test Act, the payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, Catholic Emancipation—and the list might be still more extended—are all measures which have been carried by the influence of the Liberal party in the last fifty years; but every one of these measures was at one time or another advocated, proposed, or contemplated by Mr. Pitt during his tenure of office, though not carried by him. We do not doubt that Mr. Pitt was perfectly convinced of the wisdom of each of these measures: we do not doubt that he was sincere in his desire to carry them; yet, by an unparalleled contradiction, he left every one of them where he found it, or rather he allowed himself to become the chief of the very party which was most bitterly opposed to these steps of progress, and he served a king who would in all probability have tripped him up, if the most important of these reforms had been accepted by the House of Commons. So that even the first eight years of Mr. Pitt's administration, which are now referred to as the most splendid example of his great ability, present us with a painful and humiliating contrast between the admirable and enlightened designs he formed and the measures he carried. The fact is that Mr. Pitt was as far before most of his contemporaries and immediate successors in political wisdom and sagacity,

* Curiously enough, the India Bill, which brought him into power in 1784, was the most long-lived of all his measures, and the only example of a great administrative institution founded or remodelled by Mr. Pitt. The double government of the East Indies survived till 1858, and the wonder is it endured so long.

as he was superior in disinterestedness to the jobbers and intriguers whom his advent had expelled from power. But having these enlightened views and these disinterested sentiments, the more is it to be regretted that he consented to retain office without the power of giving full effect to his own convictions, and that he lent his great authority to the cause of intolerance and obstruction, more especially in the later years of his life.

The story of his attempt at Parliamentary Reform is soon told. After the General Election of 1784 Mr. Pitt stood supreme in power. 'He was,' says Lord Macaulay, 'the 'greatest subject that England had seen for many genera- 'tions. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, 'nor Marlborough.' Yet the third division on the Westminster Scrutiny was a defeat on a minor question at the very outset. On the 18th April, two months after the meeting of Parliament in 1785, Pitt brought forward his measure of Parliamentary Reform. He had sedulously devoted himself to the preparation of it. He was urgent with his friends Dundas and Wilberforce to support it, and they did so. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, with a pecuniary compensation to the proprietors, and to transfer the seats so gained to the largest counties and to the metropolis. He proposed to extend the franchise from freeholders to copyholders. Mr. Massey remarks in his 'History of the Reign of George III.,' probably with reason, that a more absurd measure of reform was never invented—none certainly was ever less successful, for it was at once defeated by 248 votes to 174, in Mr. Pitt's own House of Commons. The wonder is that he should ever have thought it possible to carry such a bill in a house in which the boroughmongering interest was so largely represented; and where a large proportion of his own supporters had within a few months paid an ample consideration for the very seats he proposed to annihilate. The King, moreover, was secretly opposed to it, and, though he could not openly resist the Minister who had just rescued him from the Coalition, he had given a reluctant, and probably an insincere assent to the scheme. Lord Stanhope says: 'Pitt considered the 'result as final for that Parliament at least. He saw that 'not even ministerial power and earnest zeal, and that nothing 'but the pressure of the strongest popular feeling, such as 'did not then exist, could induce many members to vote 'against their own tenure of Parliament, or in fact against 'themselves.' Eight years later Mr. Pitt had become the most decided opponent of Reform, and when Mr. Grey moved in

1793 for a Committee on that question which he was destined in 1832 to bring to a successful termination, Mr. Pitt declared:—

'I had myself on different occasions proposed a reform, in situations which seemed favourable to my object, and supported by persons of the highest respectability, and had even then failed. Several gentlemen (from a dread of the consequences of innovation, and from a doubt whether the advantage to be obtained was such as would compensate for the risk incurred) opposed my views. I saw therefore that while none of the good of which a moderate reform might be productive was to be obtained, much danger might be incurred, and an opening afforded to wicked persons to subvert that very Constitution which we were desirous to improve, only in order that we might preserve: as though the attempt to reform might not be attended with the total subversion of the Constitution, yet it might lead to a state of confusion and distraction, which, at least, would disturb the enjoyment of those blessings of which we were in possession. I thus found the probability of good but little, while the mischief was of a size so gigantic as to defy calculation.' (*Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 438.)

Such was the judgment of Mr. Pitt in 1793 on Mr. Pitt the Reformer of 1785. The French Revolution, it is true, had broken out in the interval, had shaken the firmest nerves, and perplexed the clearest judgments. For it has been the effect of that great commotion of society, from 1789 to the present hour, to perplex the nations with fear of change, and to throw back the best hopes of rational liberty. But, it may be answered (and the remark does not apply to this point alone), how different would have been the condition of England during the tremendous contest which ensued from 1793 to 1815, if in the preceding years of peace effectual measures had been taken to place the Constitution on a broader and more secure basis! If in those eight years of peace Parliament had been reformed, Ireland pacified and conciliated, the finances really regenerated, and the military and naval establishments reconstructed, this country would have engaged with irresistible power in its contest with revolutionary France, if that contest was unavoidable. Instead of intemperate faction and ferocious repression, we should have had loyalty; instead of Irish rebellions and invasions, union; instead of a suspension of cash payments, a far more solid and enlarged credit; instead of an army unfit to take the field, a force capable, perhaps, of deciding the fate of Europe. It is not too much to say, that if Mr. Pitt had carried in the earlier years of his administration the great and liberal measures he once designed, the aspect of affairs would have changed, and the war which it was his fate to wage with doubtful success, might possibly have been glori-

ously terminated at a much earlier period, and at a far less cost to the country.

The second great measure of the Session of 1785 was that known as the Irish Resolutions. Mr. Pitt described his own large and generous views to the Duke of Rutland in the letters already published in part by Lord Stanhope in a contemporary journal*, from which we borrow the following passage:—

'October 7. 1784.

'I own to you the line to which my mind at present inclines (open to whatever new observations or arguments may be suggested to me) is to give Ireland an almost unlimited communication of commercial advantages, if we can receive in return some security that her strength and riches will be our benefit, and that she will contribute, from time to time, in their increasing proportions, to the common exigencies of the empire: and having, by holding out this, removed, I trust, every temptation to Ireland to consider her interest as separate from England, to be ready, while we discountenance wild and unconstitutional attempts which strike at the root of all authority, to give real efficacy and popularity to Government by acceding (if such a line can be found) to a prudent and temperate reform in Parliament, which may guard against or gradually cure real defects and mischiefs, may show a sufficient regard to the interests and even prejudices of individuals who are averse, and may unite the Protestant interest in excluding Catholics from any share in the representation or the government of the country.' (*Lord Mahon's Essays*, p. 253.)

It is true that at this period Mr. Pitt had by no means embraced the cause of Catholic Emancipation, or the principle of equality of religious opinions in civil government. Nor, indeed, had, at that time, Mr. Fox, for he repeatedly declared in the debates that he considered the settlement of 1782 to be final. Mr. Pitt's plan was first to remove the commercial and material disabilities of Ireland—to open to her the whole commerce of Great Britain and the colonies—to reduce the duties between the two countries to the lowest rates—and to charge on the surplus hereditary revenues of Ireland (if any) a contribution towards the support of the naval force of the empire. This was obviously the first step towards that union of the two kingdoms which was accomplished sixteen years later, after torrents of blood had been shed, and under circumstances far less favourable to the success of the measure. The resolutions were slowly, and with great difficulty, carried in the English House of Commons. Mr. Pitt writes on May, 1785, while the measure was still under discussion, 'Our majority, though a 'large one, is composed of men who think, or at least act, so

* Quarterly Review, No. 160.

'much for themselves, that we are hardly sure from day to day 'what impression they may receive.' Such was the temper of that House of Commons in which Mr. Pitt was supposed to exercise an unquestioned sway. In the Irish Parliament, however, a different fate awaited the ministerial proposals. They were received with furious opposition. The Government was compelled to withdraw the Bill. Dublin was illuminated on the defeat of the first attempt to extend to Ireland an instalment of commercial justice and freedom. Lord Stanhope says—we quote the passage as a curious example of the vicissitudes of party connexions and political opinions:—

'To Pitt the failure of the Irish commercial measures was a deep disappointment, a bitter mortification. To them, to the framing or to the defence of their details, he had applied himself for almost a twelvemonth, and here was the result—the object of public good not attained, the jealousy of both nations stirred anew, and to himself for a time the decline of public favour, alike, though on exactly opposite grounds, in England and in Ireland. The journal of Wilberforce in the midst of the contest on this subject has this significant entry: "Pitt does not make friends." On the other hand, Fox, as the champion of high protective duties, enjoyed in many quarters the gleam of returning popularity. Being at Knowsley in the course of that autumn on a visit to Lord Derby, the two friends went together to Manchester, and were warmly welcomed by the great metropolis of manufactures. Here is Fox's own account of it: "Our reception at Manchester was the finest thing imaginable, and handsome in all respects. All the principal people came out to meet us, and attended us into the town with blue and buff cockades, and a procession as fine, and not unlike that upon my chairing in Westminster. We dined with one hundred and fifty people .... The concourse of people to see us was immense, and I never saw more apparent unanimity than seemed to be in our favour."' (*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 275.)

Such was the fate of the two principal measures introduced by the young Minister in the first session of a parliament which had been elected for the express purpose of giving him unqualified support. On two most momentous subjects Mr. Pitt had unfortunately been defeated — in the last instance by the ignorant passions and violence of the people he wished to benefit. Here, again, how deplorable were the consequences of the check which his policy sustained!

All the bad passions which had long raged in Ireland soon broke out with fresh intensity; and upon the declaration of war both in 1793 and in 1804, Ireland became the chief difficulty and the constant weakness of the empire. It is no consolation to reflect that Mr. Pitt's earlier policy towards Ireland was

defeated by no fault of his or of the British Parliament, but by the ignorance and intolerance of that dominant faction which was, and long continued to be, the curse of Ireland. Throughout these volumes, and those of the 'Auckland Correspondence,' we find continual evidence of the bigotry and narrowmindedness of the Beresfords, the Forsters, the Fitzgibbons — Irish politicians on whom the British Government mainly relied for counsel and action, and who attempted to denounce and proscribe the officers of the British Government itself, when, like Lord Cornwallis and Sir Ralph Abercromby, they refused to look at the state of Ireland with the eyes of Protestant-ascendancy men. But we are anticipating a more advanced period of Mr. Pitt's career, to which we shall have to revert. The Irish Nemesis pursued him to the close of it, and was the chief cause of the dissolution of his government and the dismemberment of his party. The evils which he hoped in 1785 to prevent by the introduction of measures calculated to promote the union of the great interests of the two kingdoms, grew more rank in succeeding years, until they broke out in the rebellion of 1798: and although the Union was at last carried and effected, the means by which that salutary and important change was made were scandalous, and the essential conditions of Catholic emancipation, and the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, which were alike contemplated in 1799 by Pitt, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, fell to the ground.

Although in 1785 Mr. Pitt had not adopted the principle of the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, yet, in 1787, he was evidently disposed to favour the claim of Protestant Dissenters for the repeal of the Test Act. Unhappily this was another instance in which he suffered his own judgment to be overruled by the prejudices of the clerical party. We relate the transaction in Lord Stanhope's words:—

'Half a century had now elapsed since the Protestant Dissenters had applied to Parliament for the repeal of the Test Act. In the Session of 1787 their effort was renewed. For the most part they had warmly espoused the cause of Pitt at the last General Election, and they thought themselves entitled to some share of his favour in return. Their first step was to circulate among the Members of the House of Commons a paper entitled "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters with reference to the Corporation and Test Acts," in which they more especially laboured to distinguish their case from that of the Roman Catholics. With equal prudence they selected as their spokesman Mr. Beaufoy, a member of the Church of England, and a zealous supporter of the Government.

'Pitt appears to have felt a disposition to support their claims, if he could do so with the assent of the Church of England.

Without that assent, as expressed by its Heads, it was scarcely possible or scarcely proper for any Prime Minister to move onward. A meeting of the Bishops was held at the Bounty Office, on a summons from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the request, as the Bishops were informed, of Mr. Pitt. The question laid before their Lordships was as follows:—"Ought the Test and Corporation Acts to be maintained?" Of fourteen Prelates present, only two —Watson of Llandaff, and Shipley of St. Asaph — voted in the negative; and the decision of the meeting was at once transmitted to the Minister.

'When, on the 28th of March, Mr. Beaufoy did bring on his motion, Lord North spoke in opposition to it, and Fox in its favour. Pitt rose and said that he did not think he could with propriety give a silent vote. He observed that some classes of the Nonconformists had injured themselves in the public opinion greatly, and not unreasonably, by the violence and the prejudices which they had shown. "Were we," he said, "to yield on this occasion, the fears of the members of the Church of England would be roused, and their apprehensions are not to be treated lightly. It must, as I contend, be conceded to me that an Established Church is necessary. Now there are some Dissenters who declare that the Church of England is a relic of Popery; others that all Church Establishments are improper. This may not be the opinion of the present body of Dissenters, but no means can be devised of admitting the moderate part of the Dissenters and excluding the violent; the bulwark must [be kept up against all."' (*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 336.)

Three years later Pitt opposed Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, with far greater vehemence, in a speech which embodied all the fallacies and fears that stood in the way of that measure of policy and justice for the next thirty-five years. Here again was an Act favoured by Pitt's better judgment, but abandoned in deference to the exactions of the very persons who conceived themselves to be interested in resisting to the utmost the just claims of their fellow-countrymen to an equality of civil rights.

One of the most remarkable proofs of the sagacity with which Mr. Pitt was prepared at that time to deal with the great problems of social reform, if his power had really been equal to his intelligence, is to be found in a letter addressed by him to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which Lord Stanhope has discovered in the Rutland Papers. It deals with the whole question of tithe commutation, and anticipates precisely the remedy which was adopted nearly half a century later: —

'"Burton Pynsent, Nov. 7. 1786.

'"My dear Duke,

. . . . . .

'"I have thought very much since I received your letter respecting

the general state of Ireland, on the subjects suggested in that and your official letters to Lord Sydney. The question which arises is a nice and difficult one. On the one hand, the discontent seems general and rooted, and both that circumstance, and most of the accounts I hear, seem to indicate that there is some real grievance at bottom, which must be removed before any durable tranquillity can be secured. On the other hand, it is certainly a delicate thing to meddle with the Church Establishment in the present situation of Ireland; and anything like concession to the dangerous spirit which has shown itself is not without objection. But on the whole, being persuaded that Government ought not to be afraid of incurring the imputation of weakness by yielding in reasonable points, and can never make its stand effectually till it gets upon right ground, I think the great object ought to be, to ascertain fairly the true causes of complaint, to hold out a sincere disposition to give just redress, and a firm determination to do no more, taking care in the interval to hold up vigorously the execution of the law *as it stands* (till altered by Parliament), and to punish severely (if the means can be found) any tumultuous attempt to violate it. I certainly think the institution of tithe, especially if vigorously enforced, is everywhere a great obstacle to the improvement and prosperity of any country. Many circumstances in practice have made it less so here; but even here it is felt; and there are a variety of causes to make it sit much heavier on Ireland. I believe, too, that it is as much for the real interest of the Church as for the land to adopt, if practicable, some other mode of provision. If from any cause the Church falls into general odium, Government will be more likely to risk its own interests than to serve those of the Church by any efforts in its favour. If, therefore, those who are at the head of the clergy will look at it soberly and dispassionately, they will see how incumbent it is upon them, in every point of view, to propose some temperate accommodation; and even the appearance of concession which might be awkward in Government, would not be unbecoming if it originated with them. The thing to be arrived at, therefore, seems, as far as I can judge of it, to find out a way of removing the grievances arising out of a tithe, or, perhaps, to substitute some new provision in lieu of it; to have such a plan cautiously digested (which may require much time), and, above all, to make the Church itself the quarter to bring forward whatever is proposed. How far this is practicable must depend upon many circumstances, of which you can form a nearer and better judgment, particularly on the temper of the leading men among the clergy. I apprehend you may have a good deal of difficulty with the Archbishop of Cashel; the Primate is, I imagine, a man to listen to temperate advice; but it is surely desirable that you should have as speedily as possible a full communication with both of them; and if you feel the subject in the same light that I do, that, while you state to them the full determination of Government to give them all just and honourable support, you should impress them seriously with the apprehension of their risking everything if they do not in time abandon ground that is ultimately

untenable. To suggest the precise plan of commutation which might be adopted is more than I am equal to, and is premature; but, in general, I have never seen any good reason why a fair valuation should not be made of the present amount of every living, and a rent in corn to that amount be raised by a pound rate on the several tenements in the parish, nearly according to the proportion in which they now contribute to tithe. When I say a rent in corn, I do not actually mean paid in corn, but a rent in money regulated by the average value, from time to time, of whatever number of bushels is at present equal to the fair value of the living. This would effectually prevent the Church from suffering by the fluctuations in the value of money, and it is a mode which was adopted in all college leases, in consequence, I believe, of an Act of Parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth. I need not say that I throw out these ideas in personal confidence to yourself; and I shall wish much to know what you think of them, and whether you can make anything of your prelates, before any measure is officially suggested. It seems material that there should be the utmost secrecy till our line is decided upon, and it must be decided upon completely before Parliament meets.

'"Yours faithfully and sincerely,

(*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 318.) '"W. Pitt."'

Similar views were entertained in 1798. Lord Auckland writes to Mr. Beresford in April of that year, 'Oh that it were 'possible to do something similar as to the liberation of tithes 'in both kingdoms! *But the clergy would be alarmed.*' Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was even sounded on the matter, but he announced his decided opposition, and the scheme was abandoned. Another instance of a great improvement defeated by those whom it was most calculated to benefit.

Of all the measures of this period which do honour to Mr. Pitt's courage and foresight, we assign the first rank to the commercial treaty with France. It was a triumph over the brutal doctrine of natural enmity between nations, the more remarkable, as only two years had elapsed since the conclusion of a peace on terms painful to the pride of this country. It was a triumph over the doctrines of commercial exclusion and protection, which had at that time an almost undisputed sway over the minds even of the most liberal statesmen. And as a measure of financial policy, it may be said to have been the first grand trial of that system which has only in very recent times been fully confirmed by experience.

'The surrender of revenue for great commercial purposes,' said the First Minister, in his speech of the 12th February, 1787, 'is a policy by no means unknown in the History of Great Britain, but here we enjoyed the extraordinary advantage of having them returned to us in a threefold rate, by extending and legalising the importation of the articles. When it was considered that the increase must exceed

the concession which was made, it would no longer be an argument that we cannot afford this reduction. *Increase by means of reduction*, he was obliged to confess, *once appeared a paradox, but experience had now convinced us that it was more than practicable.*' (*Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 246.)

Such language from a Minister of the Crown of that day, not dealing with a surplus revenue, but having, on the contrary, to restore a balance in disordered finances, was in the highest degree wise and sagacious. The whole speech is in the same admirable strain: and the only excuse for the factious and ignorant conduct of the Opposition is that that they did not understand what they were doing. Lord Stanhope has passed over this great transaction very cursorily, and we think it deserved a more complete notice, as one of the very largest conceptions of Mr. Pitt's political life. The instructions and correspondence of Mr. Pitt to Mr. Eden, with an account of the negotiation, are printed more fully in the first volume of the Auckland Papers (chapter v.). The recurrence of a similar treaty in our own times, after an interval of more than seventy years, has given fresh interest to the subject, and we have ourselves had occasion to notice it recently at considerable length.* Yet, even here, the fatality which attended all the designs of Mr. Pitt, even when he was most happily inspired, doomed this treaty to a premature and abortive termination. The distressed and agitated condition of France was ignorantly supposed to have been aggravated by the treaty with England; and in the great whirlpool of the Revolution which so soon followed, its provisions were annihilated, and for upwards of half a century the natural commercial relations of the two wealthiest nations in the world were almost entirely interrupted.

There can be no doubt that at this time Mr. Pitt was more thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Free Trade and the principles of Adam Smith than any other statesman of his age, except Lord Grenville. He referred in 1792, in the House of Commons, 'to the writings of an author of our own times, now 'unfortunately no more (I mean the author of a celebrated 'treatise on the Wealth of Nations), whose extensive knowledge 'of detail and depth of philosophical research will, I believe, 'furnish the best solution to every question connected with the 'history of commerce or with the systems of political economy.' The financial policy which Mr. Pitt pursued from 1785 to the outbreak of the war was based on these principles, as we

* Ed. Rev. vol. cxi. p. 286.—Article on Commercial Relations with France.

shall presently show. But, alas! even here the strength of his convictions or the weight of his authority was no match for the dark and evil times in which his lot was cast. Perplexed and alarmed by the scarcity and high prices of the year 1800, Pitt himself lapsed into the fallacies of the Corn Laws, and thus called forth the following indignant protest from his own colleague, Lord Grenville:—

Lord Grenville to Mr. Pitt.

'Dropmore, Oct. 24. 1800.

'My dear Pitt,—Lord Buckingham's letter is nothing more than an exaggerated statement of my fixed and, I am sure, immutable opinion on the subject of all laws for lowering the price of provisions, either directly *or by contrivance.* That opinion you know so well, that it is idle for me to trouble you with long discourses or long letters of mine about it. We in truth formed our opinions on the subject together, and I was not more convinced than you were of the soundness of Adam Smith's principles of political economy till Lord Liverpool lured you from our arms into all the mazes of the old system.

'I am confident that provisions, like every other article of commerce, if left to themselves, will and must find their level; and that every attempt to disturb that level by artificial contrivances has a necessary tendency to increase the evil it seeks to remedy.

'In all the discussions with which we are overwhelmed on this subject, one view of it is wholly overlooked. Every one takes it for granted that the present price of corn is in itself undue, and such as ought not to exist; and then they dispute whether it is to be ascribed to combinations, which they wish to remedy by such means as will destroy all commerce, or to an unusual scarcity which they propose to supply by obliging the grower to contend in the home market, not with the natural rivalship of such importation as the demand might and would produce of itself, but with an artificial supply poured in at the expense of I know not how many millions to the State.

'Both these parties assume that the price is undue—that is, I presume, that it is more than would be produced by the natural operation of demand and supply counteracting each other. Now I know no other standard of price than this. But if the price be really so much higher, as is supposed, what prevents the increase of the supply at home? Or what bounty could operate so effectually to increase the quantity of wheat produced in the country, as the experience of the farmer teaching him that by the increased growth of that article he can make two or three times as great a profit as he can by any other? No man, with the least knowledge of the subject, will say that the country now produces all the wheat it could, if it answered to apply more capital to the produce. Give me my own price for it, and I will engage to produce more wheat in my kitchen garden than any farmer in this neighbourhood now does in his own farm. But the wheat so produced will have cost so much in labour and manure, that unless it were sold at two or three times more than even the present

price, I should receive no return for my capital—perhaps not even recover the capital itself.

'It never has been proved to me that the price of wheat in these last two years has been more than sufficient to afford a reasonable profit on the capital of the farmer who has produced it, considering the increased expense of every article which he must consume in producing it, and the very scanty crop of last year, which gave so much smaller a quantity, while it left the expense the same as before, or rather, indeed, much increased by some of the unfavourable circumstances of the season.

'It is for this reason that I detest and abhor as impious and heretical the whole system on which we are now acting on the subject.' (*Stanhope*, vol. iii. p. 247.)

Four days earlier Lord Grenville had written on the same subject the following note to Lord Auckland, who was then engaged at the Board of Trade on measures connected with the scarcity: —

'Dropmore, Oct. 20. 1800.

'My dear Lord,—I really think all the nonsense into which some of our best disposed friends, and many who ought to have known better, have gone headlong on the occasion of the scarcity, more formidable than the scarcity itself. By what one hears and reads, one would think that we were gone some centuries back, or had still to learn the first principles of commercial legislation. I pray God that the meeting of Parliament may effectually stop this torrent of ignorance and mischief.

'Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

(*Auckland Papers*, vol. iii. p. 111.) 'GRENVILLE.'

So little was the torrent stopped, that these restrictive measures to affect by artificial contrivances the supply of food were thenceforth maintained, for nearly half a century, by the Tory party, to be one of the inexpugnable foundations of the Constitution, and were defended with desperate fidelity until a more successful, if not a greater minister than Mr. Pitt, swept them away for ever. Meanwhile this too must be recorded as one of Mr. Pitt's mistaken sacrifices of his former opinions and of sound principle to what he conceived to be the exigencies of his position. Free Trade owed nothing to Mr. Pitt beyond the solemn assertion of its value, and the conclusion of the French treaty. But from that point Mr. Pitt's followers, and those who affected to act in his name, rushed into all the excesses of Protection, and identified themselves as a party with all the mistakes and absurdities he had once been most anxious to remove.

It may here be convenient to place among Mr. Pitt's wise, generous, but unfulfilled designs, his proceedings for the aboli-

tion of the slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce, soon after his serious call in 1785, had turned his eager and humane mind to the subject, and as Lord Stanhope observes:—

'It was natural that with these earnest aspirations Mr. Wilberforce should now apply himself to ascertain how far the changes against the Slave Traders were or were not well founded. In his own words:—"I got together at my house, from time to time, persons who knew anything about the matter. . . . When I had acquired so much information, I began to talk the matter over with Pitt and Grenville. Pitt recommended me to undertake its conduct as a subject suited to my character and talents. At length, I well remember after a conversation in the open air, at the root of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent into the vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice, on a fit occasion, in the House of Commons, of my intention to bring the subject forward."

'I may add that this very tree, conspicuous for its gnarled and projecting root, on which the two friends had sat, is still pointed out at Holwood, and is known by the name of "Wilberforce's oak."

'It so chanced, that ere the day appointed for the motion the health of Mr. Wilberforce failed. He found himself disabled from active business, and compelled to try the waters of Bath. Before he went, however, he obtained from Pitt a promise that if his illness should continue through the spring, Pitt himself would supply his place. Accordingly on the 9th of May, the Prime Minister rose to move a resolution, "That this House will early in the next Session proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Slave Trade." With a reserve imposed upon him by official duty, he added that he should forbear from stating or even glancing at his own opinion until the moment of discussion should arive. "I understand, however," said Fox, "that the opinion of the Right Hon. gentleman is *primâ facie* the same as my own. . . . For myself I have no scruple to declare that the Slave Trade ought not to be regulated, but destroyed. To this opinion my mind is pretty nearly made up. . . . I have considered the subject very minutely, and did intend to have brought something forward in the House respecting it. But I rejoice that it should be in the hands of the Hon. Member for Yorkshire rather than in mine. From him I honestly think that it will come with more weight, more authority, and more probability of success." These words, which redound so highly to Mr. Fox's honour, were followed by words not less decided from Mr. Burke and from Sir William Dolben, Member for the University of Oxford.

'Against an array of opinions such as these, Mr. Bamber Gascoyne and Lord Penrhyn, the Members for Liverpool, and almost officially the spokesmen for the Slave Trade, could make no effectual stand. They deemed it wisest to let the Resolution pass unopposed, and to reserve their strength for the ensuing year. And that strength was certainly far greater that at first it seemed. The opinion of Mr. Pitt had not prevailed with all his colleagues. Lord Thurlow, above all, was, and continued to be, favourable to the Slave Trade, and un-

happily he found means to instil nearly the same prejudice into the mind of the King.'

'The Bill of Sir William Dolben being moderate in its aim and supported both by Pitt and Fox, passed triumphantly through the Commons. But in the other House Lord Thurlow fell upon it with great fury. He was backed by two Peers who had gained just distinction in a better cause—Lord Heathfield and Lord Rodney. And it was with great difficulty, and not until the last day of the Session, that there passed a measure on the subject, though curtailed of its first proportions.' (*Stanhope*, vol. i. p. 336.)

We have not the slightest doubt of the sincerity of Mr. Pitt in his approval of the bills for the abolition of the slave trade which were successively introduced into Parliament. It was the only liberal measure to which he gave an undeviating support to the end of his life. It was the only measure which always, and in the worst of times, brought Pitt and Fox into the same lobby of the House of Commons. Yet with this support the proposal made no progress. 'Strange as it may seem,' says Lord Stanhope, 'the cause for which such men combined, in-'stead of making further way, receded.' From 1792 to 1800 the cause of abolition had lost ground. From 1800 to 1804 it had slumbered, under the influence of the Addington Cabinet, which, on this point, as on several others, faithfully represented the feelings of the King. On Pitt's return to office in 1804, the Bill was again brought forward and carried in the House of Commons. Lord Grenville was to take charge of it in the Lords. From the lateness of the season it was postponed, and, as is well known, it was not till three years later that abolition was carried — unhappily, not by Mr. Pitt.

We now arrive at that important subject which takes the first rank in the duties of the leading Minister of the Crown, and especially in the life of Mr. Pitt, for it is on his sagacity and originality as a financier that his fame chiefly rests. Reputation for financial ability has been frequently earned in the last century, and perhaps sometimes in the present century, by men who presumed on the general ignorance of the subject to pass off as measures of sterling value very inadequate, and even very false expedients. It would be highly unjust to class Mr. Pitt in the category of these mountebanks. On the contrary, there is the evidence of his own financial speeches to prove that his system rested on broad and sound principles: and we presume that to these speeches Mr. Gladstone recently alluded when he described Mr. Pitt as the greatest peace minister this country has known. It is greatly to be desired that a biography of Mr. Pitt should present the reader with a distinct survey of these financial

measures, which formed so important a part of his policy. Lord Stanhope claims for Mr. Pitt the merit of having restored the finances of the country after the disastrous war which ended in 1783; but he has not followed, with as much precision as the subject requires, the exact course of Mr. Pitt's financial measures, pointing out in what they succeeded and in what they failed. For example, the establishment of the Consolidated Fund, which brought under one head numerous branches of revenue, and the redemption of the Land Tax, as a scheme for lessening the National Debt, though in truth it was a mere conversion of a part of it, are subjects which well deserve a close and accurate examination, without which the real ingenuity and value of Mr. Pitt's financial proposals cannot be understood. Happily Mr. Pitt's own speeches of the 29th March 1786 and of the 17th February 1792, are pretty well reported, and supply a full statement of his views. They show his determination to deal with the great, and as it was then considered, alarming evil of a National Debt, which had doubled in the preceding ten years and amounted in 1786 to two hundred and fifty millions, the income of the nation being at that time rather above fifteen millions. Out of this sum the interest of the National Debt and the Civil List absorbed about ten millions and a half, leaving, in fact, only five millions for the whole military, naval, and civil expenditure of the country. It may be observed that the interest of the National Debt in 1786 amounted to nearly two-thirds of the public revenue, whereas the interest of the National Debt in 1862 does not materially exceed one-third of a revenue nearly five-fold as great as that which Mr. Pitt had then to deal with.

To equalise the revenue and the expenditure of the country in time of peace by an adjustment of taxes — to simplify the public accounts and correct the abuses which had crept into the financial departments—and to increase the productiveness of fiscal duties by enlarging the area of taxation, were doubtless creditable and enlightened measures; but they would not suffice to confer on Mr. Pitt the high financial reputation he has enjoyed. He himself would have rested his claim to that distinction on the policy he adopted for the reduction of the National Debt. Yet we now know that the whole conception of the Sinking Fund, adopted by Mr. Pitt, was radically unsound; and that the Minister who had made it the first object of his ambition to reduce the permanent burdens of the nation, was led, by untoward events, and in an incredibly short space of time, to double them.

Ample materials for a complete history of these trans-

actions, and of the part taken in them by Mr. Pitt, are to be found in the invaluable collection of scarce tracts on the National Debt and the Sinking Fund, which have recently been reprinted by the care of Lord Overstone, with an introduction by Mr. M'Culloch: and it may be regretted that Mr. Pitt's last and ablest biographer has not devoted a chapter to the full elucidation of these questions, since they are the very pith and marrow of his administrative policy, whether it be judged by the plans he brought forward in peace or by the disasters which overtook him in war.

The philosophic writers of the eighteenth century, Hutchinson, Hume, Blackstone, and even Adam Smith, had all viewed with a sort of terror the progress of the National Debt since the Revolution of 1688, and as early as 1716 a scheme for a Sinking Fund had been partially adopted. In 1726 Sir Nathaniel Gould propounded the doctrine that a sum of money placed at compound interest would accumulate so as eventually to extinguish the debt: thus he argued one million sterling, placed at 4 per cent. interest, would amount in 105 years to 1575 millions. Dr. Price in his pamphlet, published in 1771 and 1774, placed the same fallacy in a very plausible form; and soon after Mr. Pitt took office he employed Price to frame proposals for a Sinking Fund, one of which was subsequently adopted by Parliament. The plan was to set aside by Act of Parliament 250,000*l.* quarterly, which should be invested in the purchase of stock by commissioners; the dividend of the stock so purchased to go on accumulating until the fund should amount to four millions.

Mr. Pitt does not seem to have been aware that the utter fallaciousness of this scheme, and of the principle on which it rests, had been demonstrated by Mr. Wimpey in a pamphlet published in 1772 in answer to Price; nor did the Minister himself detect the nature of the delusion, obvious as it has now become. Wimpey had nevertheless exposed it in a few sentences.

'So long as the people can furnish money to discharge the whole current expenses of the year, with an overplus, such overplus being applied as it ought, will certainly diminish the debt. But when these expenses exceed their utmost ability, the debt, in spite of all management, will increase; and I conceive it can make no difference how any former surpluses may be applied, if towards the discharge of old debts new ones must be contracted, with an interest daily accumulating. The Sinking Fund has nothing in it of the nature of a spring: it must be supplied from time to time, or it will necessarily cease to act, and to be anything more than a name. The only source is the purse of the people; when that is drained, good-bye

to all FUNDS, call them by what name you please. Their infinite differences and omnipotent powers immediately vanish. A fund of 200,000*l.* per annum, or a million per annum, continued for 500 years, would avail nothing, unless the people could besides, and over and above these sums, discharge the interest of the present debt and defray their current expenses. Without such abilities a sinking fund is a mere chimæra, and a new debt might accumulate with twice the rapidity that the old one could be cancelled. 'Twould be like holding a double chalk in one hand and a sponge in the other, and making two strokes with the right, while one was rubbed out with the left; the longer you chalk and rub, the larger and longer would be the account. That money at compound interest would accumulate in the surprising manner you have said, is demonstrably certain; and it is just as certain that the interest of money borrowed, if not punctually discharged, would accumulate in the very same manner and with equal celerity.' (*Wimpey's Remarks on Price* [1772]. *Overstone Collection*, p. 368.)

These remarks may never have fallen under the eyes of Mr. Pitt, and it is undoubtedly true that Dr. Price's reveries found almost universal acceptance with the statesmen and the people who were the contemporaries of Adam Smith. Yet the whole fallacy must have been detected had Mr. Pitt asked himself the simple question, 'Whence is this increment to come?' Money cannot beget money, though the use of capital may: but here the only source of increase was an additional sum annually set apart from the taxes on the people. It was reserved to Dr. Hamilton of Aberdeen to expose and demolish the system by the publication in 1813 of his 'Inquiry into the Rise and 'Progress of the National Debt,'* and the demonstration has been completed by the more ample information since collected by Mr. M'Culloch. We are now enabled by that writer to demonstrate what the exact effect of Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund really was:—

'From these facts it may easily be shown that the Sinking Fund was not a clumsy only, but a costly imposture. In proof of this we beg to state that the loans contracted in each year from 1794 to 1816, both inclusive, amounted in all to 584,874,557*l.*, at an annual charge to the public of 30,174,364*l.* Of these loans the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund received 188,522,350*l.*, the proportional annual charge on such portion being, of course, 9,726,090*l.* But it further appears, from the accounts referred to, that the stock which the Commissioners purchased with this sum of 188,522,350*l.*, transferred to them out of the loans, only yielded an annual dividend

* Dr. Hamilton's pamphlet is now scarce: but an able review of it will be found in this Journal, vol. xxiv. p. 294. The work itself is, however, reprinted in Lord Overstone's Collection.

of 9,168,232*l.*; so that, on the whole, the operations of the Commissioners during the war occasioned a direct dead loss to the country of 557,857*l.* a year, equivalent to a 3 per cent. capital of 18,595,233*l.*, exclusive of the expenses of the office, which amounted to above 60,000*l.* Such was the practical result of Mr. Pitt's famous Sinking Fund, so long regarded as the palladium of public credit and the sheet anchor of the nation.' (*M'Culloch's Introduction to Lord Overstone's Collection*, p. xiii.)

Adam Smith had long before remarked that a Sinking Fund, though instituted for the payment of old, facilitates very much the contracting of new debts: and, in reality, that was the purpose to which Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund was soon applied. Perhaps it enabled the Minister to raise loans on less disadvantageous terms than he must otherwise have accepted, from a belief, though a delusive belief, that some mysterious means were in operation for cancelling a portion of the previous debt. However this may be, it is certain that the Minister who had signalised his accession to office by an ardent and laudable desire to diminish the burdens caused by the American war, did in fact enormously augment those burdens. The sum total of Mr. Pitt's financial administration may be described in three figures:—The National Debt at the time of the Peace of Versailles, 1783, was 249,851,628*l.* In the ten years of peace from 1783 to 1793, the sum paid off was 5,732,993*l.* In nine years of war from 1793 to 1802, the debt rose to 520,207,101*l.*; the increase was at the rate of 30 millions a year: yet England cannot be said during the whole of that time to have had an efficient army in the field, or an ally whom she could trust on the Continent. In many respects we have seen that Mr. Pitt's opinions were ahead of his times, and he was not unfrequently compelled to sacrifice those opinions to the prejudices of his contemporaries. But on this question of the Sinking Fund, which was the keystone of his financial system, we now know that all the leading men of the day were alike deceived; and it is impossible to concede to men who could be so imposed upon, the highest honours due to financial knowledge and penetration.

The seven years which elapsed from 1785 to 1792 were, however, in this country, years of tranquillity and progress; and the results of Mr. Pitt's administration, aided by his wise treaty with France, justified the proud complacency with which in the latter year he introduced his budget to the House of Commons. The imports had risen from 9,714,000*l.* in 1782 to 19,130,000*l.* in 1790. In August 1791, the four per cents and five per cents were sold at 107¼*l.* and 122¾*l.* respectively for 100*l.*

stock. The revenue had risen to sixteen millions and a half, a sum which left a surplus of 400,000*l.* in addition to the million of the Sinking Fund: and Mr. Pitt fondly anticipated that in fifteen years more, namely, in 1808, the fund would have reached the sum of four millions per annum, to be at the disposal of Parliament. With more truth he wound up that sanguine and triumphant survey of a successful minister by an eloquent tribute to the industry and energy of the country, to the effects of the accumulation of capital, and to the freedom of the people of England. 'We may yet, indeed'—these were his concluding words—'be subject to those fluctuations which 'often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is 'impossible to calculate or foresee: but as far as there can be 'any reliance on human speculations, we have the best ground 'to look with satisfaction to the present and with confi-'dence to the future.' Such was the language of the Minister on the eve of that tremendous conflict into which he was destined to plunge before the month of February returned—a contest which would compel him to add enormous burdens to the taxation of the country, to augment the National Debt with inconceivable rapidity, and to arrive in less than five years at a suspension of cash payments. No man who has studied the policy of Mr. Pitt can impute to him any eagerness to engage in war, or any disposition to prolong it: on the contrary, he was singularly blind to the perils of it, even when they stared him in the face, and singularly embarrassed both to conduct and to terminate it. At this moment, however, we are considering its effect on his financial system, and it is evident that whatever was good in it was blown to the winds of heaven by the events of the next few years, whilst the burdens of debt and taxation were saddled more firmly than ever on posterity.

Before we quit this part of the subject, one topic remains to be noticed, which has not, so far as we know, attracted the attention of any of Mr. Pitt's biographers. Mr. Pitt first took office under Lord Shelburne at the close of the American war. One of his first great ministerial orations was a defence of that peace of 1783 which was censured in the House of Commons by a majority of 17. He defended it mainly on the ground that the British fleet (we had but one) was inferior to the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland; that 'it was notorious that 'new levies could scarcely be torn on any terms from this de-'populated country;' and that three thousand men were the utmost force that could have been sent from England on any offensive duty. On the proud and patriotic soul of Mr. Pitt that peace left a wound not the less painful that it was inevit-

able. Years afterwards, when he proposed, in 1786, the fortification of the dockyards (another measure on which he was defeated, though only by the casting vote of the Speaker, and which it was reserved for our own times to undertake), Mr. Pitt exclaimed, in speaking of that war which his illustrious father had carried on with so much success: 'The last war — 'the last war! would to Heaven we could call it the last war! 'not indeed the last war, but the last on which Britons could 'reflect without a sigh or a blush — the war of contrast with the 'last — the war in which the name of Britain was exalted above 'the highest and proudest of nations, by successes as stupend- 'ous and conquests as glorious, as our late miscarriages and 'defeats have been calamitous and disgraceful!' Mr. Pitt showed in the quarrel with Spain about Nootka Sound, with Russia about Oczakow, with France in the affairs of Holland, that he was resolved to uphold the honour of the country; and in 1793 he did not flinch from a contest with revolutionary France. But what preparations had he made during ten years of peace and prosperity to place the naval and military establishments of the country on an efficient footing? The American war was a tremendous lesson to this country, not so much from the loss of the revolted colonies, as from the inferiority in which it had placed the king's forces by sea and land. It demonstrated that our armies were ill equipped and ill commanded — that the whole transport service was abominable — and that even the fleet was insufficient to protect the flag and the shores of England. Can it be believed that a minister, with the power and the resources enjoyed by Mr. Pitt for that period, should have done nothing to raise the military and naval services from this prostration? Yet the fact is, that on the declaration of war in 1793, when it was thought necessary to send an expedition to Holland, the forces were in the same discreditable condition which had led to the reverses of the American war. 'Our army,' says Sir Henry Bunbury, in his narrative of the Dutch campaigns, 'was bad in its discipline, entirely without 'system, and very weak in numbers. There was no uniformity 'of drill or movement; professional pride was rare; pro- 'fessional knowledge still more so.' When the English Ministers were trying, with the miserable means at their command, to assist the House of Orange — Dumourier having just overrun Holland — about 1,700 Foot Guards, with a few score of artillerymen, were all that could be mustered; 3,000 infantry and 700 dragoons were the whole British force the Duke of York had under his command in 1793; transports there were none, and these troops were huddled into such

colliers as could be found in the Thames, which luckily conveyed them to the coast of Holland.* Such was the manner in which Mr. Pitt commenced the greatest war in modern history. We cannot but think that, even if he had deluded himself with the notion that peace was to be eternal, he was guilty of the gravest omission in not having long before taken effectual steps to organise a more efficient army, and in leaving from 1788 to 1794 the Admiralty in the notoriously incapable hands of his brother, the Earl of Chatham. No doubt the calamities which ensued, and which in less than five years reduced this country to a most perilous and exhausted condition, were mainly attributable to the total want of competent officers and well-equipped troops in the first years of the war. No truth is more elementary in politics than that to carry on war with success, and to terminate it with promptitude and glory, the ground must be laid, not during warfare, but in the preceding years of peace and prosperity. This duty was altogether overlooked by Mr. Pitt.

Some additional particulars as to the campaign of 1793 are supplied by the 'Correspondence of Lord Auckland' (vol. iii.), who was British agent in the Low Countries at the time. The Editor of these papers professes to show (in opposition to Lord Stanhope) that Mr. Pitt's Cabinet was a party to the designs of the Austrians for the curtailment and even the partition of France; but we are not satisfied that the evidence bears out this assertion. Lord Grenville instructed Lord Auckland (3rd April 1793) that His Majesty approved the plan of indemnification on the side of Flanders, and that the Austrians were to be directed to look to *the acquisition of a new barrier* in the Netherlands rather than to the exchange of these provinces for Bavaria. Lord Auckland accordingly intimated to those concerned the expediency of retaining those conquests (Condé, Maubeuge, and if possible, Lille). Ministers at that time clearly contemplated an extended frontier of the Low Countries and of Holland; and this design led the King to direct the expedition against Dunkirk. Somewhat later, after his return to England (July 1793), Lord Auckland communicated to Lord Grenville a scheme for the partition of France, and talked of 'the Austrian idea of 'acquiring the Somme for their new boundary.' He even added that it was worth consideration, 'whether, in that case, 'we ought not to insist on holding Dunkirk, and, perhaps, also 'Calais' (vol. iii. p. 79.); and forwarded a memorandum on the

* This statement is confirmed by Sir H. Calvert in his journals, p. 22.

subject drawn up by M. de Jarry, which is now published. But Lord Grenville confines himself to saying that the memoir is written with knowledge and judgment; and there is no proof that the British Government ever adopted this Austrian scheme of dismembering France to the Somme.*

On the occasion of Mr. Pitt's death, Lord Sheffield, a shrewd though rather an eccentric observer, declared that much as he regretted 'the loss of such an extraordinary creature as he 'really was, he had never thought him infallible, but on the 'contrary always expressed an opinion that he was eminently 'deficient in respect to the conduct of the war and of foreign 'affairs.' This opinion has in these later times prevailed, and Lord Macaulay went so far as to say that 'his military adminis-'tration was that of a driveller, until the British army under 'Pitt became the laughing stock of Europe.' These accusations are, we think, expressed with too much vehemence, and there is one exception to this sweeping censure which Lord Macaulay unaccountably overlooked — we mean the expedition to Egypt, which was ably and boldly designed, well conducted, and gloriously terminated. But it is indisputable that Mr. Pitt's genius did not lie in the same direction as the genius of Lord Chatham, and that at the outset of the war he knew no more than a spinster of the division of a battle. Parliamentary ministers are not bound to have a minute knowledge of military details, though this is no superfluous accomplishment to any statesman. But the great principles of strategical science, which are to be learned from history, and the art of selecting men competent to command armies, which is only to be learned from life, are indispensable elements of the highest order of statesmanship. Lord Chatham owed the conquest of Canada to the happy mixture of audacity and judgment with which he entrusted the command of an army to Colonel Wolfe; Mr. Pitt owed the disastrous issue of the campaigns in Holland to the incredible subserviency with which he had allowed the King twice to place an army under the command of the Duke of York. Contrast the pitiable appearance of the British army at this very

* M. de Jarry, the author of the 'Memoir on the Partition of 'France to the line of Somme,' was a scientific officer of some reputation. He was afterwards employed as an instructor at the Military School at Wycomb, and contributed, with Colonel Lemarchant, to the establishment of Sandhurst. Whatever may be thought of the policy of such a scheme of partition, which has justly been denounced as extravagant, there is this peculiarity about it, that the author of the proposal for the dismemberment of France was a Frenchman. The whole document is published in the 'Auckland Papers,' vol. iii. p. 86.

time in Europe, with the splendid achievements of the British army in India—contrast Dunkirk with Seringapatam, and you have the measure of the administrative genius of a Wellesley guiding an army to victory, with the administrative genius of the British Government sending similar forces to humiliation and defeat. The navy, it is true, did by a series of splendid victories maintain the honour of the country, and effectually defend these islands from invasion by sweeping the enemy from the seas. Howe, Duncan, and Nelson rose triumphant over every obstacle to the highest point of naval greatness; but it is now almost incredible how little they owed to the organisation and equipment of their fleets by the Admiralty: and that very navy which was the terror of our enemies, was goaded to acts of desperation by the detestable home administration, until it became, for a moment, even more formidable to ourselves.

We must pause for an instant on the campaign of 1799, because the highly interesting and ingenuous 'Memoir of Sir 'Ralph Abercromby,' written by his son, and recently published by the present Lord Dunfermline, throws considerable light on the mode in which Pitt's Cabinet engaged in these military operations. On the 8th June 1799 Mr. Dundas wrote to Abercromby, who was then in Edinburgh, to announce the intended campaign in Holland, adding, 'if you wish to command 'the expedition, you must come away as soon as you can after 'the receipt of this letter.' Upon his arrival in London he found that the expedition was not to be under his command, but under that of the Duke of York, and that the nature of the operations had been changed. In fact, throughout this affair Ministers had a vague notion that something was to be done in Holland, without knowing what.

'Sir Ralph,' says Lord Dunfermline, 'was from the first strongly impressed with the difficulties that were to be encountered, and he was of opinion that the risk which must be run, and the perils to which the army must be exposed were so great, that they could not be justified by the importance of the objects to which our efforts were to be directed. He stated his views to the Ministers most frankly and unreservedly, so much so indeed, that Mr. Pitt, who was wholly unacquainted with the details of military operations, and with the means that were required to afford a reasonable chance of success, could not always repress his impatience, and on one occasion remarked, very pointedly, "There are some persons who have a pleasure in opposing whatever is proposed." Sir Ralph was not moved by this hint, and he persevered in expressing his opinions with calmness and firmness.' (*Memoir, &c.*, p. 148.)

In this manner the deliberate judgment and counsel of the ablest soldier then in England were overruled by the Cabinet.

Sir Ralph executed with consummate prudence and skill the hopeless task on which he had been sent; on his return a peerage was offered to him for the battle of Egmont, which he declined. But assuredly it required no great military experience or sagacity to perceive that an expedition of a few thousand men, pent up in the Dutch islands, could lead to no result, and must eventually be outnumbered by the enemy. Lord Stanhope says that Pitt was not responsible for the greatest of all our blunders — that of Walcheren: certainly not, but on the other hand the expedition of 1799 was the precursor of Walcheren; it had originally been intended for Walcheren, and it was sent in direct opposition to the advice of the best officer in it.

It may fairly be questioned also, whether Mr. Pitt ever possessed a thorough insight into the mechanism of foreign affairs, or that command of the relations of foreign states with each other and with this country, which resembles the *coup d'œil* of a general on a field of battle. In the sphere of foreign politics and international law, Lord Grenville must, we think, be ranked above Mr. Pitt; but it is just to add, that for many of these momentous years Lord Grenville was the Foreign Secretary of Pitt's Government. We still think that a more accurate examination of the diplomatic correspondence of the times, especially with reference to the alliances negotiated by Mr. Pitt during the war, will throw much additional light on this portion of his administration, whenever the state papers of the period are laid open to historical research. At present our knowledge of these transactions is chiefly derived from the publication of private correspondence.

Lord Macaulay has drawn a brilliant and a flattering picture of the first portion of Mr. Pitt's ministerial career, beginning in 1784 and ending in 1792. He styles him during this period 'a fortunate, and in many respects a skilful administrator;' he attributes to him all but absolute power over the Court and over the House of Commons: and with the single exception of his vote on the Test Act, Lord Macaulay avers 'that his conduct from 1783 to the middle of 1792 was that of an honest friend of civil and religious liberty.' Even Lord Russell affirms that Mr. Pitt's 'administration during peace was marked by large public views, was founded on grand principles, *and led to happy results.*' These opinions, to which even the political adversaries of Mr. Pitt have given the stamp of authority, are naturally shared by Lord Stanhope, who vindicates Mr. Pitt even from the strictures which are passed on the later years of his government. We confess that we ourselves entered

upon this inquiry with the same disposition of mind, and entirely free from any desire to disparage the exalted character of Mr. Pitt. But a careful and dispassionate review of the transactions which we have just laid before our readers, has satisfied us that Mr. Pitt cannot be termed a fortunate administrator, since every one of his leading proposals ended in defeat or disappointment; and although we do not question that he was animated by large public views and by grand principles, the results were so far from happy, that the outbreak of war in 1793 found Parliament unreformed, Ireland unreconciled, the religious tests unrepealed, tithes uncommuted, the finances encumbered with the fiction of a sinking fund, the slave trade in full activity, free trade annihilated by foreign war, and the army and navy in the same deplorable condition in which they had been left at the close of the American struggle. How comes it, then, that Mr. Pitt, with a full and clear perception of the measures by which these evils might have been cured, contented himself with a few abortive attempts to remove them, and continued to carry on the government with apparent vigour, although almost every one of the important measures he urged upon Parliament had failed? We can only conclude that when Mr. Pitt's enlightened views and sagacious mind placed him in opposition to the bigotry and ignorance of the Court or of his own party in Parliament, he was in reality powerless; and that his omnipotence began when he made himself the instrument of the prejudices of George III. and the passions of the nation, inflamed to madness by the spectacle of the French Revolution. George III. did not treat Mr. Pitt as he had treated Lord North: the correspondence with the latter Minister, published by Lord Brougham in his 'Biographical Sketches,' differs altogether in tone and substance from the highly interesting collection of the King's letters to Pitt, now published by Lord Stanhope. But upon a nice examination of these transactions, the King's influence may everywhere be discovered. It is melancholy to see the great intellect of Pitt fettered and foiled by the petty contrivances of George III., whose diseased mind was affected sometimes to madness by the intrigues of such men as Thurlow, Loughborough, Auckland, the Irish Chancellor Clare, and the English Primate Moore. In spite of Mr. Pitt's haughty bearing and inflexible character, he was compelled to stoop, and he did stoop, to prejudices which he did not share, and to objects which he despised. It is well known to what a catastrophe this state of things led when Mr. Pitt quitted office on the Catholic question in 1801. There is in Lord Malmesbury's

Journal a passage written at that time, which might, we believe, be extended to a much longer period of Mr. Pitt's life. Canning is described as saying

'That for several years so many concessions (as he called them) had been made, and so many important measures overruled from the King's opposition to them, that Government had been weakened exceedingly; and if on this particular occasion a stand was not made, Pitt would retain only a nominal power, while the real one would pass into the hands of those who influenced the King's mind and opinion out of sight.' (*Malmesbury's Diaries*, iv. p. 4.)

Our limits forbid us to follow Lord Stanhope into the dark and terrible narrative of the ensuing years, when every calamity that could be endured by a nation, except that of foreign invasion (and even that was not wanting in Ireland), fell upon this country. Bishop Tomline had announced his design (which he did not live to complete) of 'following Mr. Pitt in the wise 'and vigorous conduct of the war;' and Lord Stanhope endorses these epithets as rightly descriptive of the task before him. He even thinks that 'it was mainly the sap and strength im-'parted by the measures of the preceding years which enabled 'the nation to sustain, and finally triumph over, the perils of 'the conflict.' We regret that we cannot share his Lordship's opinion. For the reasons we have already given, we hold that the nation was frightfully ill-prepared to enter upon any conflict at all; and that many of the measures resorted to in that conflict only tended to aggravate the dangers of our position. No sooner was war declared, than symptoms of internal discontent, which had been allayed since the American war, broke out with extreme violence, inflamed no doubt by the detestable excesses and extravagant doctrines of the French Revolution. From that moment, and for many years, every liberal opinion, including those which Mr. Pitt had himself professed, was denounced as Jacobinical, subversive of the monarchy, repugnant to all religion and law. State prosecutions of unexampled rigour followed, especially in the northern part of this island; and measures more repressive than any which had been known in Britain since the flight of James II. were employed to crush every manifestation of opinion on the part of the minority. Yet we are convinced that the minority which espoused revolutionary opinions was a contemptible one, and that nothing it could have said or done in England or Scotland would have been so injurious to the British Constitution and the character of Government, as the means taken to persecute and subdue it. The immoderate violence of the nation against what were called Jacobinical

principles proves how little they were really to be feared. The great bulk of the people of England detested them, and the more they were known, the less likely they were to prevail. The revolutions of foreign countries are not an example but a warning to England, and their results, far from inviting, repel us.

The public calamities reached the highest pitch in 1797. Hoche threatened the invasion of Ireland, which was the scene of constant treason and incessant rebellion. A party of French marauders landed in Pembrokeshire. The Austrians, abandoned by Germany and defeated by the young conqueror of Italy, signed the preliminaries of Leoben. The drain upon the Bank of England was such that, on the 26th February, Pitt caused the King to pass an order in Council prohibiting the directors from further cash payments. Lord Stanhope observes that nothing but a most energetic determination on the 'part of 'the Executive Government could have saved the Bank, or 'in its train the State, from insolvency.' But what is the distinction here drawn between a suspension of cash payments and an actual insolvency? It mattered nothing that 3,800,000*l.* still remained in the Bank, if no one conld receive anything but a note of paper. National bankruptcy was averted, not by the issue of inconvertible paper in 1797, but by the resumption of cash payments in 1820. For twenty years, the State and the Bank of England compelled their creditors to accept an inconvertible promise to pay for a payment.*

Yet even this form of national bankruptcy was not the greatest peril that befell the country. In the month of April in the same year, the fleet mutinied, first at Portsmouth, and afterwards at Sheerness, and for several weeks the right arm of England was not only powerless, but turned against herself. Lord Stanhope's narrative of the mutiny at the Nore is extremely animated and interesting. But here again, we must remark that this formidable occurrence,

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* Mr. Pitt seems to have been taken by surprise by the announcement of impending insolvency first made to him by the Bank Directors on the 21st February. Lord Stanhope supposes, on the authority of the financial statement made to the Houses of Parliament, that there remained to the Bank on the 25th February a clear surplus of 3,800,000*l.* But it was shown at the time by Mr. Allerdyce, a Member of the Committee, that the real amount of cash in the Bank on the evening of the 25th February was 1,272,000*l.*, from which a sum of nearly 200,000*l.* seems to have been abstracted on the 28th February. The statement put forth to show that the Bank 'was in the most affluent and prosperous situation,' was utterly worthless and delusive.

which has been truly described as the darkest day in our annals, was due far more to the brutal injustice and incapacity of the Admiralty than to any disloyal or treasonable spirit among the seamen. They no doubt took a highly culpable method of extorting redress for their grievances, but their grievances were real and intolerable. No increase of pay to the fleet, and no improvements in the service, had taken place since the reign of Charles II. The complaints of the men had been treated with scorn, and we cannot entirely acquit the Prime Minister of that 'gross ignorance or gross unconcern' which Lord Stanhope imputes to the admirals on active service on this occasion. It is obviously the duty of the Prime Minister of this country to have his eye on every branch of the public service — to know its wants and the manner of providing for them — and not suddenly to find himself in presence of such events as a suspension of cash payments and a mutiny of the fleet.

One quality Mr. Pitt possessed which no one has ever called in question. Throughout these extraordinary trials, his indomitable courage and composure never for one hour forsook him; and it is *that*, more than any other element of his character, which places him on a pinnacle of greatness and endears him for ever to Englishmen. He had shown it in his early youth when he faced the Coalition. He showed it again when the madness of the King tossed everything into confusion, and when a few days more would have thrown the supreme power into the hands of a profligate prince, and of his own political enemies. In presence of these tremendous events, Mr. Pitt stood unmoved at the helm of the state, as if he had taken for his motto those words of adamantine import, 'He that endureth 'to the end shall be saved!'

Mr. Pitt was at length convinced, as the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were convinced thirty years afterwards, that the policy of resistance and repression had its limits, and that these principles of government could never restore peace to Ireland or strength to that portion of the empire. The administration of Lord Camden and the fanatical bigotry of the Protestant party, then in exclusive possession of power at Dublin, had driven that island to a state of actual rebellion, and caused many of her most ardent sons to enter into treasonable correspondence with France. In 1798, Pitt changed the Irish policy of his Government, to the dismay of those who had hitherto been the chief instruments of the former system. The appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the Lord-Lieutenancy was the first step in this new direction. That nobleman entered upon his painful and onerous task with

sentiments of humanity and moderation, which now stand recorded in his published correspondence to his immortal honour; and we learn from the Auckland Letters that his policy was viewed from the first with suspicion and hatred by such men as Mr. Beresford and Lord Clare. But Mr. Pitt had framed a design which they were unable to comprehend, and he was resolved to execute it by the sacrifice of the long-cherished prejudices of his adherents, or even, as the result proved, by the sacrifice of his own power. The union of Ireland to the United Kingdom was this great and difficult enterprise; and partly by the purchase of the borough interest, partly by the conciliatory tone of Lord Cornwallis to the Roman Catholics, it was at length carried. But even here, and in the hour of success, the ill fortune which beset so many of Mr. Pitt's best concerted plans, marred the consummation of the measure, and indefinitely postponed that act of justice to the Irish Catholics which was an essential part of it. The secret influences which had more than once opposed the prejudices of the King to the wisdom of his Minister were unscrupulously employed, and with such effect, that the mind of George III. was unhinged, his life was in danger, and the Government itself was overthrown.

Mr. Pitt may perhaps be accused on this occasion, as Sir Robert Peel was accused in 1845, of a want of confidence in those persons who conceived that they had a claim to a full measure of it. He neglected to prepare the mind of the King during the autumn of 1800 for the plan which had been for some time in contemplation; and this silence was turned to fatal account by men, who were bound at least by the ties of personal friendship and official duty not to cabal against the Minister whom they served. Of these, Lord Clare, Lord Loughborough, and Lord Auckland were the most influential. We think it is proved that Lord Clare was the person who first roused the scruples of the King as to his Coronation oath: it was Lord Loughborough who took advantage of his stay with the King at Weymouth in September 1800 to poison his mind against the measures about to be proposed by the Prime Minister; it was Lord Auckland who aided the correspondence, and brought the Archbishop of Canterbury, his brother-in-law, to aid in the plot.

The Editor of the 'Auckland Papers' has attempted in the forty-second chapter of that work (vol. iv. p. 113.), to refute these charges, at least as far as Lord Auckland is concerned. [illegible] so far is he from having succeeded in this task that he has [illegible]t to light the most decisive evidence of the truth of them, [illegible]he hand of Mr. Pitt himself.

Mr. Pitt had very little intercourse with Lord Auckland in the summer and autumn of 1800, although that nobleman had been actively employed by him in preparing the commercial conditions of the Union in the preceding year. But at the close of an insignificant letter from Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland, dated from Weymouth, 20th September, 1800, we remark the following strange sentence:—

'Your *very private* article is very generally whispered, and I believe with foundation.'

It is highly probable that this expression relates to the view taken by Pitt of the Catholic question. Mr. Pitt's letter to Lord Loughborough summoning him to attend a Cabinet on the subject, was dated ten days later, on the 30th September. It was not, however, until the month of January following that Mr. Pitt resolved formally to communicate his policy to the King. At the last moment Lord Auckland addressed to him a vehement appeal to divert him from his purpose, to which Mr. Pitt returned the following answer:—

Private.

'Downing Street, Saturday, January 31. 1801, 8 P.M.

'My dear Lord,—I have many reasons for not wishing to say much in answer to your letter of this morning. Widely as we differ on the subject itself which led to it, I am afraid we should differ at least as much as to the question on which side there had been a failure of friendship, confidence, or attention in reference to this business. I feel this so strongly that I will not dwell upon it. Nothing belonging to this occurrence, painful as it is to my personal feelings, with respect to yourself, can make me forget how long and how sincerely I have been affectionately yours

'W. PITT.'

(*Auckland Papers*, vol. iv. p. 125.)

After the production of such a document, it is absurd to contend that the charges against Lord Auckland in this transaction rest on the loose statements of Lord Malmesbury. They rest on the positive and final judgment of Mr. Pitt, who thenceforward never renewed his acquaintance with the man who had made the Coalition of 1783; who had afterwards attempted to reconcile Lord Shelburne, alternately if not simultaneously, with Lord North and with Mr. Fox; who had then deserted the Whigs for the service of Pitt; and who ended by caballing against the wise and conciliatory policy of his friend and benefactor.*

* It deserves remark that Lord Auckland in the course of his long and servile official life never reached the Cabinet. When Lord

We have confined ourselves on the present occasion to those parts of Mr. Pitt's career on which some new light has been thrown by recent publications, and we shall not now revert to the questions raised by Mr. Pitt's resignation, and by his relations to the Minister who succeeded him. The fourth volume of Lord Stanhope's work, in which these transactions are related, down to the close of Mr. Pitt's life, is fully equal, if not superior, to the preceding volumes; and although we have stated reasons for differing from some of the noble biographer's views, which he himself admits to be somewhat biassed by early associations and by constant veneration for his illustrious kinsman, we are most anxious to do justice to the dignified and dispassionate spirit which he displays throughout his work.

In conclusion we will only advert to an opinion expressed by Lord Stanhope, that if Mr. Pitt had been able to meet Parliament in 1806 in tolerably good health, his ministry would have recovered its former power and durability. We cannot think so. Upon his return to office in 1804 he stood between two parties in Parliament, — that of Fox and Lord Grenville, still proscribed by the King, that of Addington and the old Tories, ever ready, as was shown by actual experiment, to fly off from him. His own attempts alternately to ally himself with one or the other of these parties, prove how difficult he thought it to maintain himself in opposition to both of them. But, on the other hand, conscious of his own importance, he was less than ever disposed to make fresh sacrifices to the demands of the King, and to the exigencies of the old Tory party acting with Lord Sidmouth. 'If he had lived,' said Lord Sheffield at the time, 'he would have been liable to 'mortification too great for his haughty spirit to bear, and the 'country would have sunk under parliamentary wrangles.' The enchanter's wand, which had so long swayed the tempests of the State, was broken. And although Mr. Pitt died at forty-six, before the dawn of peace and independence was discernible on the horizon of Europe, we believe that his work was accomplished, and that a prolonged tenure of office would have added nothing to his fame.

Grenville and Mr. Fox entered into negotiations in 1806 on the formation of the Ministry of all the talents, each of those statesmen said to the other that there was one man they wished to exclude from the Cabinet. Both named their man — and both named Lord Auckland.

ART. V.—1. *Habitations Lacustres des Temps Anciens et Modernes.* Par FRÉDÉRIC TROYON. Lausanne: 1860.

2. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VII.

NOTHING in the history of scientific investigation is more remarkable than the singular manner in which the labours of various inquirers, acting without apparent concert, seem frequently to take at the same time a common direction. Phenomena of deep interest or importance exist around us unrevealed, like the gold in Australian gravel, until the hour suddenly arrives when light, thrown on them from one quarter, is answered by corresponding lights from all parts of the heavens. Then the system of which these phenomena form a part, their relation to each other, and their bearing on some general subject, disclose themselves little by little, with all the freshness of discovery. Twenty years ago, or little more, it was the commonly received doctrine that there were not any traces of Man to be found in Europe attributable to any age earlier than that very recent period known, or, at all events, indicated to us through history. And now, simultaneously, and from various corners of Europe, a new school of inquirers, proceeding, as we shall see, by a method utterly different from any adopted before, inform us that this quarter of the globe was peopled for uncounted ages before history began,—peopled by a race of whose memory history contains no record whatever. It tells us of entire populations, with their arts, customs and languages, buried and forgotten before Troy town was besieged, or the oldest piles of Cyclopean masonry were massed together by their mysterious architects*: with annals far antecedent to the memory of Spenser's Eumnestes, who

> —'all the wars remembered of King Nine,
> 'And old Assaracus and Inachus divine.'

From the mounds and dykes of farthest Scandinavia—from limestone caves and turf deposits scattered over Western Europe—from the bogs of Ireland and the lake shores of Swit-

* The present King of Denmark however contributed to the Annual Meeting of the Society of Northern Antiquaries (1857), a memoir in which reasons are given for believing that these Cyclopean structures (or the 'Halls of the Giants,' which answer to them in the North), might have been erected by men to whom the use of metals was unknown.

zerland—nay, from the gravel and sand strata of past geological periods, in Picardy and in Suffolk—the evidence accumulates upon us of the existence, and long continuance, of successive 'pre-historical' races of men; smaller men than ourselves; a 'feeble folk,' apparently, who must have had a difficulty in maintaining their existence against the inclemency of climate and the incursions of wild beasts, yet who must have struggled on, through multiplied centuries of unprogressive existence: so low, in some respects, that they did not know the use of metals until introduced at a comparatively late period; yet so far advanced in others, that they lived in numerous societies, practised some rude agriculture, buried their dead with peculiar usages, and were certainly a good way removed from the low savage type. These discoveries, curious and interesting as they are, have almost a disquieting effect on the imagination. They introduce into the domain of history something of that sense of oppression which results from the manner in which the modern theories of geology draw on Time as an inexhaustible bank. They threaten a revolution in our way of thinking, too fundamental to be agreeable. For it is well observed by Archbishop Whately (in his edition of Bacon's Essays) that the proverbial love of novelty in mankind extends only to details; a new system, in politics or in science, has attractions only for the few, and disturbs the minds of the many. But when this first feeling has passed away, and we no longer shrink from apprehending a great theory, subversive of the assumptions which have hitherto tacitly regulated our thoughts, we are carried forward, in spite of ourselves, by the magnificence of the new prospect. It is as if our powers of vision were suddenly doubled, or our perceptible horizon removed to twice its former distance. In such a frame of mind, we are apt to forget that these disclosures are still in their infancy. Men assign to them an amount of certainty, and an extent of range, which are in truth as yet unwarranted. And, on the whole, we are inclined to believe that the best service which can be rendered to the cause of investigation, is to take the phenomena severally, and endeavour first to examine each by its own separate light, as far as this can be done, without making premature efforts at generalisation. We therefore purpose, on the present occasion, to confine ourselves almost wholly to the subject of M. Troyon's work—the 'Lacustrine habitations,' or Pfahlbauten (pile-buildings) of Switzerland—and the very analogous relics of primæval antiquity which have lately been discovered in Ireland.

In order, however, to comprehend the use made by the Swiss antiquaries of the discoveries recently effected in the lakes of

their country, it is absolutely necessary to be acquainted at least with the outlines of the labours of learned Europe, for the last fifteen years, in the same general sphere of inquiry. The notion that three distinct races of men have consecutively occupied the greater part of Europe, before the period at which history, properly so called, begins,—or, to speak more accurately, the last of which races only is properly 'historical'—originated, we believe, with the antiquarians of the Scandinavian peninsula. Professor Worsaae, who has done more than any other individual in opening this vast field of inquiry, ascribes the nomenclature of the Three Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, to Staatsrath E. C. Thomsen (about 1843). Stripped as far as possible of controversial details, the facts revealed by the examination of numberless places of sepulture, on the shores of the Baltic, of alluvial gravels, and other deposits, are said to be these. First, that great part of the Baltic countries was at one time occupied by a race of men who did not know the use of metals; who were hunters, but agriculturists only in some spots and to a slight extent; who were of smaller stature than modern Europeans; who buried their dead, unburnt, in stone-chests; who dwelt almost exclusively (so far as has yet been discovered), on the shores of the sea, or of the rivers, fiords, and fresh-water lakes of the Scandinavian North. It is added (but this, of course, is conjectural only), that while these people probably migrated hither from the East, following the course of the rivers of Russia and the coasts of the Baltic, another division of them penetrated into Central Europe along the shores of the Mediterranean—both leaving memorials of themselves, strictly analogous to the Scandinavian, scattered on their two lines of march. After discussing various unsuccessful attempts to connect these people of the 'age of stone' with existing European races*, Professor Worsaae suggested that they should be simply termed 'pre-historical,' as a confession of ignorance,—a suggestion which has been pretty generally acquiesced in.

Secondly, that at some later period another race followed who knew the use of metals, but employed almost exclusively a compound of copper and tin, or 'bronze,' for their implements of war and peace. This race, generally speaking, occupied the

* Among others with the Greenlanders or Esquimaux, whom, singularly enough, Isaac Lapeyrere, in his strange dissertation on the Preadamites (published in 1641), had selected as a relic of that population which he believed to have existed before the Fall. The greater part of his essay is devoted to the Biblical argument: but it contains also some curious anticipations of the antiquarian theories with which we are now concerned.

settlements of its predecessors; but it also added new ones, and ventured farther into the interior from the navigable waters than the men of stone had done. Its habits were also more agricultural. In short, it constituted a more advanced type of humanity. About its mode of sepulture much uncertainty prevails; Worsaae thinks that the men of bronze adopted both modes, of burying and burning the dead. When first the notion of a 'bronze age' was started, there were some determined Teutons who broached the theory that it actually *preceded* that of stone; and that an advanced German race, knowing the use of metals, had been for a time thrust from its seat by a flood of little Celts with their stone hatchets. Worsaae, however, had no doubt that the age of bronze came second in point of date. But he was inclined (see his 'Zur Alterthumskunde 'des Norden,' 1847) to imagine that the men of bronze belonged to several of our existing races,—were some of them Goths, others Celts,, Thracians, and so forth. More recent inquiry seems to have thrust farther back the supposed age of this perplexing people, and they are commonly set down as equally 'pre-historical' with the denizens of the Age of Stone.

Lastly, that an Age of Iron succeeded; being that of the historical races, of most of whom we learn something from the records of Rome. Worsaae, indeed, suggested that the Age of Iron did not commence in North Germany until about A.D. 500, or after the Roman period; but we believe that all are now agreed in assigning to its beginning a much higher antiquity.

Such is the outline of the first Swedish discoveries; illustrated, rather than followed, as we have said before, by similar discoveries in Ireland, France, Denmark (where the 'kitchen-'middings,' masses of bones of animals, apparently used for food by the earliest inhabitants, have formed the subject of especially curious studies), and, lastly, in the lakes of Switzerland; besides those made in the ancient 'drift' by M. Boucher de Perthes and his fellow-labourers, which, as thought to belong to a different geological age, must always be separately dealt with. The 'pre-historical' people have already passed from the hands of the mere archæologist into those of the ethnologist: there are vast speculations afloat, tending to connect them with that mighty, but somewhat imaginary, 'Turanian' family of nations, of which Professor Max Müller tells us that its language 'comprises all 'languages spoken in Asia or Europe not included under the 'Arian or Semitic families, with the exception of the Chinese 'and its dialects.' 'This,' the Professor adds truly enough, 'is 'indeed a very wide range; and the characteristic marks of 'union, ascertained for this immense variety of languages, are as

'yet very vague and general, if compared with the definite ties 'of relation which severally unite the Semitic and the Arian.' Mr. Rawlinson, the translator of Herodotus, tells us, in commenting on this passage, that—

'The original occupation of Asia by Turanian races . . . is admitted. The peopling of Europe in primeval times, by tribes having a similar form of speech, which yielded everywhere to the Indo-European races, and were either absorbed or driven into holes and corners, is apparent from the position of the Laps, Finns, Esths, and Basques, whose dialects are of the Turanian type.'

And other speculators, proceeding further on the same road, drew the inference which we have already mentioned, namely, that these fragments of an ancient dispossessed people, especially the Lapps and Finns, who are diminutive in stature, are, in truth, the existing representatives of those whose relics are buried in the mud of the Swiss lakes, and of those, far more ancient, whose wrought flints are dug by myriads out of the Suffolk 'crag' and the tertiary formation about Abbeville. But with this slight glimpse only, we are determined to dismiss, for the present occasion, all ethnological speculation: convinced that it is premature, and that it is far better to acquiesce in the mystery which surrounds the origin and family of the races in question, and search out patiently the records which they have left us of their habits of life and their geographical extension.

It may be advisable also to guard against another source of confusion, to which the lively imagination of antiquarians is a little too prone. It is scarcely philosophical to infer a connexion between different races of men, merely because, being placed under similar physical conditions, they have adopted similar devices and similar modes of living. The fisherman of the Bosphorus raises a curious and complicated kind of wooden erection on stages, by means of piles driven in the current of the strait. Mr. Layard describes for us the extraordinary island-dwellings of the Afaij Arabs in the marshes of the Euphrates, and shows us that tribes of similar habits are depicted among the subjugated nations in the sculptures of Nineveh. (Nineveh and Babylon, chap. xxiv.) The negroes on the Tchadda construct similar aquatic habitations, described by Dr. Baikie. The Papuans of New Guinea dwell in villages built on wooden platforms in the tide rivers, closely and curiously resembling the supposed erections of the 'Lacustrines' in Switzerland. The American Indians in the Lake of Maracaybo are reported to have had 'cities' of similar construction; whence their province was termed by the Spanish conquerors, Venezuela, or Little Venice. But these are analogies only,

casting a curious light on the discoveries made by the Swiss archæologists. Similar necessity produces everywhere a resort to the same methods: people who, for purposes of defence or nourishment, take to dwelling in the middle of the waters, must live in many respects alike; and no reasonable antiquarian would infer from thence a family connexion between the several cases, or imagine that he had under his eyes the relics of some primitive and universal practice. So with regard to the most curious parallel instance of all those cited in M. Troyon's book: the description given by Herodotus of certain Pæonians on Lake Prasias, in Thrace. We quote from Mr. Rawlinson's translation:—

'Their manner of living is the following: platforms supported upon tall piles stand in the middle of the lake, which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge. At the first, the piles which bear up the platforms were fixed in their places by the whole body of the citizens; but since that time, the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this. They are brought from a hill called Orbelus, and every man drives in three for every wife that he marries. Now the men have all many wives apiece, and this is the way in which they live. Each has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms, and each has also a trap door giving access to the lake beneath; and their wont is to tie their baby children by the foot with a string, to save them from rolling into the water. They feed their horses and their other beasts upon fish, which abound in the lake to such a degree, that a man has only to open his trap door, and let down a basket by a rope into the water, and then to wait a very short time, when up he draws it quite full of them.'

We shall see presently that the Father of History has here sketched for us, in his graphic way, the very outlines of that Lacustrine life which M. Troyon supposes to have been led by his pre-historical fellow-countrymen. But we cannot infer from thence a common 'Turanian' origin for the dwellers on Lake Leman and Lake Prasias, as Mr. Rawlinson seems inclined to do, any more than from the fact that there 'is salmons in both.'

With these few preliminary remarks, we will proceed at once to consider, by themselves and without further efforts at generalisation, the facts communicated by M. Troyon.

The boatmen on the Swiss lakes, when navigating close to the shore, had, from time immemorial, observed in various places, under the calm transparent water, the heads of numberless wooden stakes just protruding through the deposit of soft silt which is generally found at the bottom. Here and there, along with these, large blocks of wood were visible, stags' horns of great size, bones, and fragments of pottery. There still lived

among them* a traditional belief, that these were the remains of dwellings, occupied by people of ancient times, who built on the lakes in order to shelter themselves from wild beasts. And yet century after century elapsed, and no one had the curiosity to look closer into these scattered fragments of a forgotten world, until the season had ripened for the final discovery.

But it so happened, that in 1853 and 1854, a period of unusual dryness set in. The higher mountains did not receive their usual supplies of winter snow, and the lakes, scantily fed by the glacier streams, fell far below their ordinary level. In the Lake of Zurich, the lowest level hitherto marked on the so-called 'stone of Stäfa' had been attained in 1674. In 1854, the water was a foot lower. In a small bay between Ober Meilen and Dollikon, the inhabitants† took advantage of the recession to increase their gardens, by building a wall along the new low-water line, and filling up the space thus acquired with earth obtained by dredging the lake. During this operation, they 'found great numbers of piles, of deer-'horns, and also some implements.' The attention of Dr. F. Keller, of Zurich, was called to the discovery; and the result of his investigations (described by him in three memoirs, presented to the Antiquarian Society of Zurich in 1854, 1858, and 1860), was to establish the existence of a submerged 'lake 'village,' in this part of the Lake of Zurich. This discovery was rapidly followed by others. In the Lake Constance, Geneva, Neufchatel, Bienne, Morat, Sempach, and in many smaller ones (Inkwyl, Pfäffikon, Moosseedorf, Luissel), similar sites have been traced. They seem, indeed, now to multiply in the note-books of archæologists with almost inconvenient rapidity. Two years ago, twenty-six such village sites had already been traced and described in the Lake of Neufchatel alone; twenty-four in that of Geneva; sixteen in that of Constance, and we cannot tell how many more the zeal of local inquiry, stimulated by rivalry, may have since disinterred. And the amount of ancient objects recovered from their débris acquires a magnitude still more formidable. Twenty-four thousand of these have been raised from the single locality of Concise, in the Lake of Neufchatel. 'We are still very far,' says M. Troyon, 'from having recovered all the relics imbedded 'in the silt of the lakes and peat of the valleys. Nevertheless, 'we are by this time acquainted with a sufficient number of

* On the shores of the Lake of Geneva, between Yvoire and Hermance, M. Troyon found this notion prevailing. (p. 128.)

† See 'Natural History Review' for January 1862.

'points of remarkable richness, to enable us to give, by their 'description, an idea of that ancient population which had the 'habit of living on these waters.'

At first sight, indeed, the systematic texture of facts said to be established seems to contradict strangely with the slight and fragmentary nature of the indications on which they are grounded. But the process of investigation in this, as in analogous cases, is in reality by safe deduction from a multitude of inferences, in themselves slight, in conjunction overwhelming. Cuvier at first astonished the ignorant, and made more sceptics than believers, when he reconstructed extinct animals from single fossil bones. So did his disciples, when, from a shell or two, or the remains of a single animal, they established the age of a mineral deposit extending over a province. But these things no longer surprise us now. The irresistible force of induction has conquered unbelief. Our trained eyes have become enabled to see with comparative clearness through the mists of geological antiquity; and our inferences, though very far from infallible, are hardly subject to any greater risk of error than is incident to ordinary speculations, founded on premises apparently more obvious and more extensive. The very same process inaugurated by Cuvier and his followers in the science of palæontology is now carrying on in that branch of archæological research which we have under our eyes. And it is perhaps rather a curious circumstance, that the inductive, or Baconian, method of inquiry seems to have come into general use in antiquarian study much later than in scientific. Antiquarian investigation, until within a very recent period, was certainly all 'deductive.' That is, it was the habit to adhere in a general way to some ethnological or other theory, and then to search for evidence to support it. 'The inductive 'philosopher,' says Mr. Buckle, 'is naturally cautious, patient, 'and somewhat creeping; while the deductive philosopher is 'remarkable for boldness, dexterity, and often rashness.'* Certainly the latter were the commoner characteristics of the enthusiastic F.S.A. of the last century. Nay, to borrow the words of the same author when speaking of David Hume:—

* We cannot cite this name without adding the expression of no transitory regret. Every student of social history must feel it as a personal loss, that he is no more to grapple with that vigorous and self-sustained intellect, to feel the edge of that trenchant style. Whatever judgment posterity may form of the value of so much as Mr. Buckle was permitted to accomplish, we of the present day cannot but recognise that we have lost in him one whose originality of thought was great, but who was still more remarkable for reproducing and marshalling with extraordinary distinctness a class of thoughts very prevalent in the minds of this generation.

'He not only believed with perfect justice that ideas are more important than facts, but he supposed that they should hold the first place in the order of study, and that they should be developed before the facts are investigated.'

We shall see, by examining the method adopted by our Swiss and other inquirers of the new school, in 'first collecting the 'facts, and then proceeding to the ideas,' how much of new life can be imparted into what seemed an almost worn-out study, by the introduction of the truer process.

It is, indeed, difficult to do justice to this part of our subject, and of M. Troyon's work, by mere analysis or extract; it can only be appreciated by a careful investigation of details. But a mere summary will, at all events, illustrate our meaning, and serve as an index. The antiquarian observes a number of heads of piles or stakes (often in vast profusion, one site, it is said, has 40,000) disposed in some sort of arrangement, slightly protruding above the silt in the manner already described, at a small distance from the shore, and in shallow water; say four, six, or eight feet beneath low-water level. These stake-heads mark out the sites, and the extent, of villages. Now it need not be said that stakes of solid wood under water last a very long time; but they perish at last. Those in question have doubtless been wasted by the action of the water down to the point at which their further decay is arrested by the casing of silt. But the wood wastes more rapidly in the upper and agitated, than in the lower and more tranquil, stratum of water. If, therefore, the piles have been worn down to the actual silt, these are the most ancient. If they still project a foot or two above the silt, then the destructive action of the lower stratum of water has not yet completed its work. These, therefore, are the remnants of comparatively modern 'pile-buildings;' ages, it may be, posterior to the former. And, if we understand our authorities aright—but this is a point of extreme delicacy and importance, on which we do not feel qualified to speak except 'under reserve'—the respective character of the objects of antiquity found in these different places correspond with the indications of comparative antiquity afforded by the length of the stakes. In the next place: a double range of stakes is often found in a straight line from the mass of stakes to the shore. This denotes the bridge which connected the settlement with the main land. Scattered on the silt, among the stakes, or close to them, lie fragments of wooden beams, roughly squared. These must have been part of the platform, raised on the stakes, which supported the houses. They are in many cases partially charred by fire. The village was, therefore, destroyed by fire. Buried in the silt, by their side, are quantities

of wattles, twisted into such shapes as to form part of a concave framework; together with bits of clay casing, similarly concave. These were portions of the walls, with their lining, of the circular huts which we must conceive perched on the platforms. Among these lie lumps of matted foliage and moss, huge stags' horns, and other miscellaneous articles. These probably formed part of the rude furniture of the cabins. There are also trunks of trees, partially hollow; these people, therefore, used canoes. From the concavity of the wattles and casings we arrive at a notion of the ordinary size of the cottages (generally, says M. Troyon, from three to four yards in diameter). By the number of piles we calculate the size of the platform. Putting the two together, we arrive at the probable number of cottages. Adding an estimate of the probable number of dwellers in every such cottage, we have the probable population.

The 'objects' made of durable materials, found in the silt among these ruins, are, as we have said, almost innumerable. In many of the villages these are of stone exclusively, or mixed only with fragments of wrought bone and earthenware. The stone is commonly serpentine, or other similar native rock. But a kind of flint is also largely used. This is not found nearer than in France or Germany. The people, therefore, had some slight traffic with these neighbouring parts. They comprise knife-blades, arrow- and lance-heads, saws, hammers, borers, needles, above all, axes and hatchets of most various size and shape, and prepared to be fitted to handles by sundry ingenious devices. Now where these alone are found, the conclusion is, that the villages belonged to a people unacquainted with the use of metals,—that they are of what is now familiarly denominated the 'age of stone.' But, here and there, amidst the multitude of stone and bone objects, there is some fragment of an implement of metal, or an ornament of coral or amber. *Ergò*, the inhabitants had some traffic with distant parts. They, or their neighbours, from whom they could obtain these things by exchange, were visited by the traders of the Mediterranean.

But we next examine the remains of another village, in which these objects of metal are multiplied. Weapons and domestic implements of bronze are mingled with those of stone. These are chiefly warlike—sword and hatchet blades, and so forth,—arrows in less quantity than in the stone villages; but they are also, in great part, domestic, together with a singular abundance of personal ornaments and baubles — hair-pins, buttons, chains, and the like. Therefore, a race of superior acquirements to the former was, at one time, established in the same localities, and (as we shall see) remained there long. But might not these have

been only the descendants of the 'stone' race, improved in point of civilisation so as to acquire the art of working metals? The Swiss antiquaries reply, with confidence, no; and mainly for the following reason. Bronze is a mixed metal, of copper and tin. Had the natives learnt, and then improved, the art of working in metal, their first essays would undoubtedly have been in a single metal. Implements of copper alone have been in fact discovered in some Eastern countries; but none such have as yet been found in Switzerland. Again, tin, one of the materials of bronze, is one of the scarcest of metals, and derived by the ancients apparently from one quarter alone, the British Islands. It seems, therefore, much more probable that the metal should have reached Switzerland, in general, in its composite state, than that the amalgamation should have been effected there; although it cannot be denied that the art of amalgamation was *at some time* known to the Swiss Lacustrines, since blocks of copper and tin were discovered in one locality separate from each other, and with traces of a foundry (at Thonon, on the Lake of Geneva; see Troyon, p. 310.). Again: though many settlements founded in the stone era were also peopled by the bronze race, there are many others which show no signs of such occupancy, but exhibit apparent traces of violent destruction by fire. Putting all these things together, the antiquaries adopt, as the most probable conclusion, that, in Switzerland at least, the men of bronze were new comers, who conquered, and ultimately exterminated, their feebler predecessors.

But the subsequent age of bronze was of very long duration. This is proved by the thickness of the *strata* of relics, and by the considerable difference of length in the uncovered portions of the stakes in different bronze villages respectively. Its society perished at last by violence, as that of the former age had done. This is shown by the recurrence of the same signs of destruction. The people who destroyed it wielded swords and spears of iron, as their relics testify. The destruction was nearly complete, for out of sixty or eighty villages of which the existence in the bronze age is hitherto established, eleven only show signs, and these slight, of having still been occupied in the iron age. This mysterious bronze nation, intercalated between the first 'pre-historical' and the modern race, seems in Switzerland to have perished absolutely. The men of iron were in all probability the Celts, or Helvetians, who were the first inhabitants of Switzerland known to the Romans: and at this point written history seems, according to the light of our present knowledge, to dovetail in with that inscribed on those moulder-

ing relics which have now been tortured by the logic of science into yielding their strange confessions.

One fact only, connected with this invasion by the iron race, is so curious in its general bearing on history, as to deserve mention here. We have seen that they did not occupy, or soon abandoned, the lacustrine dwellings. They were stronger and better armed, and did not need the feeble protection which these afforded to their predecessors. They were not traders, and had no habits which wedded them to a waterside life. But men in later ages returned to those spots of peculiar natural advantage which the primævals had utilised. The cities of Zurich and Geneva, as well as various smaller towns, rest on the sites of buried lake-villages.

But the same process of induction which has led us to these general conclusions as to the history of these lacustrine races, reveals to us also the most curious and minute circumstances respecting their mode of life. A few fragments of stone or bronze, pottery, and bones, heaped up confusedly with some other objects in a bed of silt, serve the office of a volume of cotemporary memoirs. These people, especially of the stone age, were of smaller stature than the present inhabitants of Europe. This is proved by the size of their ornaments, and in particular by the grasp of the handles of their implements. They were a race of hunters: this is shown by their arrow-heads and lance-heads, and, further, by the bones of wild animals,—the élan, the deer, the wild boar, and others,—heaped together round their dwellings. But they were also pastoral: for the bones of sheep and oxen, and more rarely of a small species of horse, are found in close juxtaposition with the former. They were to some extent agricultural: for grains of wheat and six-rowed barley, kernels of cultivated fruit, nuts, nay, slices of small apples and pears as if cut for preserving, and cakes of unleavened meal, are found among the other relics. There are traces, though less certain, of mats, or cordage, of hemp or flax. All these are in general found charred by fire: the remnants of the last dinner perhaps of the unfortunate Lacustrines, before the men of bronze, or those of iron, destroyed them and their habitations together. Few human bones are found among the relics of the earlier periods: there were, therefore, no savage or murderous rites practised; and such bones as are found may have belonged to individuals slain in the last assault. But appearances are very different in the age of iron: then human sacrifice seems to have been abundantly performed; in one place, the skeletons of four young women, in distorted attitudes, have been disinterred,

along with fragments of broken ornaments; the victims probably of some of those sanguinary rites:—

> —'quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus.'

The pre-historical men had their domestic animals, and fed their dogs with the relics of their dinner; for it is found that almost all the bones containing marrow are broken, while many of them are marked by the teeth of dogs. They preferred spring water to the flat beverage of their own lakes; for among their pottery are found fragments of vases two or three feet in diameter — and it is difficult to conjecture what other purpose these can have served. But there are other vases curiously and artistically punched with round holes, disposed in lines. These could not have held any liquid, but they probably did hold curd, from which the liquor had been expressed; the inhabitants of the Pfahlbauten on Lake Leman, like their successors in the modern châlets, were therefore skilled in the confection of *laitages*. Lastly, however great their antiquity, they were not, in the common phrase, antediluvian; they belonged to the modern era, geologically speaking. They do not seem to have been contemporaneous with different animals or a different climate from those of modern Switzerland. Their animals are all of races existing in that country; their vegetables, all but one or two, of which the water-chestnut (*Trapa natans*) is mentioned as the most remarkable.

What is established in these respects concerning the habits of the age of stone, seems also generally true of that of bronze. The men of that age had made, no doubt, that advance which the more powerful nature of the means at their disposal secured to them. Their 'Pfahlbauten' were, as a rule, somewhat farther advanced into the lakes than those of the men of stone; showing, either that they had more powerful enemies to dread from landwards, or, that the possession of metals enabled them to cut timber more easily, and use it more profusely. But their general mode of life on the lakes remained much the same with that of their predecessors. It has been attempted, however, to establish one difference between them, so remarkable as to require distinct notice; namely, as to their mode of sepulture.

The men of stone certainly followed (in Switzerland as in Scandinavia) that most primæval of sepulchral usages, which spread from the far East, perhaps, over all the old world,—of which the records are said to be found deep under the foundations of Babylon; insomuch that the migrations of these first colonists of the West may be traced, according to some authorities, by

their graves. Their dead were deposited in 'stone-chests' or cells, constructed generally of three or four large flat slabs, adapted to contain bodies doubled up, face and knees together, and the arms crossed over the breast. Few of these have indeed been found in Switzerland; but such as there are exhibit these peculiarities. Whether this posture was adopted, as some fancy, from analogy to that of the infant in the womb, or whether (which seems the simpler interpretation) because it required least room and exacted the smallest amount of labour, it is, at all events, characteristic of extreme antiquity, and still subsists, like other usages of the like antiquity, only in the remotest corners of the world, such as the southern extremities of Africa and America. Such was the mode of sepulture of the primitive race. But how long it continued is not so clear. We must not be too systematic on the subject. Mr. Lubbock says (Natural History Review, Jan. 1862) that 'the very same position was, 'to say the least of it, very common in early British tombs,' which are, in comparison, but of yesterday. And the Swiss authorities themselves (like those of the North) seem very uncertain as to its employment in the age of bronze. We rather infer, from M. Troyon's book (notwithstanding some expressions which seem contradictory, see p. 302.), that he believes interment, without burning, to have continued throughout the era of bronze. At Sion, and at Chardonne, near Vevey, instruments of bronze have been found in primitive tombs. But the bodies seem to have been deposited there in the natural attitude. The ancient practice of bending the body together would seem then to have been discontinued at some time in the intermediate age. On these questions, however, the records are scanty, and speak but doubtfully. This much alone is certain: that the custom of burning the dead, or 'incineration,' as antiquaries call it, together with the 'tumulus,' or mound raised over the ashes, appears universally to commence with the advent of the age of iron, and 'clearly designates the establishment of the Helvetian race 'at the foot of the Alps.' (*Troyon*, p. 328.) With the arrival of these strangers our present researches terminate. They were a people considerably advanced both in the arts and in commerce long before the Romans knew them; how long, we have no means of judging. At Tiefenau, near Berne, is the field of a great unrecorded battle, in which these Helvetian immigrants appear to have turned their arms against each other. 'Fragments of chariots, a hundred swords, remnants 'of coats of mail, lance-heads, rings, fibulæ, ornaments, various 'utensils, coarse earthenware, and fragments of glass bracelets, 'accompanied by some thirty coins, of Gaul and Marseilles,

'anterior to our era,' have been picked up on the ground, and may serve as the memorials of some bloody day, when these conquerors revenged on each other, in civil conflict, the wrongs inflicted on the exterminated 'men of bronze.'

Of the religion of the earliest race nothing is known; some crescent-shaped stone articles have been termed amulets, or 'fetiches,' by antiquarians, rather from not knowing what else to call them than from any settled premises. The same may be said of the age of bronze. For we cannot attach much importance to M. Troyon's ingenious speculations about 'men-'hirs,' 'lacustrine chapels,' and the like, there being really nothing to appropriate these monuments, if authentic monuments at all, to any age preceding the Celtic (pp. 381–3.). Nor are we very much impressed by the arguments which make him believe that the primitive mode of burial shows that his pre-historical race 'believed in the resurrection of the body.' Not until we arrive at the period of iron do we find substantial traces of those objects and ruins of a religious character which constitute such marked features, all over Europe, in Celtic antiquity.

And now, we think, we have said enough to show that M. Troyon is really not drawing on his imagination, but on a reasonably sufficient stock of materials, allowing only for some tincture of that kind of sober romance which antiquaries love, when he sketches the life of these primitive people in language like that of an actual observer:—

'The first possessors of the soil (the wild beasts) had to retire step by step before a new population, which came to raise upon the waters its picturesque groups of cabins, the smoke from whose hearths spread itself in the air. Fires lighted on the beach, where the domestic animals were folded, served to keep at a distance during the night the carnivorous ones, who as yet had only learnt to know that element by the electric flashes of the storm. As soon as the lacustrine habitation had attained some development, thousands of piles supported a platform crowned by numerous circular huts, with conical roofs. A narrow bridge connected these dwellings with the shore; boats, fastened to the piles, served for fishing and for voyages of discovery. Among the trophies of the chase which decorated the dwellings, were the antlers of huge stags, bear-skins, the manes of wild boars, and the skulls of wild bulls. The furniture was of the most primitive kind. Leaves, dried grass, moss and straw heaped on the floor, served the purpose of beds. On the hearth, situate in the middle of the room, was placed the *pôt-au-feu* of the family. The earthenware vessels were grouped in some corner. The arms and various utensils hung from the roof. These slight habitations sheltered thousands of families during a number of centuries; but who will ever tell of all the scenes of joy and grief which they have witnessed! . . . .

'And now, after enumerating the different branches of industry which characterised the life of these lacustrine races, it may be not out of place to remark that the inhabitant of the village had also his pleasures and amusements. The stone quoits found in the lakes resemble those which the North American Indians still employ in their sports. A people of huntsmen must have found pleasure in the handling of weapons, and in rivalries of skill and dexterity in hitting the mark, throwing the javelin, the race and the wrestle. Living on the lakes, they must have frequently made it an amusement to manage the oar, or to cleave the waters in swimming matches. The children of the tribe, like the dwellers on the shores of our lakes at the present day, played on the surface of the water, or plunged into it from their platforms. Again, when we see how proud these people were of adorning themselves with rings passed round all their limbs, with long pins, small chains, pendents, and even rattles, it may be safely concluded that they were not less attached to amusements and fêtes. The dances which formed part of their religious rites had not assuredly a character exclusively devotional; and we may suppose that their recreations and sports were such as they still are among tribes which have not got beyond the extent of progress attained by the ancient Gauls. The inhabitants of the villages, dispersed from the labours of the day, returned at night to seek repose in their dwellings; but, after their labours, the breeze of evening, in the soft moonlight, invited them to assemble on the platform, where their gaiety was not inferior to that of a modern village eve. . . . . During the stormy season, the dwelling, shaken by every blast of wind, afforded at times but little security. The angry waves rolled loudly under the frail hut, plunged in a profound obscurity only broken by the flashes of lightning. Who can say whether the electric fire did not occasionally consume the lacustrine hamlet? and how can we represent to ourselves the confusion of an entire population endeavouring to save its aged and children, and leaping into the waves to swim to the shore which some were unable to reach? And often must these disastrous scenes have assumed other shapes: the whistle of the wind, the howl of wolves, the melancholy shriek of the birds of night, must have excited the timid imagination of a credulous race, inclined to the marvellous, until it found vent for superstition, innate in every heart. Then the family circle would draw closer, and talk over the mysteries of the supernatural world.' (*Troyon*, pp. 376–80.)

To trace the historical course and geographical bearings of the revolutions and migrations which established each successive stage on the ruins of the others may seem a hopeless task; it is at all events far beyond our present means of execution. One remarkable circumstance, however, is thought by the Swiss antiquaries to be established; that is, unless subsequent discoveries chance to upset it, as has been the case with so many similar generalisations. The relics of the age of bronze, mingled with that of stone, are found in Western Switzerland only—

the lakes of Geneva, Neufchatel, and so forth. In Eastern Switzerland (Lakes of Constance, Zurich, Moosseedorf, &c.) the villages as yet discovered are all of the unmixed period of stone. And, singularly enough—possibly, indeed, through some chain of cause and effect as yet unknown, and not by mere coincidence—the boundary between these two classes of villages seem exactly to coincide with that which divides the French from the German population of modern Switzerland. The conjectural explanation is this: that the immigration of the men of bronze took place from the Mediterranean up the valley of the Rhone, and through the broad gate of Lake Leman; that they stopped short, eastward, in their occupation of the Alpine land at this point; not in their conquest of it, for the stone age Pfahlbauten east of this line show the same signs of violent destruction as those to the west.

Can we form any conjecture as to the family and origin of these men of bronze, the intermediate race between the primitive and the modern? We have at the outset of this article noticed Worsaae's opinion on the subject; at least, what he advanced, with hesitation, in 1847, when these inquiries were in their infancy. It seems to have been the fashion among Swiss antiquarians to term them Celts, and thus to recognise a prior Celtic invasion of bronze, and a posterior Celto-Germanic, or Cymric, or Helvetian of iron. But M. Troyon confesses, as it seems to us with much reason, that he is not satisfied with this ordinary doctrine:—

'I have adopted,' he says (p. 419.), 'the general denomination of Celts for the European population of the age of bronze. I admit, nevertheless, that the question may be raised, whether the Celts did not in truth arrive in the West at the epoch of the first age of iron.'

He then shows, what is perfectly true, that the Celts, at the earliest period at which history speaks of them, were acquainted with the use of gold, copper, and silver, as well as iron. It may be added that the small and delicate figures of this bronze race present no analogy to those of the sturdy Celtic breed. It seems safest, as we have already stated, to suppose both the first races equally 'pre-historical,' as far as our present knowledge goes.

Following out his inductive course of argument with singular persistency, M. Troyon has gone (as already said) so far as even to calculate the number of inhabitants who occupied the Lacustrine settlements of the western Swiss lakes during the bronze and stone periods respectively. The process by which he constructs this curious fabric of reasoning is as follows:—

'Measuring the side of the village platform by the extent of space

occupied by the remains of piles, it is easy to form an approximative idea of the number of huts which the village might contain. One of the largest, that at Morges, is 1,200 feet long, by 150 of average breadth, which gives a surface of 180,000 square feet. Deducting half this surface for the room required for ways and open spaces; and covering the other with huts seventeen feet in diameter, thickness of walls inclusive, and leaving out the room left unoccupied in consequence of the circular form of the huts; we find that the settlement at Morges might count 311 huts. We may assume without danger of exaggeration an average of four inmates for each. Population therefore, 1,244. Assuming the same premises, the eight villages discovered on the lake of Neufchatel, measuring respectively from 8,000 to 160,000 square feet of surface, would contain in all 5000 inhabitants, or an average of 625 to the village. The 68 lacustrine settlements of Western Switzerland in the age of bronze would thus give a total of 42,500 inhabitants. While for the preceding period, the lacustrine population scattered from Lake Leman to the two shores of the Lake of Constance would be of 31,875 persons. . . . If I enter into these details' (adds M. Troyon, modestly), 'it is especially with the object of inviting observations which may enable us to arrive at more complete results.'

He compares these numbers with that of the Helvetian emigration in the time of Julius Cæsar, 368,000 persons. (P. 403.)

Nor have our antiquaries shrunk from applying the same at once adventurous and logical method of inquiry to a problem of much greater interest—that of the antiquity and duration of what we have termed the stone and bronze periods in Switzerland. This they have endeavoured by the use of geological data. The following is the instance employed by M. Troyon:—

Yverdun—famous half a century ago all over the world, on account of its citizen, Pestalozzi—is built between the site of the Roman (and Gaulish) city Eburodunum and the Lake of Neufchatel. It stands on ground gained from the lake by the alluvium of the Orbe torrent. The ridge on which Eburodunum stood is now 2,500 feet from the lake. It is presumable that it was abandoned for the modern Yverdun, in consequence of the gradual growth of this alluvium. And it seems, from evidence which M. Troyon details, that the ridge in question was still bathed by the lake about A.D. 300. If so, fifteen centuries have been required to raise a space 2,500 feet wide above the waters. Now following the same torrent of the Orbe above Eburodunum, and at 3,000 feet from that site, at the foot of a kind of island in the marsh called the Mont de Chamblon, we find rows of pileheads, indicative of the site of a village of the first period, buried several feet deep in the alluvium of the valley. There was therefore once a lacustrine village 3,000 feet from Eburodunum, and 5,500 feet from the present

lake. Now, assuming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the rate of increase of the alluvium was the same before A.D. 300 as it has been since, this gives us some eighteen centuries more for the period which elapsed between the *abandonment* of this lacustrine village (on the retreating of the waters), and the era of A.D. 300 aforesaid. In other words, the abandonment in question took place 3,300 years ago; which, as it happens, agrees nearly with a similar estimate of M. Worsaae in his Northern Antiquities.

These calculations are no doubt ingenious, but M. Troyon himself readily admits that they are subject to many elements of uncertainty. In fact, another observer, M. Morlot ('Leçon 'd'Ouverture d'un Cours sur la Haute Antiquité, fait à l'Aca-'démie de Lausanne,' cited by Mr. Lubbock), arrives at a different result from the same process of calculation, applied in the case of similar lacustrine vestiges found in the alluvium of the Tinière, a torrent which falls into the head of Lake Leman at Villeneuve. The estimates obtained from his data incline M. Morlot 'on the whole, to suppose for the bronze 'era an antiquity of from 3,000 to 4,000 years, for the stone era 'of from 5,000 to 7,000 years.' *

It will be seen that nothing has as yet transpired, through these Swiss discoveries, which militates very seriously with the assumptions of those who are resolved to abide by the limit of six thousand years, assigned by popular theology as the duration of man upon the earth. But no student can honestly or consistently embark on that vast sea of inquiry which modern ethnological speculation is opening, unless he is prepared to disregard a doctrine which first assumes that Scripture is intended to teach us chronology, and then establishes, as scriptural chronology, a mere series of traditional and most

* We can do no more than advert in passing to the daring calculations which M. Morlot has just communicated to the Société Vaudoise des Sciences Naturelles (Revue Suisse, April, 1862), derived from the so-called diluvial deposits, in the valleys which open on the Lake of Geneva. 'There must have been successively a *first* glacier 'epoch, then a *first* diluvian epoch without large glaciers, then a 'second very long glacier epoch, then a second diluvian without large 'glaciers, and then the modern epoch .... The result of the whole 'inquiry is: a duration of a thousand centuries at least for the last 'geological epoch, which commenced immediately after the disap-'pearance of the great glaciers, characterised by the presence of the 'Mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), and, as it would seem, by the first 'appearance of man; which duration ended at the commencement 'of the modern epoch, which last has now continued about one 'hundred centuries.'

imperfect deductions from Scripture. Whatever may have been the date of the subjugation or destruction of that 'Turanian,' or pre-historical people, whose existence and activity on the surface of Europe are now brought to light in so many unexpected ways, it is very certain that they must have been prior sojourners on the earth for some extensive period of time. Their works, performed with none but stone implements, are enormous; it may almost be said, more enormous in relation to the power which they wielded than the monuments of Egypt or Assyria. They possessed domesticated animals; in a few cases they tilled the ground. How many ages of stationary or slowly progressive condition do these circumstances indicate? Or, if we prefer the once popular theory of degeneracy, and believe that the inferior races of man are the deteriorated relics of an ancient and lost civilisation, then how many ages of decline must have preceded the state of timorous impotence, the diminutive figures and small bodily powers, of which these remains give evidence? And again, we have seen that the most ancient of these lacustrine people were only contemporary with our existing Fauna and Flora. The relics of the 'drift-men' discovered by M. Boucher de Perthes in the valley of the Somme, and since that time in Suffolk and elsewhere, while closely resembling those of the early lacustrines in character, are affirmed to be contemporary with those of the extinct animals of the 'Pleistocene' geological period.* Nay, one of the latest authorities on this subject, Mr. Prestwich (in a paper read before the Royal Society in March last) is disposed to assign to them a date 'antecedent to the excavation of many 'of our great river valleys.' In the face of discoveries which seem to stretch farther and farther back into the night of ages,—

'Where wilds immeasurably spread
Seem lengthening as we go,'—

it behoves us for the present to maintain at least the attitude of serious and unprejudiced expectation. And we cannot refrain from introducing here certain very instructive remarks of Professor Owen, on the remains of a human individual of a singular race, the 'Mincopies' of the Andaman Islands. We quote from a recent number of Proceedings of the Geographical Society:—

'Professor Owen observed that the bones were those of a man to

* We do but touch on this highly interesting part of the subject on the present occasion for various reasons; one of which is, that we observe the announcement of an intended work on it by Sir Charles Lyell. No topic can be imagined better suited for that inductive genius, and that spirit of patient investigation, which have placed him at the head of his own class of scientific explorers.

all appearance in the prime of life, *who evidently did not exceed four feet ten inches in height.* As to the character of the bones, he might say he never saw any, in texture, or in the development of their processes or ridges, or in any of those characteristics which indicated the complete mastery of the frame by a healthy individual, so strongly marked as in those of the little man whose skeleton he had received from Dr. Mouatt.'

After observing that he had been unable to detect in the skull of the Andamanner any of those special indications which would have induced him to conclude in favour of affinity with the Malay, Mongolian, Negro, or any other well known race of men, the Professor proceeded to make the following remarks:—

'Why should ethnologists, when they come to study the natures of an insulated group of people like the Andamanners, deem it necessary to determine to what contemporaneous people they were allied, on the assumption that they had been derived from some existing and neighbouring land? Geological science had established the fact of continuous and progressive, though extremely slow, mutation of land and sea; and had taught them that the continents of modern geography were only the last phases of these mutations. How long the human species had existed, and how far they had been contemporaneous with such mutations, were the preliminary questions which presented themselves in grappling with the problem suggested by a peculiar insular race like the Mincopies. Certain it was, that geologists had conceived that the islands on the south of the present great continent of Asia might be remnants of some antecedent very distinct group of land. . . . In confirmation of that idea, they had the result of the geological researches of Cautley, Faulkner, and others in India, which seemed to show that the Himalayas had risen, lifting up the fossiliferous beds on their present slopes, within comparatively recent geological time, proving that India had been the site of one of the latest of those great upheaving forces that resulted in the formation of new continents. Was it not possible, then, that the Andamanners might have come from *nowhere* — that is to say, from no actual contiguous and separate land, but might be the representatives of an old race, belonging to a former continent that had almost disappeared?'

Leaving, for the present, this great enigma in the hands of those who, in various countries, are eagerly employed in seeking its solution, let us conclude by directing our attention from the opening to the conclusion of the long lacustrine history. We seem able to connect our lake-dwellers, *a parte antè*, in scholastic language, with those races of men of which there is geological record only. *A parte post*, we can connect them by fair reasoning with times absolutely recent, and show the latest of their primeval erections shattered by modern artillery. This connexion is to be traced through the history of the Irish 'cran-'noges,' or lacustrine fortresses on small stockaded islands; a

very curious chapter in archæology, and one which has been developed almost simultaneously with the recent discoveries in Switzerland.

These 'crannoges' have of late attracted the attention of several antiquaries, and, in particular, of Dr. Wilde, Secretary of Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Irish Academy, and of Mr. Digby Wyatt, the distinguished architect. They are thus described by the former gentleman, in his 'Catalogue of the 'Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy' (1857):—

'In most districts in which these islands were found, several small lakes are clustered together. They were not, strictly speaking, artificial islands, but *chrans:* small islets, or shallows, of clay and marl in these lakes, which were probably dry in summer time, but submerged in winter. These were enlarged and fortified by piles of oaken timber, and in some cases by stone work. A few were approached by moles or causeways; but generally speaking, they were completely insulated, and only accessible by boat; and it is notable that in almost every instance an ancient canoe was discovered in connexion with the *crannoge.* Being thus insulated, they afforded secure places of retreat from the attacks of enemies, or were the fastnesses of predatory chiefs or robbers, to which might be conveyed the booty of a marauding excursion, or the produce of a cattle raid. .... It is manifest, from the quantity, age, and variety of the antiquities discovered in these 'crannoges,' that they had been long occupied. We likewise learn from their recent submerged condition, how much water had accumulated on the face of the country since their construction, probably owing to the great decrease of forest timber, and the increased growth of bog. From the additions made to the height of the stockades, and also from the traces of fire discovered at different elevations in the sections made of these islands, it may be inferred that the rise of the waters commenced during the period of their occupation.'

The following is the general description of these 'crannoges,' given by the engineers of the Board of Works:—

'They are surrounded by stockades driven in a circle from sixty to eighty feet in diameter; but in some cases the inclosure is larger, and oval in shape. The stakes of these are generally of oak, mostly of young trees, from four to nine inches broad, usually in a single row, but sometimes in double, and in a few instances in treble. The portions of these stakes remaining in the ground generally bear the marks of the hatchet by which they were felled. Several feet of these piles must have originally projected above the water, and were probably interlaced with horizontal branches, so as to form a screen or breastwork. The surface within the rounded enclosure is sometimes covered over with a layer of round logs cut into lengths of from four to six feet, over which was placed more or less stones, clay, or

gravel. In some instances, this platform is confined to a portion of the island. Besides these, pieces of oak framing, with mortises and cheeks cut in them, have been found within the circle of the outer work. In almost every case, a collection of flat stones was discovered near the centre of the inclosure, apparently serving for a hearth; in some instances two or three such hearths were discovered at different points of the crannoge. . . . Considerable quantities of the bones of black cattle, deer, and swine, were also discovered upon or around the island.' (*Wilde's Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 224.)

At least fifty or sixty of these 'crannoges,' or rather of the foundations which mark their site, have now been disinterred, chiefly in the small lakes of the north of Ireland. It will be seen at once that they have only a slight resemblance to the 'Pfahlbauten' of Switzerland in their style of construction. The Swiss lake-dweller lived, generally speaking, in deeper waters; and, instead of filling these, raised over them a platform on piles. The native of Ireland chose a spot in some shallow mere, or a compound of unreclaimed swamp and water, raised the site with stones or earth, and surrounded it with wattle or timber fences. And the Swiss constructions may be thought to have served primarily the purpose of habitation; the Irish that of refuge or defence. Nevertheless, the analogies are, on the whole, more remarkable than the differences. In some shallow Swiss waters, indeed, the villages seem to have approximated to the 'crannoge' in actual character, of which there are instances at Steinberg, in the Lake of Biel, and in the little lake of Inkwyl. Some Irish 'crannoges,' on the other hand, are spacious enough for the site of villages. And, like the Swiss Pfahlbauten, they furnish to the digger great quantities of articles, not warlike only, but including household implements and personal ornaments. These, however, testify to a somewhat later period than the Swiss. The animal remains are said to be all of domestic kinds; some of a very fine race of short-horned oxen; some having the mark of slaughtering in the modern fashion, by the blow of an axe. Stone weapons and tools, so common in the Swiss lakes, are rare in Ireland. Bronze is also rare; iron and bone the principal materials used. Articles of gold, occasional among the Swiss relics of the supposed primitive races, very common among the Scandinavian, have not been as yet discovered among the Irish.

The 'crannoges' are therefore more recent than the 'Pfahl-bauten,' as far as existing knowledge enables us to judge. But at whatever period the use of them may have commenced, we know, at all events, that it is coeval with the earliest historical records of the Irish population. Dr. Wilde has traced a con-

tinuous series of notices respecting them, in chronicles, from the ninth century after Christ down to the seventeenth. The earliest discovered and examined 'crannoge,' in modern times—that of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, in Meath, of which the remains present 'a huge circular mound of 520 feet in circumference,' whence above 150 cartloads of bones of oxen, horses, and other animals, together with 'a vast collection of antiquities, 'warlike, culinary, personal, and ornamental, of stone, wood, 'bronze, and iron,' have been drawn — happens to be also the earliest to which historical allusion has been found. In the old translation of the Annals of Ulster, we are told that Cineadh, son of Conairg, 'brake down the island of Loch Gavan (Lagore) 'to the very bottom,' A.D. 848. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we have repeated accounts of onslaughts by one native chief on the 'crannoge' of another. The map of the escheated territories, or 'Platt of the county of Monaghan,' 1591, contains rough sketches of the dwellings of the petty chiefs of Monaghan, which are in all cases surrounded by water. 'The 'crannoge,' says Mr. Shirley (Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney), 'was the universal system of defence in 'the north of Ireland.' Thus, one Thomas Phettiplace, in his answer to an inquiry from the Government, as to 'what castles 'or forts O'Neil hath, and of what strength they be,' states (May 15. 1567), 'In castles, I think it be not unknown to your 'honours, he trusteth no point thereunto for his safety, as ap-'peareth by the rasing of the strongest castles of his dominion; 'and that fortification that he only dependeth on, is in *sartin* '*fresh-water loghes* in his country, which from the sea there 'come neither ship nor boat to approach them. It is thought 'that there, in the said fortified islands, lyeth all his plate, 'which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages.' In the Ulster Inquisition of 1605, many spots described as 'insulæ for-'tificatæ,' are noticed as then existing. And, finally, the latest and one of the most curious accounts of a 'crannoge,' as still subsisting, and used for defensive purposes, is to be found in the chronicles of the Great Rebellion. We quote from the 'Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,' vol. vii. p. 158.

'Loughinsholin is a small lake in the south of the county of Londonderry. It was so called from Inis Ua Fhloinn, or O'Lynn's Island, a small stockaded island, situate near its eastern margin. . . The island has been dismantled of its oak piles, and is now reduced to an unseemly bank, overgrown with reeds and rushes. Concerning this island the following notices are obtained from Friar Mellan's Irish Journal of the Rebellion of 1642:—

'"1643. Aug. 25. Inis O'Luin was garrisoned by Shane O'Hagan. "The enemy came and called on them to surrender, which they refused

"to do. They then stopped up a stream which ran out of the lake, "and turned the course of another into it, so that they continued to "flood the island. The garrison kept watch in the island house, and "one of their men was killed by a cannon ball while on watch. How- "ever, they refused to surrender the island on any terms. The "enemy at length departed.

'"1645. March 7. The people of O'Hagan burned Inis O'Lynn, "for want of provisions, and followed the general eastward."'

And with their departure ended this long and curious chapter in the history of the European race. We close our own slight sketch of it with a strong impression that, notwithstanding all the industry, and the very ingenious reasoning, which our guides have expended in its investigation, they have as yet done little more than excite instead of satisfying curiosity. The field has been scarcely opened. Already indications are mentioned, by M. Ferdinand Keller, of discoveries in the Italian lakes of the same kind with those made in the Swiss.* The waters of France and other countries, in particular the Loire, Rhone, and Garonne, whose courses were pointed out by M. Worsaae long ago as probable lines of migration of the primeval races — have yet to be thoroughly interrogated, and made to discover their secrets. The many caverns and recesses of the earth, used for similar purposes of security, have, as yet, been only very partially made to give up their deposits. And, without prejudging the results of future inquiry, it may, perhaps, be conjectured that the farther it is carried, the more probable it is that the sharp and definite generalisations hitherto made will be somewhat invalidated. Such is, at least, the ordinary course of scientific inquiry. We are all aware how that rigidly marked order of superposition, in the strata of the earth's surface, which early geologists erected almost into a creed, has melted away before closer investigation into a series of transitions from one to another. In the same manner, it is somewhat difficult to believe that our ages of bronze, stone, and iron will preserve that clearness of difference which M. Troyon and his fellow-labourers seek to establish, when a more thorough examination of analogous phenomena has been achieved. But, whatever modification may thus be introduced into the conclusions now suggested, the world will remain not the less indebted to those recent inquirers, whose labours have opened a large and deeply interesting field of inquiry in its early history.

* We are told that piles very similar to those of the Swiss lakes were discovered in draining a mere at Wretham, in Norfolk, some years ago, together with deer's horns. Unluckily attention had not at that time been called to the subject.

ART. VI.—1. *Aus Vier Jahrhunderten. Mittheilungen aus dem Haupt-Staatsarchive zu Dresden,* von (*Out of four Centuries. Selections from the Chief State Archives at Dresden.* By) Dr. KARL VON WEBER, *Ministerialrath, Director des Haupt-Staatsarchives.* Two volumes. Leipzig: 1857.

2. *Aus Vier Jahrhunderten, &c. &c.* Neue Folge. 1861.

THE author of this compilation is one of those zealous public functionaries whom it would be both cruel and impolitic to check by Talleyrand's famous injunction against zeal. Public loss as well as private mortification would be the result. Instead of dozing over the miscellaneous and multitudinous heaps of parchments and papers confided to him in 1849 as Director of the State Archives of Saxony, or pocketing occasional fees for extracts, Dr. Karl von Weber set about examining and selecting from them; and from the description he gives of his treasures we should say that few antiquarians have undertaken a more appalling task.

The State Record-office of Dresden, established in 1834, contains (he tells us) besides a great number of original records, about 300,000 reports or documents (Actenstücke) out of the repositories of more than fifty dissolved or expired provincial jurisdictions, commissions, embassies, &c. It also possesses an inexhaustible mine for history, in the shape of letters to and from members of the ruling family, high officials, and other influential persons. If, for example, in earlier times there died any one directly or indirectly connected with the local or central administration, it was customary to despatch a commissary to the house of mourning, to take possession of all writings belonging to the State; and if he chanced to be of an anxious turn of mind, he laid hands on all the written paper that met his eye. The sorting and sifting were postponed, or reserved for some superior, by whom the papers were commonly laid aside and forgotten. 'The State Office has inherited in this fashion a 'vast quantity of private papers, unpaid tailors' bills inclusive, 'which are now only fit for the paper mill; but mixed up with 'them have frequently been found interesting letters and 'confidential communications concerning events which were 'kept strictly secret in their day, many which were not even 'trusted to official reports necessarily circulating through many 'hands.' A tailor's bill, paid or unpaid, may be turned to good account by a biographer; witness the curious illustration of

the circumstances and habits of Goldsmith drawn by Mr. Forster from the bills of Filby of Fetter Lane, the maker of the famous peach-coloured coat; and many of Lord Macaulay's most striking remarks on characters and events are based on scraps and remnants, which a writer of less discernment would have passed unnoticed on a stall.

When Dr. Weber had completed his selection of materials, the next step was to compound them into a book, 'at the earnest 'request of friends.' The encouragement given to the first specimen naturally led to a second; and the result is a collection which may often be consulted with advantage, whether the object be to verify a disputed point in history, to throw light on manners, to gratify a taste for the wonderful, or to find new proofs of the old adage that truth is stranger than fiction.

It matters little with which volume or class of subjects we begin. Extracting at random from such a book is like dipping into the kettle of Camacho. The ladle is pretty sure to contain something racy and appetising. We alight, for example, on an article headed 'A Journey to Milan in 1571;' an expedition set on foot by Augustus Elector of Saxony, with the laudable object of promoting industrial enterprise. With this view Bartholomew Rabozot and Jacob Dunus, natives of Ticino, were commissioned to institute such inquiries and make such purchases in Italy as might facilitate the establishment of the silk and velvet manufactures in Saxony. The sum to be laid out by them was 5000 florins, with which they purchased thirty-five horses at Frankfort, expecting to realise a handsome profit by reselling them in the South. Unfortunately they got no further than Milan, where religious bigotry put a decisive stop to all hopes of international barter; Milan being at that time an appanage of the Spanish crown with a cardinal for governor. Rabozot, who, on his arrival, was more afraid of horsestealers than priests, was reposing booted and spurred in the stable with his stud, when he was suddenly roused at midnight and carried off to a place of confinement with six of his grooms. Early the next morning he was brought before the cardinal-governor, who handed him over to the tender mercies of the Holy Office. After lying forty-eight hours in a dark cell, he was visited by the Inquisitor and examined as to some fifty heads of doctrine or belief, with a most unreasonable disregard to his own personal faith or means of knowledge. For example: What was the Elector of Saxony's religious creed? Was his highness a Lutheran heretic or not? whether he himself held that belief? to which last ques-

tion he replied affirmatively. He was next asked whether he attended mass, and on his replying that he had his affairs to look after, they told him that, if he had traded ten years in their country and neglected the mass, he was a child of Satan. 'Whether he had brought any Lutheran letters or 'books with him?' 'No.' 'Whether he had eaten flesh at 'forbidden times?' 'No, for the very sufficient reason that no 'one there would give him any;' to which they rejoined that there were inn-keepers who would give him 'his crop-full of 'what he asked for.' Secondly, 'Whether he had spoken ill of 'the priests whom he had met in the streets or elsewhere?' 'No.' 'Whether he had thought evil of them? and what was 'his opinion of the mass?'

The last question was a poser, and he did his best to evade it by appealing to his former professions, but the inquisitors were not to be put off in this fashion, and they remanded him with the ominous warning that they would find a mode of getting what they wanted out of him. The next day they hung heavy weights on his feet, and told him he must confess or be torn in two, and especially declare whether he deemed the mass good or not. On being lifted from the ground he cried out that he must speak on compulsion, and said that, as to his opinion of the mass, he had never tried nor witnessed it, and therefore did not know whether it was good or bad. They then drew him up again, and the chief official gave him many hard words, to which he replied boldly: 'If we were 'alone together, you would not dare to talk thus, and although 'I am now in your power, and must suffer all you choose to 'inflict, the time may come when I shall be notably revenged.' 'By whom?' they scoffingly asked. 'By the Swiss?' 'They 'would take good care not to meddle. Who would put them-'selves against the Pope and King Philip, who had upheld the 'Inquisition.' This last speech was accompanied by an indecent gesture of contempt. They kept him suspended in the air two hours longer, to the best of his reckoning, for he fainted and does not know when he was let down. He lay sixteen days in prison, much weakened by spitting of blood and fainting fits, before he was permitted to return to his hotel, from whence he at length managed, probably by the connivance of the authorities, to escape across the border and return to lay his complaint before the Elector.

After setting forth his pecuniary losses and bodily sufferings, he petitioned to be remunerated for the former in cash, and to be compensated for the latter by subjecting to the same mode of treatment which he had undergone at Milan, all Milanese

or others concerned in the affair who should be apprehended in Saxony or other parts of Germany. And he especially prays that, as Milanese may not be found in his Highness's dominions, letters might be addressed to the Palatine and Landgraves, requiring them, should the Milanese in question, most particularly certain Milanese horsedealers from Frankfort who were suspected of betraying him, pass through their States, to arrest them bodily with their goods and belongings. The Elector, after vainly trying to obtain satisfaction for his emissary by regular means, issued letters of mark and reprisal authorising Rabozot, 'should he meet with these or any other 'Milanese, to throw them into prison, so that Rabozot's bodily 'pains and many losses might be made good to him by them.' Whether he was fortunate enough to encounter them, or in what form he retaliated, is not stated in the record.

We are wont to laugh at the blundering indignation of the Irishman who knocked a man down in Covent Garden because he himself had been knocked down by another in Drury Lane; yet it is hardly a caricature of the received mode of obtaining redress for real or fancied injuries, over a large part of Europe little more than a century ago. The heirs of Urban Ulrich a Saxon had a claim of 600 florins on the town of Eisleben, which remained unpaid after repeated demands. Thereupon the Elector issued a command to the mayor of Leipzig to summon before him the burgesses and traders of Eisleben attending the Christmas fair, lay the matter in detail before them so that they might communicate it to their fellow townsmen, and notify to them that if the debt was not discharged by the ensuing Easter fair, disagreeable consequences might ensue. This intimation proving fruitless, the mayor, on the eve of the Easter fair, was further commissioned to take summary measures against the bodies, goods, and belongings of all Eislebeners whom he should encounter within or without the fair, and so compel payment of the debt.

It is a common belief that local and family feuds were carried to the highest and most mischievous pitch in Corsica, but Dr. Weber heaps case upon case to show that German revenge frequently led to results as disastrous and widespread as the *vendetta;* nor was the assumed privilege of private war confined to the noble or the great. Anthony Birnstiel, a carrier by trade, was indebted to Christopher Schnee, who, not choosing to rely on the uncertain and tedious process of the law, stopped Birnstiel's team in the highway and carried off the horses as a pledge. Failing, as he afterwards alleged, to obtain legal redress, although it is far from clear that he applied

for it, Birnstiel declared war against the entire township of Geyer in which Schnee lived as an ordinary member of the community, and repaired to the nearest district of Bohemia to levy troops. He there fell in with a countryman, a Saxon cattle-driver, who had just begun a similar feud with a Bohemian noble by burning down his farmhouses. With the co-operation of this ally, Birnstiel managed to get together a formidable band, with which, preceded by drums and trumpets, he marched across the borders and beleaguered Geyer so closely that no one could go in or out without being stopped and laid under contribution by his gang. The mayor or chief magistrate of the district earnestly pressed the Duke—not to punish the violators of the public peace, but—to bring about a conciliation between the parties, which Schnee declined under an apprehension that he might be compelled to make good the damage done and repay the money extorted by Birnstiel; so this system of organised robbery continued over a space of four years, namely from 1539 to 1543, when the record suddenly breaks off, and we are left in ignorance whether Birnstiel succeeded in his enterprise or was hanged.

The following narrative illustrates the wild notions that prevailed in one of the principal seats of the Reformed faith at a time, 1568, when we should have thought true religion had begun to exercise its healing influences. Salzman, judge (Richter) of Canitz, wished to marry his deceased wife's brother's daughter, which the German Consistory then deemed illegal and anti-christian for reasons which a majority of the English bishops still think unanswerable. On the refusal of the parson of Thallwitz, the parish in which Canitz was situate, to bestow the marriage blessing, the lovesick and irritated judge formally proclaimed feud against the parson and all the villages and hamlets comprised in his cure. A band of supporters was easily got together, and the parishioners had no alternative but to keep watch and ward night and day to protect their persons and property from being burned by the magistrate. They contrived to take captive one of the most formidable of his retainers, Pegenau by name, a truculent-looking scoundrel, who could speak German, Bohemian, and a little Latin besides several provincial dialects, wore a hood and trunkhose of scarlet lined with green, which he could wear inside-out on occasions, and was famous for the murders and robberies he had committed, and the many pregnant women he had ripped up—the hands of unborn children being highly prized for amulets. This worthy readily proffered to turn king's evidence against another by whom he alleged he had been hired to shoot the

Elector, receiving along with his instructions a powder which he was to swallow as soon as he had perpetrated the deed. It was warranted to make him invisible, but Pegenau distrusting its efficacy, gave it to a dog, who died howling before his eyes. The record ends with the sentence of death passed on him, and we learn no more about the feud. Indeed there is something extremely tantalising in Dr. Weber's communications, although their incompleteness is an evidence of their authenticity so far as they go.

The practice of resorting to reprisals for redress lasted till far into the eighteenth century, and was especially congenial to the temper of Mr. Carlyle's pattern monarch, Frederic William, whose inordinate passion for giants was constantly engaging him in discreditable broils. The audacity of his recruiting officers or crimps, stimulated by high rewards and severe threats, grew to such a height that no country in Europe was safe from outrage, and it was found necessary to make an example of some of them. Two were shot, and a third hanged, in Maestricht, in 1733. Frederic William retaliated by arresting several officers of the Low Countries who chanced to be in his dominions, and by demanding 250,000 dollars from the Dutch Commissaries in Königsberg, under a threat of levying contributions on the warehouses belonging to the Dutch. This difference was arranged; but, six years afterwards, a Prussian officer, taken in the mainour, was hanged at Liège, in full uniform, with the Order of Merit round his neck.

The Prussian ambassador at the English Court, M. de Bork, had contrived, by force or fraud, to export a good many subjects of his Britannic Majesty, which was the more irritating because, as is well known, his master and George II. cordially hated each other, and were with difficulty prevented from fighting a duel, for which the preliminary arrangements had actually been made. Whilst de Bork was absent on leave, the English Government took the opportunity to request that he might be replaced, as in case of his return he would be exposed to ill-treatment from the mob. The King of Prussia refused to recall him, and accompanied the refusal with an intimation that whatever was done to the Prussian minister in London should be done to the English minister in Berlin.

A tall tenant of the Circensian Abbey of Paradies, in Poland, had long been watched with desiring eyes by the Prussian crimps. Aware of his danger, he never ventured across the boundary, and frequently shifted his night quarters. It was shrewdly guessed, however, that he would remain at home during the confinement of his wife; and, on the occurrence of

this event, a recruiting party broke into his house, found the couple in bed together, and immediately proceeded to bind and carry him off. In the darkness and confusion, instead of tying his legs, as they intended, they fastened one of his legs to one of his wife's, and pulled her out of bed along with him. She died from fright and exhaustion; but this trifling mishap was disregarded by the captors, who bore off their prize exultingly, turning a deaf ear to the moans of the dying woman and the despairing cries of her bereaved helpmate. The Abbot of Paradies claimed his liegeman. The Prussians held him fast, and the abbot, a true member of the Church militant, seized, as hostages, several traders from the Prussian town of Züllichan, who were attending a market near the abbey, and, to the demand for their restitution, gallantly replied that he would keep them till his tall farmer was released. The result is graphically described in a magisterial report.

On the 21st of March, 1740, at six in the morning, a company of musqueteers and a troop of hussars, reinforced by a number of townsmen from Züllichan, about 400 in all, appeared before the abbey-gate, with waggons laden with grenades, scaling-ladders, and other munitions of war. Prior to the assault, they were formed in three divisions — one to attack the convent outwork, one the hospital-gate, and the third to act as a corps of observation and reserve. The monks opposed only a passive resistance, and breaches were speedily effected with levers and axes. Father Deodatus, the first monk who encountered the enemy, received a sabre-cut in the head. Father Amadeus, besides having his ears boxed, was thrown into agonies of fear by a sabre drawn backwards and forwards under his nose, and compelled to act as guide to the abbey, which was speedily cleared of all its valuables, sacred and profane. The prior, who, like Prior Eustace in the 'Monastery,' took the post of danger properly appertaining to his superior, ventured to demand their business, and ran imminent risk of being sabred and bayonetted for his pains. A hussar aimed a blow at him, which was providentially intercepted by a vine-branch. The monks were assembled in the church, to celebrate a religious feast, the saint day of St. Benedict. The assailants mingled with the congregation; and after vainly calling for the prior, who had wisely withdrawn, proceeded to cuff, kick, and push about the monks, vowing that, if any defence were attempted, they would set fire to the cloisters. Much to the relief of the pious sufferers, the trumpets at length sounded the retreat. The concluding demand of the commander was a florin for each of his people, by way of re-

muneration for the fatigue they had undergone; but he was obliged to rest satisfied with an assurance that there was no money in the establishment. At last the troops marched off, to the cry of 'Victory! See what the Brandenburghers are 'capable of!' to which the hussar captain added, 'If you try 'reprisals again, we shall pay you a second visit.'

Another inroad of three hundred Prussians into Poland, for a similar purpose, did not turn out quite so well for the Brandenburghers. They were driven back in confusion; and the Russian ambassador notified the intention of his government to resent any future invasion of the kind. On hearing this, the King flung a dish, with all its contents, at the head of the officer who had planned the assault of the abbey.

It will be remembered that Mr. Carlyle invites us to pity 'a 'man of genius' mounted on his hobby, and makes the 'poetic 'temperament' answerable for the aberrations of a despot who had no one quality of genius but its wilfulness — who was the most essentially prosaic and stupidly practical of human beings — who understood no argument but force — who used no instrument of persuasion but the cudgel — whose administration of justice resembled that of the Tartar monarch who caused the stomach of a wretch to be ripped open, to see if the stolen milk was in it — and whose economy, financial and political, was that of the savage who cuts down the tree to get at the fruit. Unlike the wordy commonplace absurdities of his contemporary and countryman, Sir Archibald Alison, Mr. Carlyle's paradoxes exercise a widespread and baleful influence on many of the most promising of the rising generation in both hemispheres, who reverence him as a prophet. We were, therefore, not sorry to find in the book before us some new and curious illustrations of his fallibility, in the shape of detailed and decided proofs that what he would fain pass off as the incidental caprices or weaknesses of his patriot-king formed, in fact, the very staple of the character. The greater part of them have been derived from the despatches of the Count de Manteuffel, Saxon Minister at Berlin, who was in the habit of transmitting to his Court reports resembling those which were regularly required by the Venetian republic, in its palmy days, from its ambassadors. An English minister at the Court of Berlin at a somewhat later period, whose credit for priority of information was at stake, took the bold and self-sacrificing step of making love to the unattractive wife of a colleague who had access to her husband's cabinet. The Count de Manteuffel was not a whit more scrupulous in his sources of information; and so long as the tobacco-parliaments lasted, he experienced little difficulty in ascertaining what

was said or done at its sittings, or elsewhere, by its royal president.

The extravagance of Frederic William's passion for giants very far exceeds the popular estimate of it, based on three or four good stories which many believe to be apocryphal. He procured, through his emissaries, a registry of all the tall men in Saxony, and was constantly intriguing or conspiring for the legal or illegal possession of some of them. Dr. Weber prints the heads of a contract for the exchange of various rarities and objects of art, to be selected from the Prussian museums, for tall fellows (*lange Kerls*). He enumerates a collection of medals; statues of Diana, Priapus, and Momus; an equestrian statue; a bronze St. George, and rare skins from the Indies; the whole valued at 500,000 dollars. The tall Saxons were put down by the Prussian negotiator at the low figure of 300 dollars a head, which so disgusted the Saxon agent that he broke off the bargain. Marshal von Flemming sold the King two recruits for a sum of money and 'the pardon of M. de Sparfeld.' The King of Denmark, after vainly demanding, upon the faith of treaties and international law, the extradition of a criminal (Prætorius, who had murdered Count Christian von Rantzan), bought him for a dozen tall men. The Bishop of Wilna, a Polish refugee, had procured a safe-conduct by a promise of giants, which he failed to supply. He was consequently detained at Tilsit; and the Count de Manteuffel, when requested to intercede for him, writes: —

'Je m'emploierois volontiers pour son élargissement s'il était accusé d'avoir voulu p. e. détrôner le Roi de Prusse ou attenter à sa vie, mais que de parler pour quelqu'un qui a promis des grands hommes, ce seroit m'exposer à tout qui pouvoit m'arriver de facheux sans la moindre espérance de réussir.'

The commanders of companies were often placed in the most embarrassing dilemma, for the King required them to have 'lange 'Kerls,' and if possible foreigners, on the right flank. If they were found wanting, cassation (breaking) and Spandau was the word. In November 1739, a major was sent to Spandau for six years for having no tall foreign recruits. In the preceding June two majors were broken in front of their regiments for no other assignable delinquency. One of them, Thatt, had already spent 10,000 dollars, probably his whole fortune, in tall recruits. A foreign fugleman, who had cost his captain 1500 dollars, got drunk, fell from a bridge into the Spree, and was drowned. The captain complained to the King, alleging that the loss had arisen through the negligence of the bridge superintendent, who should have seen to the security of the balustrade. His Majesty

took this view of the question, and quartered a subaltern with six men on the superintendent till he replaced the soldier or compensated the captain.

A rich resident of Amsterdam had relatives in Prussia, whom, not being on good terms with them, he declared his intention to cut off with a shilling on his decease. The relatives applied to the King, and promised him a number of 'grosse Kerls,' if he would send their wealthy cousin to Spandau for life. The proposition was favourably received: and the Amsterdam cousin, lured into Prussia on some pretence or another, was seized and sent to Spandau, where he remained till the King's death.

His Majesty's notions of justice were equally under the influence of the 'poetic temperament' when he was not mounted on his favourite hobby. On August 22, 1736, he was walking in the garden smoking his pipe, when there appeared before him the wife of a hautboy-player, named Fischbach, to complain of her husband for adultery with a girl. The accused was confronted with her, and a scene of rude altercation ensued; in the course of which he admitted his intimacy with the girl, but denied its criminality, as well as all knowledge of what had become of her. On the assertion of the wife that their son, fourteen years old, was privy to the father's infidelity and the place of concealment of the girl, the lad was sent for and examined. A storm arising during the inquiry, the King, instead of adjourning it within doors, ordered a tent to be pitched. The son was as obstinate or honestly ignorant as the father, and two buffoon attendants of the King tried to make him speak by caning him, which simply had the common effect of torture in inducing him to heap story upon story to obtain momentary relief. His tormentors did not give over till he was nearer dead than alive with pain and terror. Determined not to be baffled, the Prussian Solon caused Fischbach to be brought before him again, and as he still refused to give information against his supposed paramour, four noncommissioned officers were ordered to cudgel him, which they did with such severity that, adds an eyewitness, Manteuffel, 'it was a wonder he survived. He never uttered a 'syllable, preferring to die under the cane than betray his 'beloved.' The concluding words of the report are remarkable:—

'J'avoue que cette exécution m'a inspiré une terreur dont je ne suis pas encore revenu: l'opiniâtreté du hautbois et de son fils m'a frappé, *mais moins que la tranquillité avec laquelle on voyait tourmenter ces malheureux.*'

The courtiers of Frederic William had seen too many of such exhibitions to be shocked by them.*

A man accused his wife of adultery with a state councillor, and demanded a divorce, but as he produced no proof, his demand was rejected, and his wife was acquitted by the criminal court. The plaintiff went straight to the King, who, on his own mere motion, drew up a judgment the very opposite of that given by the tribunal, adding: 'this judgment is much 'more just than that fools' judgment.' He then summoned the complainant and the councillor, and when both were come, asked the first, 'Is that your man?' on his answering 'Yes,' 'Then give him,' exclaimed the King, 'a couple of boxes on 'the ear! the scoundrel shall marry the strumpet!' The boxes on the ear were duly administered, but the wedding, which was to take place the next day by royal command, could not be completed, because the councillor had made his escape during the night.

In another case in which the Consistory refused a divorce on the demand of the husband, the King wrote upon the margin of the record: 'It is quite clear that there are some gallants in 'the Consistory: I hope your wives will make cuckolds of you; 'and, complain as you will, you shall certainly keep them.'

An impudent and roguish adventurer, named Echhard, who

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* 'A just man, I say, and a valiant and veracious.' (*Carlyle*, vol. i. p. 406.) Here is one of his own examples of justice:—'Doris 'Ritter, a comely-enough good girl, nothing of a beauty, but given to 'music, Potsdam *Cantors* (Precentor's) daughter, has chanced to be 'standing in the door, perhaps to be singing within doors once or 'twice, when the Prince passed that way. Prince inquired about her 'music, gave her music, spoke a civility as young men will,— nothing 'more upon my honour; though His Majesty believes there was much 'more, and condemns poor Doris to be whipt by the beadle, and beat 'hemp for three years. Rhadamanthus is a strict judge, your 'Majesty, and might be a trifle better informed.' (Vol. ii. p. 277.) Now for veracity. Frederic William, obliged to provide horses and travelling accommodation for the Czar Peter, writes to the postmaster: —'Observe, you contrive to do it for 6,000 thalers: won't allow you 'one other penny; but you are to give out in the world that it costs 'me from 30 to 50,000.' Mr. Carlyle's comment on this combination of meanness, falsehood, and tyranny runs thus:—'So that here is the 'Majesty of Prussia, who beyond all men abhors lies, giving orders 'to tell one — alas, yes, a kind of lie or fib (white fib or even *gray*), 'the pinch of thrift compelling. But what a window into the 'artless inner-man of His Majesty, even that gray fib,— not done by 'oneself, but ordered to be done by the servant, as if that were 'cheaper.' (Vol. i. p. 424.)

had got possession of the royal ear by flattery, was named war and revenue councillor, received a patent of nobility and a decoration. The Electorate Chamber ventured a respectful protest, and was thus addressed: 'The high, praiseworthy Chamber is 'entreated to let alone reasoning, and not to meddle with the 'honourable Echhard, or We shall come and in our own person 'undertake the presidency of the Chamber with a good 'cudgel.' There was a pictorial postscript from the royal pen or pencil, representing a gallows with a man hanging, and underwritten, 'The well-merited reward of the Electorate 'Chamber.' The King afterwards assigned Echhard a palace for his residence, and ordered the Academy of Science to frame an inscription, with the words, 'This is the reward of true ser-'vice, *poliment tournés selon les régles de l'art;*' which recalls the scene in Molière where M. Jourdain desires his language-master to compose a billet-doux, by an eloquent amplification of '*Belle Marquise, vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour.*' The Academy demurred, or the King was not satisfied, for a motto of his own composition was set up: 'Thus is Truth 'rewarded;' and the night following a gallows was added immediately above the motto.

One of Echhard's schemes was to enrich the royal treasury by speculations in grain. He told the King that complaints were made of the want of a market for corn in Prussia, and advised him to buy up all the corn, have it carried to Berlin, forbid importations from neighbouring countries, and sell the contents of his granaries as dearly as he could. No sooner said than done; and a rise of price, causing great privation, was the result. The Crown Prince on his way from Rheinsberg, not far from the Mechlenburgh boundary, met fourteen waggons laden with corn. On asking the drivers where they were going, he learnt that they were returning home after having been refused entrance into Prussia. He ordered them to turn back and unload their corn, which he purchased from them, and sold to the people at the market price, being less than half of that for which the King was then selling it. Mr. Carlyle is probably of opinion that this was enlightened economy, and would be prepared to rank this Prussian Empson with Turgot, Colbert, Stein, or Hardenberg.* One of the first acts of Frederic the Great on his accession was to remove the restriction and throw open the magazines.

Frederick William employed knaves like Echhard knowingly

* 'That he (the King) understood National Economies, has now become very certain.' (*Carlyle*, vol. i. p. 406.)

and systematically. On being told after Grumkow's death, that some man of position and acknowledged merit should be named to a vacant post, he replied:—'You know nothing about the 'matter; I know from experience that people of position and 'merit are not fit for business. They intrench themselves 'behind their point of honour, when they do not choose to obey 'my commands. If these are not what they think right and 'reasonable, they make objections and take it ill when I tell 'them to get away with them. This does not suit me, and for 'the future I prefer taking "Kläffer" (yelping dogs) whom 'one can order about without their being sulky, who must do 'whatever I wish without reasoning.'

The selection of a public servant was by no means the sole occasion on which his practice and theory corresponded; thereby showing that his departures from the right path were rather the rule than the exception. In the course of a conversation in July 1734, at which some members of the diplomatic body were present besides his ministers, the binding force of treaties was discussed, and the King observed, with more frankness than discretion, that no sooner was one made than the parties began thinking of the best means of breaking it. This colloquy ensued:—

'*The King.*—Count Manteuffel, you know what treaties are: say honestly, is a single one ever made with the intention of keeping it?

'*Manteuffel.*—Your Majesty is joking when you ask such a question. The prior question would be, whether great rulers are honest men, and are anxious to be esteemed as such. How could they pass for such, if they did not hold to truth and faith?

'*The King.*—That is all true enough; but what treaties are observed? I know none.

'*Manteuffel.*—I know many. Your Majesty has made all your treaties with the intention of keeping them, and you do keep them in fact.

'*The King.*—Yes; I have always had the intention; but I have not always abided by it. It pains me; but I must own as much.'

He then related to the whole company that, in the times of the Czar Peter the First, he had solemnly promised never to abandon him, and never to make peace with Sweden without him, which he had, notwithstanding, done.

'"Was that right?" he continued. "I do not think so; but it was done. I held out a long time. I worked myself into a fever about it; but what could I do? My rogues"—the chief of whom was present—"plagued me so. Kniphausen would not leave me a moment's peace: I must sign. I might assent or dissent; and I ended by signing. That was a downright fraud."'

This, taken altogether, may be deemed one of the most credit-

able traits recorded of him, although it would reflect no great amount of credit on an ordinary ruler.

Johnson praises Frederick the Great for so accurate an acquaintance with his cellar as to be able to tell where a bottle of any given wine was to be found. He may have inherited or learnt this curious qualification for kingcraft, if he really possessed it, from his father, whose minute attention to the expenses of his household was one of the peculiar features of his character. He kept the Queen and Princesses on such short commons that they would have been in danger of perishing by inanition had not the Crown Prince surreptitiously added two dishes daily to their dinner. The cook was forbidden to render the slightest addition to their bill of fare under penalty of the gallows, and the written order to this effect concluded: 'This order is to be 'obeyed after my death.' One day, after remaining some time sunk in thought, he suddenly addressed the Queen: 'Sophy, 'what is the price of eggs?' On her confessing her ignorance, he flew into a passion; told her that after his death she would die on a dunghill because she attended to nothing. He then sent for some kitchen-maids, examined them about all sorts of household trifles, and bade them sweep out the apartment in his and the Queen's presence, 'that the Queen might learn how it 'was done.'

Till 1738 the sum of eight dollars was allowed for the royal table. Early in that year he was put out of humour by the desertion of sundry giants, and the conviction coming upon him that he was plundered by his cooks, he reduced the allowance to seven dollars and a half, and issued two fresh decrees: 1. For the banishment of all turnspits and kitchen helps, as a race good only for stealing the eatables and making the cooks lazy; 2. To prohibit, under the penalty of the gallows, any tasting by the cooks, because, under the pretence of tasting, they levied a heavy toll on the dishes. This proves that his Majesty was not a gourmand, for the editor of the famous 'Almanach' lays down that the forefinger of a good cook should travel unceasingly from his saucepans to his tongue, and suggests that, if his taste should lose its delicacy, the sole mode of restoring to him 'cette fleur qu'il a perdue, de lui faire 'reprendre sa souplesse, sa délicatesse, et ses forces, c'est de 'purger le cuisinier, telle résistance qu'il y oppose.' It is fortunate for the Prussian cooks that their royal master did not think of this method of improving them.

'Touch not, taste not,' was a maxim which one of the royal suite, high in favour, neglected to his cost. A barrel of oysters was announced, price ten dollars. The King, who liked oysters

but was staggered by the cost, asked von Kleist if they were likely to turn out good. Excellent, was the reply, and on being asked how he knew, he stated that, passing through the kitchen as they were opening the oysters, he had tasted one. 'Very 'well,' said the King, 'he who has eaten one may eat them 'all, and repay me the money they have cost.' He compelled Kleist to take the bargain off his hands.

More wild boars than were wanted having been killed by the royal foresters, the King took out his ministers and suite to look at them, and carelessly asked the ministers what they were worth a head. To flatter him, they named a high price, seven dollars. 'Right, right; seven dollars. Each of you will take 'one, but you must pay ready money.' After a grand *chasse* the slaughtered boars and porkers were counted by hundreds, like pheasants after an English *battue*, and portioned out in lots amongst the officials, nobility, and townspeople, who were obliged to take and pay for them whether they liked swines-flesh or not. The Jews of Berlin were compelled to take 200 head at once, after a week of extraordinary slaughter in 1724. The Jews were turned to account in many ways. When the King wished to afford help which cost nothing, he was wont to give the object of his bounty a license or privilege in blank for the settlement of a Jew in Berlin. This was saleable, and the name could be filled in at pleasure. One of them has been known to sell for seven or eight hundred dollars.

Finding the new part, the Tyburnia or Belgravia of Berlin (*Dorotheenstadt*), not sufficiently peopled, he ordered several families who were on the point of quitting, and had already removed their goods, to stay in it. In 1737, under the pretence that the soldiers were not well lodged, he issued a decree that the front rooms of the houses in the Old Town should be given up to the military, and that the householders who were not content to live in their own back rooms should remove to the New Town. To throw a halo round this child of his fancy, he decreed in 1739 that, dating from March 8th, every one who possessed a carriage and horse, without distinction of ranks, should appear every Sunday from three to five on the promenade in the New Town, under the penalty of 100 dollars. The effect is described as curious in the extreme, since 'carriage' was understood to mean every description of vehicle, from a butcher's cart to a coronetted coach; so that the promenade resembled the Epsom road on a Derby day, rather than the Prater, the Bois de Boulogne or Hyde Park in its glory.

We must admit that there is considerable fertility of resource and variety of invention in these administrative expedients,

and no want of energy or volition in their enforcement. But if these are proofs of genius or natural emanations of the poetic temperament, great injustice has been done to the East, where full many a Pacha wastes his poetry on (literally) the desert air — full many a Turkish Frederic William rests inglorious *caret quia vate sacro*—for want of a discriminating eulogist like Mr. Carlyle.

Two friends of ours were descending the Nile, when their head boatman became obstreperous; they stopped at the first military post, and complained to the commander. He heard their charge, and ordered the man to be bastinadoed without waiting for his defence, remarking, 'Do you suppose 'these two English gentlemen would have taken the trouble to 'come to me about you, if you were not in the wrong?' Surely, there was quite as much poetic justice in this decision as in Frederic William's mode of dealing with the accused husband and the son.

The late Lord Alvanley dining with a Pacha who was proud of his cook, indirectly hinted that the man's performances were not quite on a level with Careme's. The next morning the head of the *chef* was suspended, by way of delicate attention, to the guest's saddle-bow. Beheading for tasting to no purpose may pair off with hanging for tasting at all.

The late Mr. Morier related, as founded on fact, that an Oriental governor who had seized an English traveller's medicine chest, was puzzled what to make of it; so he collected all the Jews in the town, made each swallow the contents of a box or phial, and locked them together in a room till the effects were ascertained. This is more original than making the Jews of Berlin buy pork.

Professor Ranke describes the death-bed of Frederic William as presenting an edifying and touching scene, in which he addresses his successor in set phrases very similar to those applied by Philip of Macedon to Alexander after the adroit taming of Bucephalus. The dying despot may have had some lucid or maudlin moments, during which he showed himself not utterly destitute of rational faculties and natural affection; but there is abundant evidence that his demeanour on the near approach of death did not belie the general tenor of his life. In his first colloquy with a spiritual adviser, he improved on the doctrine of the French noble, who maintained that '*le bon Dieu*' would think twice before making up his mind '*de damner un Clermont-Tonnerre.*' 'Would it be right,' argued Frederic, 'that God, 'who from His love for me puts me here in His place to rule 'over so many thousands at my good pleasure, should one day

'liken me to one of these, and judge me with the same strict-'ness?' The clergyman, a Protestant, did his duty manfully, and replied that God gave power to be used as He used it, with justice and mercy, not according to the good pleasure of the ruler, who would be punished for the abuse of it as the worst of sinners; whereupon the King told him he was an ignoramus, and might go to the Devil. The patient grew more accommodating as he grew worse. In a colloquy on the same topic with another divine, he tried hard to extort the admission that faith was sufficient without good works, and that the love of God did not imply the forgiveness of enemies or the love of one's neighbour as oneself.

'*King.*—God knows that I have no enemy whom I have not willingly forgiven everything. I know of none but that—— the King of England; but he too shall be forgiven. Ficke (the Queen), write to your brother, as soon as I am dead, that before my end I forgave him everything with all my heart. Do you hear, when I am fairly dead and no mistake.

'*Divine.*—I do not require to know the names of your enemies; but perhaps you remember others whom you hate as much and with as little reason as your brother-in-law, although they may be no great lords or foreigners.'

Here 'long Hacke,' the favourite attendant, came in with medicine, and the divine was dismissed. Blowing the nose or clearing the throat in the King's chamber was forbidden under the penalty of a ducat for each offence. Hearing that his attendants were boarded in the palace, he ordered them to bring their dinners along with them, to be submitted to his inspection before eaten; on which occasions he frequently partook of their fare, and sometimes exchanged one of their dishes for one of his own. One day he ate and enjoyed a snipe, which the cook, hearing he was out of humour, had omitted in the bill of fare. The day after, seeing snipe again, he struck it out, saying he wanted no such expensive garbage. To the remonstrance that he had declared the first snipe excellent, he replied that he took it for a present, and ate it out of compliment to the giver. The cook, therefore, was mulcted in the price. In all Pope's famous Epistle there are no more curious instances of the ruling passion strong in death than these.

He insisted on the Crown Prince's taking an oath to make no alteration after his death in the colleges or army, not to lay hands on the treasure, and to take into his service no person whose name should not be mentioned in a list. The Crown Prince respectfully refused. On the 31st January 1740, the King exclaimed, 'I am not sorry that I must die; for he who

'fears death is a —— ——. What pains me to the heart is 'that I must have such a brute (*Unmenschen*) as my son for 'successor.' Another time he vowed his sole cause for self-reproach was that he had not caused his son to be executed ten years ago.* When the attendants rose on the Prince's entrance, the King flew into a violent passion, and cried out, 'Sit down 'in the Devil's name, or go all of you to the Devil.' Despite of his bluster, he was by no means void of apprehension that he was about to travel in the same direction himself, and his efforts to keep up his courage strongly resemble those of Jonathan Wild when, maddened by brandy and despair, he shouts at the top of his voice in the ocean solitude, '*Who's afraid?*' The year before his death the King was suffering from gout, and General von Schwerin, to comfort him, suggested that he need not be afraid of dying of it. 'What!' shouted the King, 'do 'you believe I am afraid of death? Bring two pistols, or 'better still, two cases of powder and matches; each of us shall 'take his seat on one, and he who sets fire to *his* last shall be 'counted the greatest coward of the two.'

He died on the 31st May 1740. On the 22nd April he went out in a wheel chair. Seeing a mechanic stare at him, he stopped the chair and sent a page to give the man six pulls of the nose. Whilst this was going on, an exciseman came up, and was asked what he wanted. He said he was rejoiced to see His Majesty so well. His Majesty gave him a couple of blows with his cane and ordered the footmen to give him a sound cudgelling, which was administered forthwith. After this His Majesty continued his progress, and the frightened people dispersed 'en l'accompagnant de mille bénédictions.' These benedictions probably resembled those which he liberally dispensed.

Shortly before his death, when the Crown Prince was with him, he called up three of his most faithful and attached attendants, and when they were looking for a parting recognition of

* In August 1730 the Crown Prince had a narrow escape for his life, and his sister was beaten and otherwise brutally ill-treated for interposing in his behalf. Mr. Carlyle introduces his account of the transaction with these words:—'The poor King, except that he was 'not conscious of intending wrong but much the reverse, walked in 'the hollow night of Gehenna all that while, and was often like to 'be driven mad by the turn things had taken,'—as if the turn things had taken was not exclusively owing to his own madness or brutality. Mr. Carlyle may fairly claim the privileges which he gratuitously accords to 'the poor King,' but even genius should refrain from constantly running counter to the moral and common sense of mankind.

their services and a recommendation to the heir, he solemnly enjoined the Prince to hang all three of them as soon as the breath was out of his body.

Byron, in one of his fits of waywardness, contends that your true poet is the miser, who indulges his imagination instead of gratifying his own or other people's senses with his wealth; but we own we see neither poetry nor genius in the accumulation of wealth or the formation of armies by obvious and vulgar means. Frederic William, however, is a social and political phenomenon well worth studying in detail; and the proof that he has hitherto been imperfectly understood is to be found in the view taken of his life and character by Mr. Carlyle, which so learned and conscientious a writer would surely not have hazarded had he anticipated that the revelations of the Baireith memoirs were about to be thus confirmed and amplified.

Amongst the curious and doubtful passages of history on which light is thrown by this compilation, is the tragic fate of Königsmark and the Princess Sophia Dorothea, wife of the Crown Prince of Hanover, afterwards George I. Although the tale has been told, with variations, by various writers of ingenuity and research*, none of them had the good fortune to light upon the narrative discovered by Dr. von Weber, which was drawn up in 1725 by Count Moritz of Saxony, the son of the beautiful Countess Aurora of Königsmark, from family papers and traditions. We shall give the leading features of his version in an abridged shape.

Sophia Dorothea was the daughter of the Duke of Celle, at whose Court Königsmark was brought up. It was the familiar story of the page and the princess. So tender a friendship had grown up between them, that, during the celebration of her marriage with the Crown Prince of Hanover, Königsmark concealed himself in the chapel, and nearly betrayed the secret by the violence of his emotions. To avoid further risks of this kind, he made a journey to Sweden, where he remained till he had recovered his senses and his self-possession. On his return, his respectful adoration was renewed and tacitly permitted by the object. It was purely Platonic, and might have been unattended by compromising results, had not the Countess of Platen fallen in love with him. She was the mistress of the Elector, over whom she held sovereign sway, and, although no longer in the bloom of youth, she was both surprised and

* One of the latest and most interesting, though obviously coloured for effect, appeared in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' for June 1853, from the able pen of M. Blaze de Bury.

enraged to find her advances received by a young officer of the body guard, in which Königsmark held a commission, much as those of the Sultana were received by Don Juan. Her wounded vanity suggested that a rival was the cause, and after jealously scrutinizing the demeanour of all the court ladies, her suspicions fell upon the Princess, who was in the habit of indulging her young admirer with occasional opportunities of private communication. Furnished with ample proofs of their indiscretion, and giving it a worse name, she hurried to the Elector, and urged him to take summary vengeance against his daughter-in-law; but his mildness of character made harsh expedients revolting to him, and he simply commanded the attendance of Königsmark, and told him, 'Count, I know all. Here is a letter for Prince Frederic 'Augustus (the general of the Imperial army); begone: apply 'from Hanover for your discharge. Farewell, and remember the 'friendship I am manifesting for you.' There was no alternative but to obey: he joined the Imperial army, and served in it till the end of the campaign, when he requested leave of absence for the purpose of visiting Hanover from the Prince Commander, who granted it reluctantly.

The fatal lure was a ribbon, once bound round a bouquet given by the Princess as a prize at a match of running at the ring, at which he had come off conqueror. He had left it behind on his hurried departure, fastened to the colours of his company, and it was to reclaim this token that he came back. The standard was in the custody of the captain, his successor, one Count Platen, a relative of the Countess, who had already got possession of the ribbon. Königsmark desired her relative to tell her that if she would give it up, he would forgive her all the sufferings she had brought upon him, and that even the arms of the Elector would prove an unsafe place of refuge if she refused. This message, faithfully delivered, was not well calculated to obtain a favour from a proud passionate and jealous woman, who saw her opportunity at a glance, and was withheld by no feelings of remorse or former love from profiting by it. She feigned hesitation, and, by negotiating for the delivery of the ribbon, induced Königsmark to prolong his secret stay in Hanover till she had completed her plot. Her grand difficulty was the Elector, who was at length over-persuaded to give a modified assent. She had in her pay two Italian cut-throats, ready for any deed of villany; she joined with them three Germans of her household, who received instructions to watch for Königsmark on a specified day in the palace garden, not far from the steps leading to the Princess's apartment, to throw themselves

upon him, stifle his cries, and bring him into a subterranean room of the castle, called the laboratory. These instructions were given in the presence of the Elector. Her secret orders to the Italians, in their own language, were to murder Königsmark in the laboratory; and just before they repaired to the rendezvous her waiting-maid was to hand them refreshments mixed with poison, so that they might not survive the deed long enough to give evidence of her complicity. To inveigle Königsmark into the snare, the co-operation of the Princess's confidential attendant, Miss Dillon, was required. By the command of the Elector, the poor young lady repaired trembling to a private interview with the Countess, who, by the threat of instant death, compelled her to write the following billet:—

'Monsieur le Comte,—Ma Princesse désire de vous voir, elle ne peut pas vous escrire, s'estant bruslée la main, et m'a ordonné de vous faire savoir que vous pouvez vous rendre ce soir chez elle par le petit escalier comme autre fois; elle me paroist inquiette de votre silence. A Dieu, tirez bientost de doute la plus aimable princesse du monde.'

On receiving this billet, Königsmark hurried to the garden, ascended the steps, and found the Princess in her usual sitting-room. She was surprised to see him, not knowing he was in Hanover, and gently reproached him for his indiscretion. He produced Miss Dillon's note as his justification; on reading which the Princess exclaimed that he was lost; that it was a trick of the Countess, and that she would not lose a moment in ascertaining the truth. He hurried down the steps, and was just entering the garden saloon when the three Germans and two Italians fell upon him. He defended himself with skill and courage. Two of the Germans and one of the Italians were killed on the spot; the second Italian and the third German, named Fourier, were wounded, when Fourier, a very strong man, threw away his sword, caught up the cloak which Königsmark had let fall, and as the Count was rushing upon the Italian, the sole remaining obstacle to his escape, flung it over his head. The Italian instantly ran him through his body, and he sank senseless to the ground.

In the narrative of M. Blaze de Bury, the Countess and Princess are present at this scene, and an animated dialogue, worthy of one of M. Alexandre Dumas' melodrames, is carried on between the actors and actresses. In the narrative before us, the Countess judiciously keeps her distance, and the Princess only comes on the ground time enough to be made aware that a bloody deed has been done. She was roused from the reverie or stupor into which she had sunk after the Count's departure,

by the barking of her pet dog at the door; on its being opened he rushed down the steps, and she followed him. The first objects that met her eye in the saloon were the two men preparing to carry off Königsmark. After a vain effort to approach or call for help, finding her strength failing, she tried to regain her chamber, but stumbled over one of the dead bodies and fainted. The murderers left their victim, carried her to her room, laid her on a couch, locked the door on the outside to prevent further interruption, and after conveying the Count to the laboratory, proceeded to report proceedings to the Elector. Fourier threw all the blame of what had been done in excess of his highness' instructions on the Italian, who confidently appealed to the Countess; and the Elector, half beside himself with confusion and remorse, requested an interview with the Princess, to which he repaired in company with her husband, the Crown Prince, who had passed the preceding day and night at his hunting-box. They were thus addressed by the Princess:—

'I have only a very few words to say to you. I will not lower myself to persuade you of my innocence. I am guilty, but only in this, that in cowardly obedience I broke my troth to Count Königsmark. I loved Königsmark before the duty was imposed on me, Prince, of obeying you. I own, shuddering, my fault in permitting him access to me; and the rest of my life shall be devoted to repentance and recollection. I am the cause of his death; it lies on me to revenge him. Be prepared, therefore, for every horror that revenge can impose.'

At the frank commencement of this pithy speech, the Crown Prince must have felt like Sir Peter Teazle when he exclaims, 'Now I believe the truth is coming out indeed;' and the conclusion naturally suggested the prudence of placing some slight restraint on the movements of his spouse. The Count, however, was not dead; his wounds were reported dangerous but not mortal; and the thought occurred whether his recovery and release would not be the best things that could happen under the circumstances, when the surviving Italian began to feel the effects of the poison administered by the waiting-maid, sent for two of his countrymen in default of a spiritual confessor, made a clean breast of it, and died invoking vengeance on the Countess. She was disgraced and ruined if Königsmark lived to disentangle and denounce the conspiracy, and he was accordingly despatched by poison. His brother-in-law, Count von Lowenhaupt, made a gallant attempt at rescue, and actually forced his way to the vault, where he found no trace of his relative but these words scrawled with coal on the wall: '*Philippe de Königsmark a 'rempli sa destinée dans ce lieu le* 14 *Feb. de l'année* 1694.'

The fate of the Princess is well known: she was divorced from her husband and confined in the castle of Ahlden, near Celle, till her death in 1726, twenty-nine years after these events. Count Moritz, of Saxony, says that she retained her attitude of dignified superiority, if not quite of injured innocence, and refused all offers of reconciliation; and this is the point in which his narrative most materially differs from the popular versions. Whether she was guilty or not in the worst acceptation of the term, is one of those questions which people will decide according to their excess or lack of charity, their belief or disbelief in Platonics. Making every allowance for the pride of the Princess and the delicacy of the admirer, these admitted private interviews sound compromising at best. 'The 'progress of a private conversation,' says Scott in reference to Leicester and Elizabeth, 'betwixt two persons of different sexes 'is often decisive of their fate, and gives it a turn very different 'from what they themselves anticipated. Gallantry becomes 'mingled with conversation, and affection and passion come 'gradually to mix with gallantry. Nobles, as well as shepherd 'swains, will, in such a trying moment, say more than they 'intended; and queens, like village maidens, will listen longer 'than they should.' From the correspondence between the Count and Princess, especially from her letters, unfavourable conclusions have been deduced; but they are not utterly inconsistent with the theory of her personal purity; their authenticity may be questioned; and the entire tenor might have been changed by the alteration or introduction of a sentence or two. We now know, what was all along suspected, that Mrs. Piozzi's letters to Conway the actor, published as 'loveletters,' have been shamefully garbled to bear out the title*; and the letters of the Princess may have undergone a similar process. When the divorce was threatened, she again avowed her affection for Königsmark, and offered to take the sacrament on its stainlessness. Wonderful to relate, the offer was accepted. Dignified ecclesiastics officiated at the altar: with the elements in her hands she called God to witness her truth, and then, having undergone the ordeal without blenching, she challenged the Countess Platen to do the same. The Countess turned pale and refused.

Instances of strange imposture and wondrous credulity abound in these volumes, where we find the very tricks of

* The originals are in the possession of Mrs. Ellet, an American lady of literary distinction, who is about to publish an exposure of the fraud.

spirit-raising and table-creaking which have recently been turned to good account under the auspices, we regret to add, of persons who should be prevented by self-respect from lending a momentary sanction to such charlatanry. Here, also, we meet with anomalous crimes and atrocities which set all ordinary theories of proof, motive, and probability at defiance. The punishments are often on a par in point of singularity with the delinquencies, and prison discipline appears to have been imperfectly understood. Instead of simple decapitation, one recorded sentence is, 'that the criminal be cut into two pieces, 'the head part the smaller, and the body part the larger, as a 'well-merited doom to him and a terrible example to others.' Three incendiaries were apprehended and convicted in Eilenburg. One was burnt to death, another beheaded, and the third condemned to be branded and kept in safe custody till his reform was ascertained. The branding was easy, but the safe custody embarrassed the town council, who ended by putting him in irons and sending him daily 'to beg his bread from door 'to door, with a view to his reformation.' To the indignation and surprise of their worships, as they report, 'the ungrateful 'rascal, not appreciating their clemency, stole away.'

Peter Jokuff had been guilty of contempt by words or gestures against the tribunals of Wilthen, and refused to ask pardon or express contrition. Having no prison or legal place of confinement at their disposal, they placed the said Peter under arrest in the public-house, where he was chained by the leg to the public table, from the 2nd September 1750 to the 15th February 1751. Barring the awkwardness of the position, he led an agreeable life enough, as he had plenty of company, and could eat and drink his fill at the expense of the frequenters of the house, with whom he was in high favour for his spirited contumacy. So the magistracy caused a kind of wooden cage to be constructed in the same room, shut him up in it, and by strict prohibitions to the landlord and guests did all that in them lay to confine him to a bread and water diet. They tried to put both his feet in the stocks, but met with so determined a resistance that they were obliged to rest satisfied with one. He remained in the cage till the 15th August, 1751, when, being still unsubdued, he was removed to the newly constructed house of correction at Waldheim, where, we regret to say, we lose sight of him altogether.

Valuable illustrations of the history of German morals and manners may be deduced from sumptuary laws against luxury and dress. Less than a century since, these were frequently and invidiously enforced in Germany. Thus a formal

report of the courts at Hirschstein makes known to the administrative body, at the instance of the church-patron and judge, Julius Alexander von Hartitsch, that the excess of the peasantry in dress had become intolerable, inasmuch as three farmers' daughters had appeared at church attired in silks, furs, gold brocades, and spangles, which are detailed in the document with such minuteness as to justify a suspicion that the accusing elder was set on by the ladies of his family and had taken counsel with them. His demand was that the three damsels should be warned to dress according to their degree, under penalty of having their finery publicly stripped off. Their fathers pleaded in reply, that they had shown a particular liking for such attire; that they had town marriages in prospect; lastly, that the garments in question were by no means expensive, and were more convenient than the ancestral habits, veils and hoods. Their persecutor was still unsatisfied, and called for summary judgment on their contumacy. The fathers appealed to the provincial government, who rejected the appeal, and ordered the appellants to forbid the alleged excess in dress, to give Hartitsch notice that they had done so, and to let the affair rest.

So late as 1786, a fur cap excited much local agitation, and led to a serious conflict of the authorities. The daughter of the state-piper, Meischner, at Eisenbach, appeared at church with the cap. She was a pretty girl; it became her; and the town-judge, Stölzel, looked at her oftener than was agreeable to his wife. The result was that the next day, under domestic compulsion, he issued an order to the piper to prevent his daughter from wearing the cap again. The piper appealed to the district magistrate, who, after inspecting the head-dress, and finding it composed of ordinary and unforbidden materials, formally authorised the damsel to wear it, and gave the judge due notice of the fact. The judge held to his prohibition, and the town was divided into two parties, who exhibited as much eagerness and animosity as the greens and blues of the amphitheatre, or the smallendians and bigendians of Lilliput. The old and ugly women, with their husbands, supported the judge; the young and pretty, with the bachelors, were mostly on the side of the magistrate. The married interest was strongest in the town council, and one of their myrmidons was commissioned to repair to the church on the 19th February 1786, and before the whole congregation remove the cap from the fair head of the wearer. He performed this invidious duty without hesitation or compunction, and bore off the cap to the council, who condemned it as lawful prize; whereupon the leaders of the

opposite party retorted by purchasing a finer and more becoming cap, in which the piper's daughter appeared the following Sunday, to the confusion of her enemies and amidst the triumphant congratulations of her friends. This *coup-de-main* carried the day. The council, taken by surprise, wanted courage or presence of mind enough for a second confiscation; and before the lapse of another week, the central authorities interfered. The council was eventually ordered to make restitution and pay the costs.

The exact number of dishes to be served at the table of each class of the community according to their rank was carefully prescribed; and a license was required for any departure from the ordinance. A long process is reported, in which a list of the dishes and the guests, with a minute description of their quality, was submitted to the Grand Duke in council, who, after deliberating with a gravity resembling that of the Roman Senate in the famous turbot case *temp.* Domitian, acquitted the accused. Musical instruments were the subject of equally stringent regulations; trumpets and trombones being especially confined to grand occasions and forbidden to persons of low degree. The trumpeters and kettle-drummers formed a close and highly privileged corporation. One Mather Richter, at Altenberg, was fined 200 dollars for allowing trumpets to be blown at his daughter's wedding; and so late as 1732 the trumpeters and trombone-players of Weissenfels lodged a complaint against the bailiff of Freiburg for daring to make the state-piper attend on him with trumpets and trombones. The defence was, that persons of distinction were present; and the cause came at last before the Law Faculty of Leipsig, who, on due examination of the circumstances and the precedents, let off the offender on payment of costs.

Amongst the numerous instances of popular prejudice which abound in this collection, the municipal ordinances against shepherds are the most unaccountable. Not only were they forbidden to settle in towns or to become members of guilds; but to intermarry with the pastoral class carried into a family a taint like that supposed to be communicated by the smallest intermixture of black blood in the disrupted States of North America. With these curious and whimsical incidents of German morals and manners in the last century, we take leave of Dr. Weber.

ART. VII.—1. *The useful Metals and their Alloys; including Mining Ventilation, Mining Jurisprudence, and Metallurgic Chemistry, &c. With their application to the industrial arts.* By JOHN SCOFFERN, M.B. Lond., WILLIAM TRURAN, C.E., WILLIAM CLAY, ROBERT OXLAND, WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, F.R.S., W. C. AITKIN, and WILLIAM VOSE PICKETT. London: 1857.

2. *Iron, its History, Properties, and Processes of Manufacture.* By WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Edinburgh: 1861.

3. *On the Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building Purposes.* By WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, C.E., F.R.S., F.G.S. 2nd edition. London: 1857–58.

4. *W. Fairbairn, Esq., F.R.S., on the Properties of Iron and its Resistance to Projectiles at High Velocities.* Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution on Friday, May 9th, 1862.

5. *Iron Ship Building, with Practical Illustrations.* By JOHN GRANTHAM, consulting engineer and naval architect, Liverpool. London: 1858.

6. *Lives of the Engineers.* By SAMUEL SMILES. 2 vols. London: 1862.

THE present century offers the first instance in the history of the world of a supply of iron which exceeds the demand. The scarcity of this most useful of all metals was the great clog on the unevenly developed civilisation of the ancient world. In Homer's days the supply of iron barely sufficed for the rude agriculture of the period. His heroes were content to mangle each other with brazen spears and swords, and a lump no bigger than a man could carry of unwrought iron, fit for making arrow-heads, was thought a prize worth contending for at the funeral games of Patroclus.

The Romans possessed iron in much larger quantities. Pliny speaks as authoritatively as a modern geologist, though not as scientifically, of iron ores 'to be found in almost all parts of 'the world,' of their various qualities and different uses. And it is remarkable that wherever iron has been discovered in this country, even in very recent times, the traces also of ancient workings have been found.

But the age of bronze cannot be said to have passed away till the first of the three great inventions which form landmarks in the history of the iron manufacture—the art of making 'pig

'iron'—had been made known to the world. The Romans undoubtedly succeeded in increasing the 'blast' and the combustion of their furnaces; but the perfection of the art of smelting consists in the introduction of a third substance, called a 'flux,' which is easily fused in combination with the earthy matter of the ironstone, and permits the disengaged metal to flow freely from the bottom of the furnace into the moulds prepared for it.* The iron thus produced is called pig iron, and is not only more abundant in quantity but differs materially in quality from the product of the processes previously in use. When this great discovery was made, or by whom, is unknown. Its value was probably not appreciated at the time, and its date is unrecorded. Certain it is that with the first dawn of modern history we find iron established in the economy of daily life as the usual material of all hardware. Soon after the invention of gunpowder we read of cast-iron ordnance, and 'casting' implies a previous familiarity with the art of making pig iron. In the Middle Ages a degree of skill which has never been surpassed was attained in working in steel. The artisans of that period were artists, and they employed all their powers in both capacities to decorate the arms and armour, and other hardware intended for the personal use of the great. They enlayed them with the precious metals in patterns of the most exquisite design; and further to adorn them the art (the parent of engraving) was invented of carving on little plates of silver an outline which was subsequently filled up with a dark composition called nigellum, and hence the name of the Nielli, so highly prized by modern collectors, and so dexterously imitated by modern forgers. But, with these and a few such like exceptions, iron was applied to only the most ordinary uses. Yet even for these the supply was insufficient, and early enactments forbidding its exportation prove its scarcity and value in this country. So far, however, from encouraging the manufacture, the legislature for some centuries seems to have considered it as the natural enemy of the oak forests, on which the national safety then depended; and at best as a necessary evil which could only by great vigilance and restrictive laws be contained within tolerable bounds.

In Charles I.'s days Dud Dudley discovered the art of sub-

* It is by many supposed that the Romans used a flux. We should infer from Pliny's silence on the subject, and still more from the quantity of iron found in the Roman 'cinder,' that they did not. Pliny's phrase, 'Aquæ modo liquari ferrum, postea in spongias frangi' (Hist. Nat. cap. xxxiv.), implies that the iron, though fused, was not run off into moulds, but was left to form itself into a shapeless honey-combed mass at the bottom of the furnace.

stituting coke or coal for charcoal in the smelting furnace—the great invention which forms the second epoch in the history of the iron manufacture—but even he failed to see or feared to urge the great importance of his own discovery; and in his passionate pleading with the restored Government of Charles II. for the renewal of his patent, he claims no merit for increasing the supply of iron, and dwells only on the advantage of sparing the native oak forests.

If Dudley did not feel the full value of his own invention, no one else felt it at all. The discovery was, in fact, premature. Till the necessary improvements in the blowing apparatus of the smelting furnace had been effected, the means were lacking to turn it to account, and this was not accomplished till about 1740, at which date the iron trade had reached its lowest point of depression. Under the double check of legislative discouragement, and a diminishing supply of charcoal, the home manufacture had sunk to less than 18,000 tons per annum; and so far had the political troubles of the preceding half century checked industrial enterprise, that the imports did not average more than 30,000 to 35,000 tons. But better times were at hand. With the assistance of pit coal, which was soon brought into common use, the home manufacture was raised in the interval between 1740 and 1788 to nearly 70,000 tons per annum, while the imports increased to upwards of 50,000. And now at last the time was arrived when the need of foreign aid was yearly to become less. About the year 1788 the completion of the steam engine gave a new impulse to all the operations of mining; and facilitated all the processes of the iron manufacture. From this period dates the supremacy of England in the iron trade. And while this rapid stride in advance was still fresh in the memory of the middle-aged, the third and last great discovery, the application of the hot blast (the nature of which we shall describe presently), secured a supply of iron large enough to meet any possible demand, and cheap enough to permit its application to every variety of purpose.

In the first instance, iron was most urgently needed as the material for the improved machinery, which was the indispensable instrument of further progress. Powerful engines on new principles were invented, and the clumsy wooden contrivances of a ruder age were gradually superseded by iron-work of a more scientific construction. At the present day the quantity of iron annually consumed in the manufacture of machinery is enormous. And in the sole production of iron more iron is in

various ways employed than the whole country could have furnished at the beginning of the century.

It is difficult to conceive how a supply of 70,000 tons of home-manufactured iron could have sufficed for the wants of an age which already displayed so much industrial energy, but everything is relative; and even before the annual 'make' had reached this amount, the comparative plentifulness and cheapness of iron suggested the idea of applying it to hitherto untried uses. Even then John Wilkinson of Broseley, who is known as 'the father 'of the iron trade,' and in his day was called 'the great iron 'master,' ventured to predict the time would come when we should live in iron houses and sail in iron ships. He was called 'iron mad,' and it was supposed to be a symptom of his prevailing delusion, when in 1773 he proposed that cast iron should be used as the material of a single-arched bridge, which it was desired to erect across the Severn. The idea was not wholly new. As early as 1755 an attempt had been made at Lyons to construct an iron bridge. But it had failed, and even if its fame had reached Shropshire its failure could have held out no encouragement to repeat the experiment. Bridges of cast iron are now so common, it is difficult to appreciate the boldness of the man who first conceived the project of employing this new material in the construction of a gigantic arch to span a navigable river. Hitherto cast iron had been little used. Dudley speaks of certain cisterns and other articles for domestic use, which he had cast from his pit-coal iron as novelties beyond the reader's belief. More recently Savery and Newcomen had made use of it in constructing their pumps and engines. As yet, however, the art of casting was imperfectly understood. But the vigorous efforts which were made in the latter half of the last century to develope the industrial resources of the country, by the construction of roads, bridges, and canals, called forth a vast amount of engineering and mechanical talent—and taxed it to the utmost to invent novel modes of construction, and to discover materials of more extensive application than those hitherto in use. Wilkinson's proposal was referred to Mr. Pritchard, the architect of the county, and was carried out in the erection of the bridge near Coalbrookdale—the first iron bridge in the world—which gives the name of Ironbridge to the little town rapidly rising on the adjacent bank. The second iron bridge was designed some years later, by the well-known Thomas Paine, whose notoriety is derived from a less creditable employment of his talents. It was executed at Rotherham, and taken piecemeal to London, where

it was set up on a bowling green at Paddington (where is the bowling green now?) and exhibited as a curiosity. Paine had intended it for the Schuylkill in America. But his means failed, and he ran away to Paris, then in the height of its revolutionary frenzy, to join the friends of liberty or to avoid his creditors. The friends of liberty, more formidable than his creditors, threw him into prison, and would have guillotined him if he had not contrived to escape. In the subsequent confusion of his affairs, the bridge was ultimately taken back by the manufacturers, Messrs. Walker, and supplied part of the materials for T. Wilson's great arch across the Wear near Sunderland. This work was completed in 1796, and was long regarded as a world's wonder; it has indeed no longer the merits of novelty and rarity, but it well deserves the praise bestowed on it by Robert Stephenson, who pronounced it to be 'a structure which, as regards its proportions and the 'quantity of material employed, will remain unrivalled.' Contemporaneously with the construction of the iron bridge at Sunderland, the second actually completed, Telford was engaged in erecting another of the same material, two miles above the first —at Buildwas, to replace an ancient stone structure which had been carried away by the Severn in a recent flood; and so rapid was the progress which engineering had made in less than twenty years, that although the span of his bridge was thirty feet wider than that of Pritchard's, it contained less than half the quantity of cast iron. Since those days there has sprung up another rival of the parent arch some miles lower down the stream at Coalport—where is really made the china which London chooses to call by the name of Coalbrookdale, while to complete the triumph of Tradition over Fact, the structure itself is known in the neighbourhood as the 'Wooden bridge.'

The largest cast-iron bridge is that of Southwark, built by Rennie in 1815–19, the principal arch of which has a span of 140 feet; but since their first invention bridges of this material have multiplied so fast, that the enumeration of them would be tedious, and the skilfulness of their construction has ceased to excite wonder. Nor is it only where great spaces were to be traversed, that cast-iron was employed; it has frequently formed the material of bridges of ordinary construction. But never, perhaps, was a greater compliment paid to iron than when it was selected to form the arches of the new bridge at Westminster, in immediate juxtaposition with the Houses of Parliament. From a very early date Telford used it largely for the aqueducts of his canals, as also for lock-gates and other purposes connected with inland navigation: and in two instances where

it was found a lock had been constructed on a stratum of quicksand, he lined the whole interior of the basin with cast iron.

For many years no satisfactory plan could be proposed for bridging over the Menai Strait. Rennie had sent in a magnificent design for a cast-iron bridge, to the centre arch of which he gave a span of 450 feet, but the cost was enormous. Long afterwards Telford sent in 'alternative' plans for two cast-iron bridges, to be carried across at a lower level—but obstruction to navigation was apprehended, and nothing was decided. At last when Telford published his design for a suspension bridge across the Mersey, the Commissioners of the Holyhead Road instructed him to prepare a plan for effecting the desired communication on this new principle. New, strictly speaking, the principle was not. In many parts of the world it might be seen exemplified in hanging bridges of rude construction and perishable materials, but it could not be applied to works of importance till the increased supply of iron afforded a material of the requisite strength and durability. And the difficulties of applying the principle of suspension to a structure so vast, and to a material so ponderous, were such as to entitle the man who overcame them to all the credit of invention. Telford felt the greatest anxiety as to the result, and spared no pains to ensure success. He made, we are told, an elaborate series of experiments to test the tenacity of wrought-iron bars (for wrought iron he ascertained to be the proper material for a suspension bridge), and fully aware of the difference of quality which even in those days distinguished the product of different districts, he finally bound his contractor to use none but the best Shropshire iron.*

The Menai bridge has been followed by similar works of equal and even greater magnitude in various parts of the world; and previously to its erection, the principle of suspension had much engaged the attention of our engineers. Captain Brown, who subsequently built the chain pier at Brighton, took out a patent for bridges on this plan in 1817. There is probably some variety in the methods employed by different engineers, there is certainly a considerable difference in the results. In no case, indeed, can the vibration, which is the great objection to this

* Life of Telford—Smiles' Lives of the Engineers. We have placed Mr. Smiles' work on the list which heads this article, because we have occasionally availed ourselves of the information it contains, and we are glad of the opportunity to recommend it to the reader's attention. But the work is not yet complete, and we hope it will eventually embrace the great achievements of the Stephensons and the Brunels.

principle of construction, be wholly overcome; but in slighter works it is very perceptible, and its consequences are very serious. The Broughton bridge near Manchester gave way beneath the measured tread of a party of sixty men in marching order. In France several suspension bridges are said to have fallen. The great bridge at Angers, which had been built by the same engineers who constructed the bridge at Fribourg, gave way under the combined strain of a gale of wind and the passage of between four and five hundred troops. Troops in France are ordered to 'break ranks' in passing over these structures; but in this case the order was disobeyed for the purpose of military display, and the result was fatal.

When it was first designed to connect Eastern and Western Prussia by a permanent link of communication at Cologne, the Government in the first instance accepted a plan for a chain suspension bridge; but the flexibility of a bridge constructed on this principle rendered it unfit for the support of railway traffic, and the Chevalier Bunsen, then Prussian Minister in England, was able to report to his Government that bridges had been constructed in this country on a much larger scale than would be necessary at Cologne. The Britannia and Conway bridges had been recently opened, and were daily thronged with wondering visitors. On this representation, a Commission was sent over to inspect these new structures, and to make a report, and Mr. Fairbairn was invited to send in plans for a bridge on the same principle. The tubular bridge was, however, rejected, but the Commission did not revert to the original design of a suspension bridge; a modification of the 'lattice' bridge, a later invention, was ultimately adopted, and the result is one of the noblest works of the kind upon the continent of Europe.

It was the necessity of carrying roads at a dead level across wide spaces, so as to allow the greatest amount of head room below, and at the same time to impart to the connecting structure a degree of solidity capable of sustaining the force of a train at full speed,—it was, in short, the very need so conspicuously manifest at Cologne, that goaded R. Stevenson to the invention of the tubular girder and the tubular bridge. The tubular girder is a hollow rectangular beam, composed of four plates of wrought iron, of different strengths proportionate to the different strain on each. The tubular bridge is only the tubular girder expanded to such dimensions that the trains run in the inside of tubular beams, instead of running on roads supported by them; but the planes which form the top and bottom of the great tube are themselves tubular.

For further explanation of this masterpiece of constructive skill, we must refer the reader to Mr. Fairbairn's interesting volume on the Britannia and Conway Bridges. Our business now is not with the mechanical contrivance of the engineer, but with his materials. Great inventions are usually followed by a host of others differing from them in detail and exhibiting more or less novelty of principle. Inflexible suspension bridges have been contrived by suspending the roadway beneath a large cast-iron arch. Various modifications of lattice bridges have been constructed, of which hitherto that of Cologne is the most considerable. But one of vast size is now in the course of construction for the Jumna. Bowstring bridges, in which the roadway takes the place of the string, have many advocates. The Saltash bridge, which carries the Cornish railway across the Tamar, is one of Mr. Brunel's most ingenious and imposing structures. But it would be endless to enumerate all the new plans of bridges which our rapidly extending railways have called forth, in almost capricious variety: we have only to note how largely iron enters into the composition of them all. Railway bridges must be calculated to resist forces very different from those which act on bridges designed for ordinary traffic; and it became important to ascertain the effect of violent concussions, and the passage of heavy bodies in rapid motion, in deflecting and fracturing the beams on which they are made to act; nor was it less needful to discover whether metal which has been exposed for a long period to concussions and vibrations undergoes any change in its cellular structure by which it becomes weakened. In 1849 a Commission, of which Lord Wrottesley was president, was appointed to inquire into these matters, 'with a view to dis-'cover such principles, and to form such rules, as may enable the 'engineer and the mechanic to apply the metal with confidence.' Their report is in the highest degree interesting and valuable. The general result is that a 'superabundant strength is needed in 'railway structures, but that the conditions of safety will be 'realised if the greatest load on a railway bridge does not exceed 'one-sixth of the weight which would break the beam when laid 'on at rest in its centre.' Among many other useful practical suggestions the Committee recommend, that 'engineers in con-'tracting for castings should stipulate for iron to bear a certain 'weight instead of endeavouring to procure a certain mixture.' In the experiments which were made by the Commission for the purpose of testing the strength of different kinds of iron, it is gratifying to find what superior qualities they selected for trial: we fear it is long since similar metal has been actually employed in any railway structure.

The experiments which Mr. Fairbairn conducted, in order to ascertain the strength of the materials to be employed in the tubular bridges, led him to the discovery, which he tells us he had not anticipated, that wrought iron answers better than cast iron for many of the purposes to which cast iron exclusively had hitherto been applied. The reader is doubtless aware that pig iron is the raw material of both wrought and cast iron; but, while the former is brought to its perfection by repeated working, the latter is produced by merely once more making the metal fluid in the 'cupola furnace,' and then pouring it into a mould of the form required. Hence, as the process of manufacturing is so much less laborious, cast iron is proportionably cheaper than wrought; but it must not be supposed that these two forms of iron resemble each other in kind, and differ only in degree. For all practical purposes they are distinct metals: —

'Cast iron differs from wrought,' says Mr. Fairbairn, 'in its physical as well as its mechanical qualities. It is a hard rigid crystalline unmalleable substance. It possesses great powers of resistance to compression, but comparatively small resistance to that of extension, and from its low degree of ductility it undergoes but little elongation when acted on by a tensile force. On the contrary, wrought iron is a flexible malleable ductile substance, which presents great resistance to a force of extension, but a somewhat less resistance to a force of compression; from its high degree of ductility it undergoes a considerable elongation when acted upon by a tensile force. And for a long time it was assumed that when applied to resist compression, it would crumple like leather.' (P. 47.)

Mr. Fairbairn gives a most interesting account of the experiments by which he disposed of the 'crumpled leather' theory. On the other hand, he gives excellent reasons why cast iron cannot be depended on. The unequal contraction of the metal which takes place when it is exposed to great variations of the temperature, causes it to snap. Moreover, the nature of the material is treacherous: 'all crystalline bodies are of a more 'brittle and uncertain character than those which are of a 'fibrous structure.' Flaws and imperfections are of frequent occurrence in the casting, which cannot be discovered by the minutest inspection of the surface.

'Repeated instances have occurred wherein castings presenting every appearance of perfection have been found to contain the elements of destruction, either in concealed air bubbles, or in the infusion of scoriæ, which had been run into the moulds and skinned over by a smooth covering of apparently sound iron.'

It is a fearful addition to all these causes of insecurity, that cast iron when it breaks gives not the slightest warning. No external crack, no admonitory sound, gave cause to doubt the soundness of the engine beam which caused the disaster at the Hartley pit; and the large flaw in the casting which was discovered after the fracture was not indicated by the smallest defect on the surface. These objections apply to all cast iron, as such; but the inevitable risks are greatly multiplied if the iron employed is of an inferior quality, or of a character not suited to the purpose. The iron of the Hartley engine beam was neither cheap nor bad, but it was composed of a mixture not well calculated to produce a tough quality of iron.*

In the first instance, cast iron exclusively was applied to the construction of fire-proof buildings. In the year 1801 the first cotton mill of this description was erected, by Messrs. Lee and Phillips, of Manchester, with cast-iron beams and cast-iron pillars. It was constructed with great skill, and for many years remained the model of all similar works. But since then the subject has been more carefully investigated. The account which Mr. Fairbairn gives of the experiments, chiefly conducted by himself and Mr. Hodgkinson at his works, by which he has established the theory, and improved the practice, of cast-iron architecture, is highly interesting, and very valuable to those who still continue to prefer that material; but he in some degree supersedes his own work by proving (quite, we own, to our conviction), that not only strength, lightness, and roominess, but even economy, will be consulted by substituting wrought for cast iron. The difference in the weight compensates for the difference in the cost. A wrought-iron beam of 18 cwt. Mr. Fairbairn sets down as equivalent to a cast-iron beam of 40 cwt. Moreover in many ways the expenses of construction are diminished by the use of wrought iron, and more especially the supporting columns may be retrenched with not less advantage of convenience than economy.

Mr. Fairbairn justly remarks that the construction of buildings of this kind must not be attempted without a considerable amount of scientific and practical knowledge. He mentions a

* In our opinion the immediate cause of the accident was the contraction of the beam, caused by the cold, while the 'gudgeon' or shaft which passes through its centre was heated by friction, and consequently expanded; thus, in fact, acting as a wedge to split the beam in which it was inserted. A tougher cast iron *might* have resisted — wrought iron certainly would.

mill at Oldham which fell down in the year 1844, and seems to attribute the disaster to some defect in the construction; but the date leads us to suspect there may also have been some fault in the iron. Long previously to the year 1844 cheap iron was common in the market, and the effect of cheapness upon quality was imperfectly understood by consumers. Would it were duly appreciated even now!

The late destruction of the iron fire-proof warehouses on the Thames has somewhat discredited this application of iron; but we think unreasonably. It is plain that if highly inflammable goods are stored in an absolutely incombustible warehouse, in which there is an unimpeded communication between the parts, and a free circulation of air, they will be much in the condition of fuel arranged for lighting in the grate. Mr. Fairbairn gives many valuable directions for excluding the external air, and dividing the various parts of the building; but sooner or later the skill of the architect is neutralised by the carelessness of the warehouseman. On some unlucky day the requisite combination of untoward incidents takes place, and a conflagration which no exertions can extinguish ensues. In such a case, no doubt, the iron-built warehouse will be destroyed, and as in the great fire at Liverpool, in 1844, the gutters will run molten iron,—whereas a series of fire-brick vaults would remain in the state of a kiln when the contents are withdrawn. But the enormous expense of such a construction is hardly repaid by the preservation of the mere shell of the building. The wisest course is to store away all inflammable goods, and especially those which are liable to spontaneous combustion, in separate warehouses, or in vaults which realise Mr. Fairbairn's conditions of safety—exclusion of the external air and non-communication; and here fire-bricks should be the material. But most inflammable substances are far less easily ignited when compressed in bales or stowed away in casks; and they are safe if the building in which they are deposited is secured from the danger of combustion to which buildings of ordinary construction are exposed. Loose paper is highly inflammable, but the closely packed treasures of the British Museum are perfectly safe in the new Library,—the most commodious and the most beautiful of fire-proof magazines.

Iron is quite sufficient to ensure the safety of dwelling-houses; but unfortunately very little advantage of the plentifulness and cheapness of this material has as yet been taken in London, and few of the noble mansions which have been raised in the country within the last forty years are secured, by a fire-proof construction, from the casualties which have reduced so

many of their predecessors within the same time to a heap of ashes. It is strange that in the seat of the iron trade, this most important application of iron should be the one (happily, we believe it is the only one) which is generally neglected. The popular dislike of innovation, and the additional expense of iron, are great obstacles to its introduction; but greater still, we suspect, is the unwillingness of our architects to meddle with a material with which they are not familiar. The objection that by the use of iron an architect is turned into a civil engineer no more appals us than the often-repeated threat that a late dinner may be called a supper. If it means that engineering skill excludes architectural taste, the best answer is supplied by Rennie's Waterloo and London Bridges, which are among the very best specimens of modern architecture. If it means that our architects are often deficient in the constructive skill of the engineer, there is only too much truth in the admission, and the sooner so lamentable a deficiency is supplied the better. We are persuaded that if any able member of the profession would bestow on the construction of private dwellings the study which Mr. Fairbairn has given to that of warehouses, he would discover the means of building houses, on a large or small scale, with fire-proof materials, at very little additional expense, and with as much increase of convenience as of security.

The development of the iron trade was indispensable to the introduction of railways, and, in its turn, was greatly stimulated by it. The quantity of iron which is required for the carriages, the engines, the machinery of all kinds, the cisterns, the roofs and supports of stations and warehouses, can hardly be calculated. There are upwards of 10,000 miles of railway in the kingdom, exclusive of loops and sidings; and merely to re-lay these lines, and keep them in repair, consumes a prodigious amount of metal, probably not less than 500 tons for every working day of the year. Everything connected with these establishments is on a colossal scale. During the present stagnation of the iron trade, a temporary impulse was given to a branch of it by the introduction of the telegraphic wires, and of that crowning marvel of modern invention, the submarine telegraph.

It would be superfluous, even if it were possible, to trace the gradual metamorphosis which is going on around us of familiar objects into iron. We cannot chronicle the first introduction of iron hurdles, iron fencing, iron pumps, iron piping, window frames, spouting, stable fittings, mile and guide-posts, gutter kerbs, and a long list of etcæteras. Portable iron houses, schools, and churches are manufactured, 'for home consumption

'and for exportation.' But everything sinks into insignificance compared with the great wonder and puzzle of the day — the subject which is in every one's mouth, and which probably was in the reader's mind when he was induced to undertake the perusal of a paper on Iron — the conversion of our hearts of oak into iron plates.

The first attempt to realise the 'Great Iron Master's' prophecy that we should sail in iron ships was made by himself. He constructed iron boats, to carry goods on the Severn and the canals; but at what time, and how many, is uncertain. Mr. Grantham has found, in a journal of the year 1787, an account of the arrival at Birmingham 'of a canal-boat, built of British 'iron' (this point then required special notice), 'by John 'Wilkinson, Esq., of Bradley Forge;' and the writer then proceeds to describe the construction of this novel monster with as much care as the newspaper correspondents lately bestowed on the 'Merrimac' and the 'Monitor.' From this period, similar boats were frequently used in inland navigation; and some of the earliest specimens, Mr. Grantham tells us, are still in existence — an incontestable proof of the durability of the materials. The first iron boat that was ever launched in salt-water was a pleasure-boat, built under the direction of Mr. Jevons, of Liverpool, in the year 1815; but it might have been long before iron was adopted as the material for ship-building in good earnest, if, in the meantime, the art of propelling ships by steam had not been brought into practical operation. Without engaging in the attempt to penetrate the obscurity which besets the origin of the steam-boat, like that of most other great discoveries, we may claim for Scotland the merit of having first given a practical solution to the problem which so long engaged the attention of projectors. The first steam vessel applied to practical purposes was the steam tug-boat which was launched on the Clyde and Forth Canal in 1802; and the first steam packet-boat established in Great Britain was the 'Comet,' which began to ply on the Clyde in January 1812.

The quantity of machinery required by this new application of steam greatly increased the demand for iron, and gradually accustomed the public to include that metal among the principal materials for ship-building.

'A series of experiments instituted by the Forth and Clyde Canal Company in 1829–30, to ascertain the law of traction of light boats at high velocities on canals, led to the application of iron for the construction of vessels; and the lightness of these new vessels, combined with their increased strength, suggested the extended application of the material in the construction of vessels of much

larger dimensions.' (*Fairbairn, Lecture on the Properties of Iron*, p. 31.)

Iron, it was perceived, was better suited than wood to resist the strain of the engine, and would allow more space for the stowage, which was inconveniently curtailed by the coals and the engine. It was not till long afterwards that the employment of iron in the construction of a sailing vessel was attempted.

The first iron steamboat that ever put to sea, 'The Aaron 'Manby,' was built by the manufacturer whose name she bore, 'under a patent which was taken out in France for steamboats, 'in 1820. She was built at the Horsley works at Tipton, in 'Staffordshire, was sent to London in parts, and was put together 'in dock.' In September 1821, Captain, afterwards Sir Charles Napier, who seems to have been a partner in the speculation, 'took charge of her, and navigated her from London direct to 'Le Havre, and from thence to Paris, without unloading any 'part of her cargo — she being the first and only vessel that 'for thirty years afterwards sailed direct from London to 'Paris.' It is farther worthy of note that 'from 1822 to 1830 'her hull never needed any repairs, though she had been 'repeatedly aground with her cargo on board.' (*Grantham*, p. 10.)

The iron vessels that were successively built are enumerated by Mr. Grantham in chronological order, and to most of them belongs some circumstance of interest. The 'Alburkah,' a little vessel, built in 1831, by Mr. M'Gregor Laird for the African expedition, which he conducted himself, drew only 3 feet 6 inches of water, and her success dispelled the prejudice which had previously existed as to the danger of going to sea with so light a draught of water. The 'Garryowen,' built in 1834, was the first that exhibited a 'regular arrangement of water-tight bulk-'heads,' an improvement the adoption of which has since been rendered compulsory by the legislature. The 'Nemesis' and 'Phlegethon,' built in 1839, whose names seem ominous of their future destiny, were the first iron steamers that were engaged in active warfare, and they took a conspicuous part in the first Chinese expedition. But, in our opinion, the greatest interest which attaches to these and all the other vessels mentioned by Mr. Grantham is, that whereas the average duration of wooden ships is thirteen years, they are all afloat at this day, with the exception of the first, the 'Aaron Manby,' and she was not broken up till the year 1855.

Notwithstanding this success, the advocacy of iron steamboats was but uphill work, Mr. Grantham tells us, in the year 1842, when he published his first work on the subject. The judgment

of practical men was convinced of the superiority of iron, but the feeling of the public was still in favour of the old marine. From that date, however, iron vessels have rapidly increased, and for some years past no ocean-going steamer has been built of wood. In his first work, Mr. Grantham gives an account of the construction of the 'Great Britain,' which was then on the stocks, and which was, he says, at 'that time, the boldest effort 'ever made in iron ship-building, and formed the most remark-'able feature in the history of that important science.' (P. 15.) The resistance which the 'Great Britain' offered to the beating of a violent surf, when stranded on the coast of Ireland, and the triumphant style in which she has kept the sea since, without receiving damage from the elements or needing repair from the injuries of time, have often been cited as proofs of the durability of iron vessels. To this Mr. Grantham adds many other instances, the most striking of which is that of the 'Persia':—

'On her first voyage, in 1857, she was preceded by the "Pacific," a timber-built steamer, and both seem to have fallen in unexpectedly with large floes of ice. The "Pacific" went down with her immense living freight; the "Persia," encountering a small iceberg when at full speed, split it in two, and received no injury, except by the fragments which floated into the wheels, and broke several of the floats.' (P. 97.)

We rejoice that the Great Eastern, after her disastrous trial trip, and her subsequent misfortune in the great Atlantic storm, has redeemed her character by two most successful voyages to and from the United States. Of no other material than iron could so gigantic a vessel have been constructed. The unfortunate 'President' was the largest wooden merchant steamer that ever put to sea, and we well remember how confidently it was predicted by the 'Old Salts,' as they are fond of calling themselves, at Liverpool, 'that she *must* break her back.' But there is a difficulty in the construction of such a vessel as the Great Eastern which is not yet fully overcome. She is propelled by the combined action of screw and paddle; but when she is encountered by a storm, the action of the screw is not affected by the waves in the same way as that of the paddle; and we have not yet learned by experience what under such circumstances is the strain upon the paddles and other parts of the vessel, and what are the fit provisions to be made for resistance. In all fairness the 'Leviathan,' as she was called in the first instance, must be considered a great success, and the crowning triumph of her ingenious engineer, the late Mr. Brunel. But she is as yet only an experiment from which much is still to be learnt. The fatal accident which occurred on her first trip

was caused by a piece of carelessness which it is impossible to excuse, but which, happily, can never occur again. No outlet had been provided for the steam generated in the casings of her funnels. The result was exactly what might be expected from putting a tea-kettle to boil on the fire after having soldered up the lid and the spout. We do not agree with those who think the Great Eastern will be the last vessel of the size ever constructed; we believe the contrary, and we earnestly hope she will prove the first of a race of Leviathans. It is well for us we have private companies to undertake projects which no constitutional Government could venture to entertain.

Mr. Grantham makes no allusion to iron rigging. The adoption of the chain cable was the first instance of the application of iron in the navy to any purpose beyond those for which it had been used from time immemorial. A patent for the invention of chain cables was taken out by a navy surgeon in the year 1808; and in 1811, for the first time, a vessel provided with a chain cable put to sea. But it is only lately that iron wire has been employed, to any extent, for the rigging, and more lately still that the idea has been seriously entertained of constructing iron masts. As yet there seem to be objections to the general introduction of iron for these purposes, but the analogy of the past justifies us in believing that iron will ultimately supersede all other materials for ship-building. We sympathise with those who regret the disappearance of the old marine, associated as it is with our ideas of picturesque beauty and national glory: but the inexorable march of improvement cannot be stopped. The noble and graceful vessels of modern days have supplanted the clumsy picturesqueness of the Spanish Armada. The Spanish Armada reduced to insignificance the classic bark which Ulysses and his companions at the commencement of each short voyage drew down 'into the divine sea.' Utility must be the first great aim. The association of beauty will follow.

It is curious to find Mr. Grantham urging, in favour of iron boats, the saving of our national timber and the employment of native produce, much in the terms in which Dudley pleaded for his pit-coal iron 200 years ago. But the first question is, what material will produce the best ship; and the superiority of iron over wood, we think, is triumphantly established by experience in the eight points on which Mr. Grantham institutes a comparison, and which he arranges, though not perhaps in very natural or logical order, as follows: 1. Strength combined with lightness. 2. Capacity for stowage. This in large vessels is as 6 to 5; in smaller ones as 5 to 4, an advantage which

may often make the difference between profit and no profit. 3. Safety in matters not immediately connected with strength, such as increased buoyancy, and comparative safety from fire. 4. Speed. 5. Durability. 6. Economy in repairs. It is calculated that in twelve years the repairs of a wooden vessel equal its prime cost. The ship carpenter, like the carriage builder, when he turns out his work secures to himself an annuity for years to come. But the iron shipwright must make his profit in the first instance. For about twelve years the iron boat ought to need no repairs at all; and when needed at last, or rendered necessary by an accident, the reparation is unexpensive and easy. Painting, it is true, must be frequent. We entirely agree with Mr. Grantham, that painting is preferable to galvanizing, which imparts rigidity to iron and impairs its toughness.* A Commission has recently been appointed to inquire into the expediency of sheathing iron vessels with copper, and great use has been made of a patent metal invented by the late Mr. Muntz for the purpose. 7. Cost of construction, the saving effected by the use of iron being about 10 per cent. 8. Draught of water.

But on the other hand, there is a fearful drawback, which even in 1842 was beginning to make itself felt, and which Mr. Grantham thus rather obscurely indicates:—

'The public, and frequently builders themselves, are under considerable misapprehension in respect to the comparative expense of wooden and iron vessels. It is the general impression that iron vessels may be built at a much less expense than wooden ones; and some builders have, consequently, been induced to *take contracts at estimates too low to ensure them a remuneration for the use of adequate strength of material and for fidelity of workmanship.*'

And he goes on to advise shipowners not to pursue 'this mis-'taken economy, the result of which may readily be foreseen.'

The matter, no doubt, is a delicate one for a professional man to handle; and in his present work Mr. Grantham contents himself with quoting his former guarded caution, although the unnamed result which he anticipated has already occurred —in plain English, many of the steamboats have been built of such bad materials that they have been lost at sea. If good iron is strength, bad iron is weakness; and Mr. Grantham indicates very clearly how the craft of iron ship-building has been corrupted, though he scarcely seems to see the full force

* It is singular that on this point modern science has made no improvement. Pliny's recipe for preserving iron from oxidation is as good as any in modern use. (Hist. Nat. cap. xxxiv.)

of his own statements. Speaking of wooden vessels, he tells us that,—'The price of new ships is too much reduced to 'allow room for profit when labour and timber are so ex-'pensive as in this country; and I believe it is generally 'acknowledged our ship-builders mainly depend for subsist-'ence on repairs alone.' (P. 117.) And he thinks that the supply of an abundant material, such as iron, will relieve the ship-builder from this unfair pressure. But this pressure arises from competition, and has nothing to do with the plenty and cheapness of the materials. The introduction of iron does indeed allow the ship-builder a relief, but unfortunately he obtains this relief at the expense of his customers and the public. He is enabled to economise in the quality of a new and comparatively unknown material. Every child knows the difference between oak and deal, and which is the fittest for ship-building. But probably not even the builder knows precisely the quality of iron which is necessary to ensure the safety of the vessel; and in another place, Mr. Grantham mentions a circumstance which may have contributed to mislead him:—'The angle and the rivet iron are subjected in using them to 'the action of the fire and the hammer; and if they are of in-'ferior quality will show it; but the plates are not much tried 'in working, and their quality escapes observation.' And it is a natural mistake, especially when encouraged by self-interest, to suppose that the material which can be worked up conveniently will also serve all other purposes for which it is destined. Accordingly, it is the boat-plates that in recently-constructed vessels have failed; and so serious has been the consequent loss of life and property, that even a return to wooden vessels would be desirable, if there were not an easier and more obvious remedy at hand. Let not the shipowner plead his ignorance of the iron trade. There is no great mystery in the matter. Let him go into the market and inquire the price of ordinary 'boiler-plates,' and then the price of what are now called 'boat-'plates.' The difference between the two, some 25*s.* more or less per ton, gives the amount of saving for which the loss of crew and cargo is risked. 'Lloyd's rules' enjoin that 'the whole of the 'iron should be of *good* malleable quality.' But for this vague phrase should be substituted the specific stipulation that the quality of the plates should not be inferior to that of boiler-plates. A fixed intelligible standard is thus secured; for the quality of boiler-plates cannot be lowered without risking disaster and detection; nor is any hardship inflicted on the shipowner, for the strength enjoined is the very least that can

be expected to bear the strain to which a sea-going ship is exposed.*

When the Admiralty first turned their attention in earnest to the construction of iron vessels, they had the experience of the commercial marine to guide them, and they were fully aware of the importance of securing a good quality of iron. For many years the introduction of iron as the material for ship-building in the Royal Navy had been discussed. But the adverse opinion was not confined, as is commonly asserted, to 'naval 'men of the old school;' it was shared by many engineers and ship-builders. It was generally assumed that no sea-going ship could carry a weight of iron sufficient to turn a cannon ball; and that iron plates of ordinary thickness would be more easily and more dangerously fractured than wood, and less easily repaired. Accordingly, we find that the authors of 'Metals and their Alloys,' and also Mr. Grantham, writing as late as in 1857 and 1858, give up the project of employing iron as the material for ships of war. The proposal to case gun-boats with iron was first made by the Emperor of the French in the Crimean war, and so far succeeded that his vessels, though scarcely seaworthy, proved invulnerable to all that the batteries of Kimburn could bring to bear upon them. The English iron floating batteries were less satisfactory: they were hastily and carelessly constructed, of inferior material; and the result of the experiments subsequently tried on their iron sides supplied another argument against the use of iron—against the use of *bad* iron it is an argument which ought not to be forgotten.

It is foreign to our present purpose to give the history of the controversy between iron sides and wooden walls. The Admiralty, whether thoroughly convinced or not, had already taken steps which must have led eventually to the reconstruction of the navy, when the naval duel in Hampton Roads—an event which excited the greatest interest in this country—occurred in the nick of time to assist the discussion. To practical men who had carefully watched the progress of events, and 'to those,' says Mr. Fairbairn, 'who had gone through 'the whole series of experiments of the Iron Plate Com-'mission, the engagement brought no fresh conviction.' (Lecture, p. 10.) But it, at once and with the rapidity of

* A boat-plate should stand the test of bending to an angle of 30° *when cold*. No plate that will *bend* can be otherwise than good. The specimens to be seen at Chatham of 4-inch plates bent by hydraulic pressure give us an idea of the wonderful pliability and toughness of iron of superior quality.

lightning, brought popular opinion to the point to which it had already been slowly tending, and Mr. Fairbairn only expresses the general sentiment when he adds, 'It is quite evident our 'navy must be entirely of iron.' Whether it is preferable to construct vessels wholly of iron, or to arm wooden vessels, 'at least 'their vital parts,' with iron plates, is a less important discussion; for it seems inevitable that for some time both methods must be employed. To some extent a similar compromise is forced upon the respective advocates of iron guard-ships and an iron sea-going fleet. If England is to maintain her supremacy on the seas, she must, as Captain Reed says, build vessels that can keep the sea. But if the citizens of London and Liverpool are to sleep soundly in their beds in time of war, they must know that there are stationed in the Thames and the Mersey guardships carrying armour which no guns of the enemy can penetrate, and carrying guns which no plates of the enemy can resist. Subsequent events have, in some degree, modified the opinions which were formed on the operations of the 'Merrimac' and 'Monitor;' and there is no doubt we have still much to learn. Mr. Scott Russell's iron target has been demolished at Shoeburyness, and the French artillerists have constructed a gun which pierces 4-inch iron plates at 1000 metres. In fact, the aspect of the case changes each time that the Ordnance Office and the Admiralty get a-head of each other—the one in perfecting the means of attack, the other those of defence. The Report of the Commission on Fortifications is grounded on the assumption that the ordnance will remain masters of the field — so far, at least, that 'guns will be pro-'duced of a sufficient power to penetrate, at a considerable 'distance, the heaviest armour plating that is compatible with 'the necessary qualities of sea-going vessels.' And in the interests of peace and of England (we are proud to say that in the unaggressive position which England assumes these interests are identical), it is to be hoped the ordnance may ever maintain its supremacy. For the guns which nominally represent the power of attack, do in fact measure the power of resistance to the aggression of an armour-plated invader.

We meddle not with the question of national defences, farther than regards the *quality* of the material; but this is a part of the subject to which much too little attention has hitherto been paid. It may not perhaps be fully proved what is the limit of the weight of armour which may be put on a sea-going vessel: this is a nautical question. But still less is it ascertained what power of resistance can be imparted to a plate of given weight and thickness: this is a manufacturing question,

and in fact depends mainly on the quality of the iron. It is now a race between the nations of the world which shall first get an iron-clad fleet. It is quite as important, though less obvious a matter of rivalry, which shall secure for its fleet the best iron, for on this point the victory will ultimately depend. In a state of rapid transition from one mode of warfare to another, involving a change in the art of war hardly less complete than that occasioned by the introduction of gunpowder, it is inevitable that the Government departments must often be compelled to do and to undo, in order to maintain that naval superiority which is the condition of our national safety. They have no alternative. They must adopt the discovery of the day, and take the chance of its being superseded on the morrow; but this chance of having to do their work twice over, becomes a certainty if haste or any other kind of pressure prevents their securing the best materials in the first instance.

The great need of the day then is good iron; and it is acknowledged to be so by the Government, who have appointed a Commission to inquire and report on the subject. But that it is no longer an easy matter to find good iron, every man's daily experience tells him. If he goes into a hardware shop, he probably hears some complaint of modern iron. If he takes up a newspaper, his eye is caught by the account of some accident by sea or by land which is laid to the charge of iron. If his railway dividends decline, the necessity of prematurely replacing the rails which had been made of bad iron bears the blame. In short, it is generally felt that notwithstanding all our boasted improvement, some deterioration of the manufacture, or some demoralisation of the trade, has taken place: and our anxiety to check this growing evil is painfully increased when we find that the national safety is staked on the quality of our iron.

The subject of the iron manufacture thus becomes of interest to many who had hitherto been repelled by its complexity and its technicalities; but it is less difficult than it appears at first sight, and by the exertion of a little patience, it will be easy to unravel one by one the threads of which the tangled tissue is combined—so far, at least, as to form some notion of the nature and extent of the evil, and of its remedy.

Let us take up one of the price lists which are published from time to time for the guidance of manufacturers and dealers. It is very vague and is not intended to give information to those unacquainted with the trade, but it will serve as a string on which to hang our explanations. The first distinction it marks is between pig iron, the raw material, and 'wrought,' or

finished iron. But in the list before us is mentioned a third state, 'puddled' iron. This is *half-manufactured iron*, and in ordinary times it is not included in the price lists, because it is needed for his own use by the manufacturer who makes it, and none of it is to be found in the market; nor should we perplex the reader by noticing it, but that there is a probability that Government may become a considerable purchaser of iron in this intermediate state. If pig iron is compared to flour, wrought iron will represent the loaf, and puddled iron is the dough. Dough is not usually an article of commerce, but if a demand were raised for it, the supply would not be lacking.* Pig iron is next classified according to its uses. There is a column headed, 'for foundry purposes,' and another, 'for forge purposes.' This diversity is caused partly by the different property of the ores, but mainly by the difference of the fuel and of the treatment. The fluid iron needed for the foundry is produced by diminishing the 'burden,' as it is called, of the furnaces; that is to say, by increasing the proportion of the fuel to the mineral, and thus impregnating the produce with a greater amount of carbon: hence the foundry iron being the most costly to make, bears a higher price in the market than the forge iron, made with the same materials and by the same mode of manufacture, and in that sense is better, but in no other.

The next distinction is between the hot and cold-blast iron. The existence of such a distinction has only lately been made known to the general reader; its nature is little understood, and as the explanation of it involves much that should be popularly known respecting the iron trade, it deserves our careful attention. The effect of this new and powerful agency, the hot blast, will be readily understood by the reader who remembers (as who does not?) to have passed many a quarter of an hour at a foreign inn in blowing his wood fire. He must have observed that where the blast of the bellows strikes the embers, it produces a black spot, and at the place and for the time checks combustion: of the same nature is the effect of the cold blast on the smelting furnace. But by previously heating in an oven to a very high temperature the air which is blown into the furnace, a prodigious increase of combustive power is obtained. The credit of this invention is due to Mr. Neilson, of Glasgow, who took out

* It is not necessary to embarrass the reader with the mention of malleable castings made from charcoal pig iron, and annealed by means of domatile.

a patent for it in 1829, and by this means raised the iron manufacture of Scotland to its present important position. The coal usually employed was so unfit for coking that it lost 55 per cent. in the process. It was now sent to the furnace in its raw state, and less than a third of the fuel proved to be sufficient. It was found that the hot air expelled to a certain extent the noxious properties from the coal, which the process of coking had hitherto been employed to overcome, and in many districts it rendered available materials, some of great value, such as the incombustible anthracite, and some, on the other hand, of very inferior quality, all of which it had hitherto been inexpedient or impossible to employ in the making of iron. This discovery, as it slowly travelled southwards, brought timely aid to those parts of the old districts where the best fuel was becoming scarce, and it brought into general use a vast quantity of new mineral, and even a new material. On looking over the price list we see certain kinds of iron distinguished as 'cinder iron' and 'all mine' respectively. Cinder is the refuse of the puddling forge, containing a considerable percentage of iron in combination with the impurities which have been expelled from the pig iron by the process of puddling. The power acquired by the hot blast of extracting from the 'cinder' this iron is equivalent to the discovery of a new ironstone supplied for nothing; but the produce is much deteriorated by the admixture of this material. It is known as 'cinder iron.' 'All 'mine' is an assurance that no such deleterious ingredient has been admitted.

Of the two classes of ironstone which are found in connexion with the coal measures, the argillaceous or the clay ironstone, and the carbonaceous or the 'black band,' the former only can be worked extensively by means of the 'cold blast.' It is the most generally useful of all the British irons, and when a tough fibrous quality is required this one is indispensable. It alone produces iron which has the greatest of all merits, that of being neither 'red short' nor 'cold short;' that is to say, not being brittle either when red hot or when cold. It is found in many parts of England, Scotland, and Wales, but the chief seats of the old iron trade were South Staffordshire, Shropshire, and parts of Wales. The black band was at once brought into general use by the hot blast. It is chiefly found in Scotland, North Staffordshire and South Wales. It supplies a vast amount of valuable iron, at a very cheap rate; but the produce has the defect of being cold short, and is not fitted for purposes where great strength and toughness are required. Of the ores not found in connexion with coal, the hæmatites, so called from

their blood-red colour, are the most important. They abound in many parts of the country, but especially near Ulverstone, Whitehaven, and in the Forest of Dean. The hæmatite iron is of very superior quality, but it has the defect of being 'red 'short.' It should not be employed where much manipulation is to be undergone. Its chief value is for the new processes of steel, and for 'tin and black plates.' Some of the hæmatite ores have been worked from very early times; but they have been brought into general use only by means of the hot blast, and the increased facilities of traffic, which gave them what nature had denied, a ready connexion with the fuel needed to smelt them. It is singular that the discoveries of iron ore in the Cleveland or Middlesbro' district took place just when the complete development of the railway system and the general use of the hot blast made it most available; and so rapid has been the rise of this district, that already its produce more than equals that of the old South Staffordshire manufacture. The ores are of unknown, and for all practical purposes, of boundless extent; the produce is a valuable iron suited both for forge and foundry, but not of a tough quality. The Northamptonshire ore is of the same geological character, and of a somewhat similar quality. It has a tendency to red shortness, but the ore is in great request with the iron masters who make much use of 'cinder,' the defects of which it in some degree corrects.

These are all the varieties of British iron which for practical purposes we need notice at the present time. From them is derived the supply for the prodigiously increased production of iron, which has acted reciprocally as cause and effect of the rapidly expanding civilisation of modern days. Between the years 1840 and 1860 the make of iron was actually trebled; in the former year it was a little less than 1,400,000 tons; in the latter it exceeded 4,150,000 tons. But the reader will have collected from the brief account we have just given of the ironstones recently brought into general use that they do not supply iron equally available for all purposes, and that they especially fail to produce the best tough fibrous iron. It might, therefore, be anticipated that in spite of the great increase of production generally, the supply of this particular quality of iron would be insufficient, even though it were assumed to be still as considerable as it was before the new ironstones were introduced. But this, unfortunately, is far from being the case. Many of the manufacturers of the old district have been induced, or have been forced, in some instances by the exhaustion of the best materials, but more generally by the pressure of competition, to avail them-

selves of the hot blast to introduce inferior and cheaper materials, and the result has been, that the quantity of cold-blast iron, which by official returns is stated to exceed 770,000 tons in the year 1840,—and therefore at that time exceeded one-half of the whole annual make of the country,—was in 1860 estimated (for there were no official returns) at about 150,000 tons, not much more than one-thirtieth of the whole make of that year.* It is not contended that the cold blast exclusively produces tough iron of high quality. The precise effect of the hot blast is much disputed among practical and scientific men, nor has it ever been satisfactorily ascertained whether, if the materials were precisely the same, the quality of the produce would be deteriorated by the hot blast. But the hot blast may be applied to any materials, from the very best to the very worst; the cold blast can be applied only to the best, and hence its produce bears a higher price than the best of the hot blast in the market, either because practical men think it really better, or because they are willing to pay more for an article which is guaranteed by its very name. The introduction of the hot blast has conferred an infinite benefit on the iron trade and on the country, but it has brought with it a redundant supply of an inferior article, and an unlimited power (and with the power the temptation) to practise false economy and to commit fraud. Hence have arisen two results which have generally been confounded, and which it is desirable to keep distinct. The one is, that there has taken place a notable deterioration in the manufacture. There is annually produced a larger quantity of inferior iron than can be used for reservoirs, cisterns, and the multifarious purposes to which inferior iron is legitimately applicable, and at periods of unusual demand the inducement to produce quantity at the expense of quality acts with irresistible force. At the first establishment of railways, for instance—the time is now remote, and truth has oozed out — in the hurry and eagerness of the moment, the manufacturers were often urged by the surveyors to send 'any rubbish,' provided it were made smooth and looked nice, and were delivered quickly. But at all times the cheap and inferior quality is forced into use by competition. Competition acts feebly in an early state of society, and in a different direction from that which it takes in a more advanced stage of civilisation. Its first aim is to produce something more costly and more choice, to win the patronage of the few; its

* Vide a pamphlet entitled 'What is good Iron, and How to get it.' London: 1862. From which we have borrowed some of these curious facts.

next is to bring the luxuries of the few within the reach of the many; cheapness becomes its chief object, and often ends in being its sole object. We long cherished the belief that no iron is so bad that it could not be turned to some account; but practical men affirm too confidently to admit of dispute, that iron is produced which is good for *nothing but to sell*, and woe betide those who fall in with it. 'Dî meliora piis, erroremque *hostibus* 'illum.' It is remarkable how little the danger of a deterioration in the manufacture seems to have attracted the attention of professional writers on the subject. Mr. Scrivener, in the second edition of his history of the iron trade, published in 1854, announces with exultation that in that year the annual make had reached the amount of 2,700,000 tons (since so much exceeded); but the only drawback he apprehends is that the resources of the country should not long suffice for so large a production, and no fear of possible falling off in the quality seems to cross his mind.

The second result to which we have alluded is not less important. Amid the vast increase of different qualities of iron, to which it would be an abuse of language to apply the word bad, as they are excellent for the different purposes to which they are specially applicable, there is a very insufficient supply of the best tough iron, the kind of iron which is needed when the material is to be subjected to much manipulation, and is required to maintain its toughness to the last—the kind which, above all others, is required for the manufacture of armour-plates.

The reader is aware that wrought iron is brought to its perfection by repeated working; but some kinds of iron reach their perfection after very few heatings, and all kinds after a certain number of heatings begin to decline in quality till at last they are utterly worthless. Mr. Clay tells us that in six workings iron of ordinary quality attained its highest degree of strength, improving at each stage, but after each of six subsequent workings it successively sustained an inferior test. (Metals and their Alloys, p. 317.) Superior iron would endure further manipulation; but it is only the very best which will bear the repeated heating and reheating to which the armour-plate is subjected, without losing its fibrous texture and its toughness. It is for this reason, moreover, that iron in the half-manufactured state, of which we have spoken, the 'puddled bar,' is recommended as the proper material for an armour-plate. In a more advanced state, iron, however good in quality, has not enough vitality left in it to endure the manipulation to which it must be subjected.

In the use of the new ironstones great skill has been attained in devising mixtures, so as to correct the opposite defects of the several ingredients; but the correction is insufficient to produce a material that will answer purposes for which a high degree of toughness is required. For these purposes the only iron which is entirely suitable is that produced from the clay ironstones. We observe, with entire coincidence of opinion, that Mr. Fairbairn, in his lecture, assumes that none other can be thought of for the plating of ships. He confines his tests to these alone. When the value of the argillaceous ores for the production of tough iron,—which was the leading maxim of the old iron trade,—is thoroughly and practically recognised, the improvement which has been made of late years will be as solid as it is striking; but unhappily this recognition is opposed with all the zeal which interest combined with local attachments and prejudices can inspire. Most manufacturers are very much in the hands of their managers; the manager has a strong interest in keeping down cost: on this his credit depends, and no way of keeping down cost is so convenient to himself as economy in the quality of the materials. Moreover, he probably has come from one of the new iron districts, and he brings with him the practice and the maxims of the district where he has received his training. No stronger confirmation of this can be given than Mr. Fairbairn's remark, that '*white iron* is almost always preferred for forge purposes.' Now, in the same page Mr. Fairbairn tells us that 'the pigs 'in which carbon most predominates (that is to say, the grey 'pigs,) have, as a rule, been least contaminated with other 'impurities during the process of smelting, and are in many 'respects preferable for the manufacture of wrought iron,' and the grey forge iron bears a higher price in the market, because it is acknowledged to be the most valuable. But so many managers have been reared in districts where the materials will produce none but lighter-coloured iron for forge purposes, that, by habit, they have learned to prefer the inferior article even without reference to its greater cheapness.

Nothing would be more interesting than a series of well-conducted experiments to test the properties and qualities of the principal 'makes' of iron in the kingdom. But the work is one of great labour and expense, and would require a complete practical knowledge of the trade and the manufacture, which it would be difficult to find in combination with the requisite mechanical and scientific skill. Many insulated sets of experiments of great interest have been made. But the difference of their dates, and the want of this local and practical know-

ledge in the experimenters, much impair their utility as guides. The tabular statement of the strength of different kinds of iron which Mr. Fairbairn gives (Table VII.) in his work on the application of iron to building purposes, is interesting chiefly as a matter of history. Since his trials were made nineteen of the works he mentions have been abandoned (not all of them permanently it is to be hoped), three of them have been pulled down, and one has been converted into a railway station. Of those which are quoted as producing cold-blast iron, ten are now using the hot-blast. Moreover, as far as we can judge, all the kinds of iron are not of the same denomination; that is to say, some are more suitable for forge, and some for foundry purposes, and therefore are not such as can be fairly compared with each other. But the descriptions of the iron are somewhat vaguely given, and we presume that what puzzles us can be explained by the diversity of nomenclature prevailing at different times and in different districts. In the year 1858 the iron masters were invited by an advertisement of the Ordnance Office to send in specimens of their make, to be subjected to a series of chemical and mechanical tests. Unquestionably to comply would have been patriotic and politic too on the part of the iron masters, especially those who produced the best iron; but the invitation was clogged with conditions which excited jealousy, and manufacturers whose iron enjoyed the highest repute were precisely those who had the least reason for wishing to enter into the proposed competition. Out of more than two hundred iron masters only eighteen sent in specimens, and of this small number only four are among those whose iron Mr. Fairbairn selected as the subjects of his own experiments.* The result is that though the report of these experiments published by the Ordnance Office contains much important information, it is but a very slight contribution towards the great desideratum, a full account of the properties of the different kinds of pig iron which form the raw material of the iron manufacture of the United Kingdom.

To take a general survey of the products of the British manufacture, and to compare them with those of foreign lands, we turn to the International Exhibition. The most profitable object of such a comparison would be to note the

* A private manufacturer would have ordered 'trial lots' of iron from the firms who in his opinion manufactured the best iron of the description he wanted. The more nearly Government can assimilate its course to that of a private firm, the more efficient its operations will be.

many points on which we may derive some useful hints from the industry and skill of strangers; but at present we desire only to form some idea of our relative position with respect to the means of national defence. And, considered with reference to this object, the survey is highly satisfactory. The improvement in the iron department since the last Exhibition of 1851 is very remarkable. The dimensions of some of the specimens exhibited are such as we believe cannot be equalled by any other country; but we are not entitled to draw this conclusion from the absence of any foreign specimens of equal size, as the transport of such large masses would be both difficult and costly. Great progress has been made in the art of casting. The large pipes of 4ft. diameter, for the conveyance of the waters of Loch Katrine to Glasgow, would have gladdened the heart of James Watt, when in his early days he toiled so hard, and for long in vain, to get the cylinders for his steam engines cast 'straight.' And how great is the progress since those days when the benefit of Sir Hugh Myddleton's New River was almost neutralised by the foulness of the perishable wooden pipes by which its water was distributed! The forging of the large masses of iron for the engines of the war vessels is very superior. Nothing can be better than the work of the 'cross heads' and 'connecting rods' for the frigates, and the 'crank shaft' of the 'Achilles' is a masterpiece in respect of size and soundness.

In large rolled sections the superiority rests with our manufacturers. Neither in quality nor in size does any other country exhibit iron so well adapted for the reconstruction of the navy. The great difficulty is to lay down mills for what are called in the trade 'extra sizes.' But the extra sizes of one period are the ordinary sizes of another; and the roll-turners of twenty, ten, or even five years ago, would be astonished at the specifications which are of every-day occurrence now; and when even larger sizes are needed, we do not doubt that mills will be found to execute the orders. Much of the improvement which has taken place must be ascribed to the energy of the new districts, where the iron was suited to fewer purposes than that of the old districts, and greater exertions were needed to bring it into general use. It is ever thus. It is the poorer soils and the less genial climates that call out the most active energies of the farmer. At this time we are assured that there is not a mill in Staffordshire that can roll an armour-plate, and scarcely more than one hammer to forge one. This should be amended.

A visit to the Exhibition makes it clear that we can produce steel of the very finest quality from native materials, and for

inferior purposes can manufacture it as easily and almost as cheaply as merchant iron. Mr. Bessemer's stall is in the highest degree interesting. His process is new. Its value, and perhaps its capabilities, are not yet fully ascertained; but if the produce of his cupola is uniform in quality, there is no doubt it will force its way into general use. The steel ribs, tyres, and axles are excellent, and so are the 'homogeneous' plates,—so called (not very accurately) to denote that they are not formed of plates welded together. There are many new articles in steel, such as the steel wheels for heavy rolling mills, and steel rolls, which well deserve the iron-master's attention as being more efficient, and in the end more economical, than the machinery now in use. The frequent accidents which have been occasioned by the 'double-throw' crank axles of the locomotive engines suggest forcibly the propriety of substituting for the old 'faggotted' axles others of malleable steel. We earnestly recommend this subject to the consideration of engineers and railway boards.*

It would be foreign to our purpose, nor have we space, to dwell on the extraordinary variety, ingenuity, and beauty of the machinery exhibited; yet we must note how forcibly the perfection of the work proves the excellence of the material employed. But how is this triumphant catalogue to be reconciled with our complaints of deterioration and decay? Alas, it is but Regent Street masking the Seven Dials. The Exhibition shows what the iron manufacture is in its sound and healthy parts, what it might be and would be everywhere but for those vitiating influences that infect all the works of man. It would indeed have been more instructive to the public and to the consumers of iron, if each district had sent specimens of its ordinary make, accompanied by lists of their present prices. We should have liked to see side by side the rails and bars of the Welsh district, the rails, tyres, and angle-bars of the North; the merchant iron, the sheets, the boiler-plates, and the boat-plates of the Midland district. It would be most desirable that ship-owners should be able to compare the difference in quality between boiler-plates at 9*l.* 10*s.*

* If this is not done, it would be better to employ exclusively the ostrich cylinder engines. On the 24th of June last, when the Great Western Railway express was proceeding at full speed between Banbury and Oxford, the great driving wheel of the locomotive engine, carrying with it the end of the crank axle, detached itself from the engine, sprung from the line, and lodged itself in a pool below. The fracture showed that the pile had never been properly welded. Providentially no injury nor inconvenience beyond that of delay was occasioned to the passengers by the accident.

and boat-plates at 8*l.* 5*s.* Railway directors would learn why rails laminate and crush, and the members of Government boards would see the difference between tough and brittle iron. It would be well worth the while of the Government to make such an exhibition for their own use, in some one of the many docks or arsenals to which there is easiest access. Small specimen purchases made from time to time of pig iron, puddled, and manufactured iron would give most desirable facilities for comparing the products of different districts, and measuring the general progress of the manufacture. To estimate the value of such a collection for the future we have only to consider how precious to us now would be such an illustrated history of the iron trade for the last half century.

There is one point in the Exhibition which strikes very forcibly all who are practically acquainted with the iron trade. In every stall where the materials are exhibited, the same high class tenacious iron is displayed, as if every manufacturer employed the same quality; yet, in many cases, this is not the material of the district to which the contributor belongs, nor is it the material which he is known to employ in his ordinary operations. This tempts us to qualify our assent to the assertion we so often hear repeated, that the traditions of the old iron trade are really forgotten. It would seem they are not so much forgotten as neglected. The merit of tough iron is still as much acknowledged as that of virtue, and with as little practical result. But it is plain that every one wishes to take credit for it; and to this we beg to draw the reader's attention.

There is only one weak point in our iron manufacture. The constant tendency to sacrifice quality to quantity is a disadvantage which it shares with every other manufacture exposed to the high-pressure system of competition. Its peculiar difficulty is, that the supply of the best materials, or of the materials best suited to certain purposes, is limited, and in fact is deficient. It is to supply this deficiency that the attention of scientific men, of manufacturers, and the Government should be directed. All writers on the subject admit that much remains to be done by a more cordial concert between practice and science. There are phenomena which the manufacturer has verified, but which science has not yet explained. There are many important discoveries of science which the manufacturer has not yet turned to profit. The chemical analysis of iron has been carried on to an extent which had never before been attempted, and much progress has been made in correcting the defect of various kinds of iron, by eliminating the chemical ingredients that injure the quality of the metal. Many new and ingenious devices have been invented

for improving or abridging the ulterior processes of the manufacture. But many an ingenious project that promises well for future progress is of little present use. It cannot yet be made 'to pay,' and for our immediate urgent need there is a simpler remedy. It is only necessary that each district possessed of good materials should make the best quality those materials allow; and to effect this reform nothing more is needed than that there should be a clearly defined demand for good iron sufficiently extensive and sufficiently long continued.

Hitherto it has been a matter of very doubtful discussion whether it would be possible for the Government Boards to acquire the knowledge, or to procure the quality of iron that they will require, unless, to a certain extent, they become manufacturers. But since this point was first mooted, a material change has taken place in the circumstances of the case. At first the demand for iron or iron-coated ships was comparatively small. But now it is clear that sooner or later, whether the Admiralty have professedly admitted the necessity or not, the whole navy will be armed with iron. In such a case it is easy to prophesy, that by the force of circumstances, Government will be compelled to turn manufacturer; and it would do well to prepare itself gradually for the position which it must ultimately occupy. Without the aid of the vast means now in their own hands, the Government departments will be unable to obtain the prodigious supplies of ship-building materials they will require; and if the magnificent dockyards and arsenals which have been the growth of centuries are not accommodated to the new requirements of the navy, they will be left without any adequate use. The same reasons which necessitated the creation and the extension of these gigantic establishments, will enforce on us their continuance, whatever may be the material which the advance of civilisation prescribes for ships. Whenever an English king built for himself his first ship of war, he had to encounter difficulties which in proportion were not less than those which beset the naval department now. With much exertion the Admiralty have gained the complete command of their own manufacture when the material was wood: there is no reason why they should not acquire the same mastery over iron. The difficulty of turning sailing vessels into steam boats, which has been successfully encountered, is not much less than that of substituting iron sides for wooden walls. Much, no doubt, may, and ought to be done in private yards; much of the iron work required must be supplied by private firms. Nay, more, all that can be well done ought to be done in this way. But that all is insufficient, and the Government must bring its own vast resources to co-operate.

To repair, to refit, to maintain, must always fall to the share of the Government, and how is it to fulfil this task unless it also possess the power to construct? In the event of a naval action being fought within reach of our shores,—a conflict which must be extremely damaging to both the fleets engaged in it,—the future command of the Channel would belong to that Power which has the means of refitting and repairing iron ships with the greatest promptitude: and it must never be forgotten that in their preparations for docking large vessels the French are still ahead of us. Some administrative changes, no doubt, may be necessary; but in some way or other, the Government must secure to itself the supreme control over the great machinery of national defence and of English greatness. The navy of England cannot be left to the accidents of trade and the frauds of manufacture. Whatever present difficulties may be (and they are many and great), there can be no question what must be the ultimate result. The American Government has officially given it out, as the result of its own experience, that it cannot remain dependent on the private dockyards. It is about to employ the vast resources of an unlimited credit in establishing manufactures for the supply of everything that can be needed for the construction of an iron navy; and the saving which will be thus effected, it estimates not by thousands, but by millions.

It is an important consideration how far the iron that can be brought against us by rival or hostile States surpasses in quality that with which we can oppose it, and we often hear it vaguely hinted that foreign iron, and especially French iron, is superior to the British. Undoubtedly very beautiful specimens from France, Germany, and Belgium, both of ores and of manufactured iron, are to be seen in the Exhibition; and there is an article in the Swedish department to which we would especially call the attention of the naval architect. It is the forepart of a paddle steamer, built at the Motala Works, of 200 feet in length, which struck on a rock when going at the rate of eight or nine knots an hour. The plates are bent into shapes from which a landsman would in vain try to guess their original form and purpose, but they are without a fracture, and the ship arrived in safety at Stockholm. There is nothing but the difficulty of obtaining the price for it, and in the first instance of inspiring faith in his power to produce it, that prevents the English manufacturer from exhibiting an equal quality of iron. But it must not be supposed that this iron, excellent as it is, is of the kind best fitted to resist shot at high velocities. The famous 'Bowling' iron, which approaches it nearest in quality, is not, in our opinion, the fit material for an armour-plate. 'It is not,'

says Mr. Fairbairn, 'the iron which opposes the greatest 'resistance to a tensile strain, or to compression, that is most 'effective to resist impact. The presence of a small percentage 'of carbon causes brittleness; and toughness, combined with 'tenacity, are the qualities required.' For this resistance the fibrous English iron may defy competition. In the quantity of production Great Britain is without a rival. Ten years ago it was calculated that the annual make of the country, then about 3,000,000 tons, equalled that of all the rest of the world put together; and now there is no doubt that it might be raised to exceed the aggregate make of the world by half as much again.

If we are beaten by foreign countries, it will be by our own weapons. English managers have found employment abroad, and have carried with them the secrets of the English manufacture. England exports iron in large quantities to foreign countries; and if their armour-plates are superior to ours, it will be because our own War Departments have been less dexterous than their rivals in securing to themselves the best produce of the English manufacture. That foreign iron is not superior to ours, and that, above all, no sufficient quantity of it is to be procured, is proved by the orders which are arriving from all parts for armour-plates. But fortunately the few machines for rolling and hammering plates which at present exist are engaged in the service of our own Government.

The whole of the disposable amount of iron best suited to the purposes of defence is all too little for the present scale of our operations. By the investigations of the Iron-plate Commission, the Government have acquired the knowledge, and obtained the sanction, to enable them to act with decision. The Report of the Commission is, for reasons which are no doubt sufficient, to be kept private. But the main fact which establishes the quality of iron best fitted to resist impact, Mr. Fairbairn has communicated in his interesting lecture, and it comprises all that the public in general are interested in knowing.

In the hopeful anticipation with which he concludes we fully concur. 'I have every confidence,' he says, 'that the skill and 'energy of this country will keep us in advance of all com- 'petitors, and that a few more years will exhibit to the world 'the iron navy of England, as of old with its wooden walls, 'unconquerable upon every sea.'

ART. VIII.—*The Remains of the late Mrs. Richard Trench; being Selections from her Journals, Letters, and other Papers.* Edited by her Son, the Dean of Westminster. London: 1862.

IN the year 1772, and for some seven years afterwards, the Episcopal Palace of Waterford, in Ireland, contained two remarkable inmates. The one was a learned and pious prelate, who had had the singular fortune of engaging and retaining the friendship of the man of the world whose name is the symbol of the worldliest, without in the slightest degree impairing the dignity of his professional offices, or soiling the simplicity of his Christian character. The other was a little girl of remarkable beauty and intelligence, on whose fair orphan head the old man poured out the last love of a life which had been cheered and adorned by the exertions of public benevolence and the intercourse of domestic affections. Her father, the Rev. Philip Chenevix, only son of the bishop, had married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Archdeacon Gervais, and both had passed away within a twelvemonth, leaving their child under the devoted, but inappropriate, guardianship of the aged ecclesiastic. His selection of attendants and instructors for her was so unfortunate as to have transmitted to later life the painful recollection of her early sufferings, consoled by the consciousness that the strange self-control, which is not unfrequent in superior children, had withheld those complaints and remonstrances, which would have harassed the failing senses and declining energies of her grandfather. Although he probably took little part in the practical business of her education, yet the influence of his large, charitable, and gentle nature seems to have fallen with an enduring force on the lonely girlhood which was deprived of its natural sympathies and resources. In her own words:—

'His love for literature tinctured perhaps too strongly the system he formed for my education. He condemned ornamental accomplishments, lest they should seduce me from severer studies; and insensibly books became my business and my only pleasure. At seven years old, after reading Rollin as a task, I turned to Shakspeare and Molière as an amusement; and though debarred from most of the enjoyments of my age, was happy while in my grandfather's presence. When absent from him, I longed for young companions, unrestrained exercise, childish sports, and fresh air; for I was deprived of all these from an excess of care and apprehension for my health. My grandfather's having survived all his children and grandchildren, rendered him so timid with regard to my preservation, that his good understanding in this single instance had not fair play; and I was

brought up with so much delicacy that nothing but naturally a strong constitution and uncommon high spirits could have saved my life. I was thus bred up in ignorance of all modern accomplishments — no music, no drawing, no needlework, except occasionally for the poor; no dancing, except the "sweet austere composure" of the minuet, which was admitted as favourable to grace and deportment.

'My grandfather, called to his rest and his reward while I was yet a child, left an impression of love and reverence never to be erased from the hearts of those who witnessed the daily beauty of his life; least of all from mine; and perhaps I owe to the strength of this first attachment a tenderness for declining age, a power of understanding its language, and a pleasure in anticipating its wants and wishes, which have accompanied me through life.' (P. 12.)

The relation to which we have already alluded between Lord Chesterfield and the Bishop of Waterford may deserve a moment's notice. It was at the recommendation of Lord Scarborough that Dr. Chenevix was appointed Chaplain to the Embassy Extraordinary to the States General in 1728; a post which of itself meant little, but which brought him into daily contact with the great politician. It may be that neither had as yet met with a man so different to himself in whom he found so much to honour and to esteem. In the affectionate disposition that underlaid a cynical view of life, in the unvarying good sense that checked all excess of opinion or sentiment, in the maintenance of high aims and just perceptions through the experiments of pleasure and a systematised frivolity, the clergyman may have understood the philosopher where he only expected to find the voluptuary. On the other hand, where Lord Chesterfield at the most looked for an accomplished and pliant ecclesiastic, it may have been to him an agreeable surprise to have discovered a mind that could appreciate his own talents and graces, and enter freely into his political and religious speculations without in any degree relinquishing the stricter standard of Christian doctrine and practice that was all-sufficient for its own spiritual and moral life. However this may be, the friendship which then began endured till death.

Dr. Chenevix's elevation to the Irish Bench was the first demand made by Lord Chesterfield on his acceptance of the Lord-Lieutenancy; and when the King, who had been prejudiced against him by Sir Robert Walpole as a client of Lord Scarborough's, objected to the nomination, Lord Chesterfield made it clear in a word that his friend's appointment and his own must go together. Dr. Chenevix died in the see of Waterford, having refused to be translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, on the plea that he could not leave his spiritual children.

Lord Chesterfield's letters to him form a considerable portion of the last volume of his correspondence. They indicate a sincere and respectful friendship, but at the same time wear an air of philosophic patronage that is very characteristic. He is not the least displeased at some religious counsel which the Bishop proffered; 'indeed, I expected it both from your affec-'tion and your character: those reflections are never improper, 'though too often unwelcome, and consequently useless in youth; 'but I am now come to a time of life both to make and receive 'them with satisfaction, and therefore I hope with utility.' And he proceeds to congratulate his friend on being the only man he has ever known who, 'without compliment,' is not the worse for having been made a bishop. There is throughout a sort of determination to keep up his intellectual dignity while 'totter-'ing on the brink of this world and with his thoughts employed 'about the other;' although in a later letter he speaks of himself as 'hobbling on to my journey's end, which I think I am not 'afraid of, but will not answer for myself when the object draws 'very near and is very sure. That moment is at least a very 'respectable one, let people who boast of not fearing it say 'what they please.' The last letter published, and probably the last written, is one of condolence to the Bishop on the death of his only son. He writes:—'When your son was with me here 'just before he embarked for France, I plainly saw that his 'consumption was too far gone to leave the least hopes of a cure; 'and if he had dragged on this wretched life some few years 'longer, that life could have been but trouble and sorrow to you 'both. This consideration alone should mitigate your grief, and 'the care of your grandson will be a proper avocation from it.' There was no grandson — it was the little granddaughter, whom we now present to our readers.

The remaining portion of the girlhood of Melusina Chenevix was spent under the care of several relations, leaving no very agreeable reminiscence except one year of residence with Lady Lifford, where she experienced for the first time those delights of companionship which revealed to her the intensity of her social temperament. 'How delightful was it to me to find 'myself caressed, *applauded!*' There is the future woman in this ingenuous confession. She was accustomed in after-life to speak of her education as having been much neglected; but this must have been in reference to an unusually high ideal, for she had some acquaintance with Latin, and became a mistress of the French language, such as in those days of unfrequent intercourse with the Continent must have been rare. She also laid the foundation of her choice and ready diction in

a real familiarity with the best English writers. At the age of eighteen she was married to Colonel St. George, an Irishman of fashion and great personal attractions, and she entered with full zest into a society, which, if frivolous, was thoroughly festive, and where the levity was at any rate palliated by the natural hilarity of the Irish nature, and by that genuine taste for social pleasures which elevates them into an exercise of wit and sympathy. Young as she was, her opinions must have already attained some notoriety, for she alludes to a conspiracy on the part of certain gay ladies, who, thinking they had earned her criticism, opened a sealed letter of hers, and being unable to keep the secret of their treacherous curiosity became the subject even of public reproof — an incident not unworthy of those excellent representations of national manners, the early novels of Lady Morgan.

Whether the continuance of such an existence would have produced the deterioriating effects that our fair journalist presupposes, it is useless to inquire, for the pleasant dream was soon dissipated by the declining health of her husband, and some embarrassments in family affairs. He twice tried in vain the resource of a foreign climate, and died at Lisbon, leaving his young widow with an only child to trace her own path through the world.

After expressing with an imaginative pathos the misery of her bereavement, she proceeds:—

'The day which completed my two-and-twentieth year found my mind in this disordered state, and saw the remains of my husband placed on shipboard to be deposited at Athlone in the tomb of his ancestors. I soon followed those precious relics. The scene of my misfortune was hateful to me. The spring was advancing with charms of which a more northern climate had given me no idea; but I saw with displeasure beauties *he* could not enjoy, and longed to remove, as if I hoped to fly from grief. In vain did the Warres intreat me to pass the summer with them, and promise they would themselves conduct me to Ireland in the beginning of the autumn. Without motive or object, without even a home to return to, I felt a vague desire of wandering, and I sailed for Dublin about a month after my misfortune. As I crossed the bar, which half a year before I had passed with the gayest and most lively hopes, the large waves rolled solemnly towards the vessel, and I often wished it were possible that one of them might receive me into its dark bosom and all my inquietudes.

'Contrary winds forced our vessel to take shelter in Cork harbour. There I landed, and was taken to an inn, and was put to bed more dead than alive. Next morning I arose to pursue my journey to Dublin, as rest was hateful to me. I longed to be with Mr. St. George's nearest relations and dearest friends. A magazine lay on

the table; I took it up, and mechanically turned towards the Deaths. There my grandfather's name was the first I saw. At any time nature must have spoken to the heart of a child thus shocked with the intelligence of a parent's loss; but in my position the incident was doubly affecting.' (P. 19.)

Youth, sympathy, and a cheerful temperament in due time had their natural effects, and within two years we find Mrs. St. George established in England in good society, and evidently producing a very agreeable impression. There is a little entry in her Journal of 1798, the truth of which many persons will still recognise:—

'*Sept.* 16*th.*—Dined at Lord Palmerston's. Broadlands is very beautiful, both from Nature and from Art; to the latter it is most indebted. The river winds just before the house, and the trees are luxuriant and well grouped, but its distinguishing feature is a species of rich unsullied verdure which I have never seen before.'

Again, when she returns to town:—

'*Dec.* 3.—Went with Lord and Lady Yarmouth to a private box, to see Mrs. Siddons in *Isabella* and *Blue Beard*. I think Mrs. Siddons is less various than formerly, and is so perpetually in paroxysms of agony that she wears out their effect. She does not reserve her great guns, as Melantiusc alls them, for critical situations, but fires them off as minute guns, without any discrimination.' (P. 27.)

'*Dec.* 4.—Dined at the Duke of Queensberry's. He is very ill—has a violent cough, but *will* eat an immense dinner, and then complains of a *digestion pénible*. Sheridan's translation of the "Death of Rolla," under the name of "Pizarro," has brought him 5000*l.* (?) per week for five weeks. The sentiments of loyalty uttered by Rolla are supposed to have had so good an effect, that on the Duke of Queensberry's asking why the stocks had fallen, a stockjobber replied, "Because at Drury Lane they have left off acting 'Pizarro.'"' (P. 28.)

She soon, however, seems to have felt what Madame de Staël expresses as 'la monotonie qui fatigue l'esprit dans le grand 'monde.'

'*Dec.* 17.—I have been, and still am, confused by a violent feverish cold. The solitude of my apartment is not disagreeable to me, but tranquillity and reflection strengthen my desire of living in the country, because I think I could there adopt a consistent plan of doing good, and see its effects. In town one may be of use in a desultory way, but not to the same extent, or with the same pleasure. One is divided from the objects one serves. Those times are past when everything I saw, every person I met, every employment I engaged in, amused, improved, or interested me. I no longer study character and seek friends; an indifference is creeping over me. I was made for a better life.' (Pp. 28, 29.)

We have been favoured with the sight of some letters of about

this date which we believe will appear in another edition, and we give two extracts, one relating to the Prince of Wales and the other to a lady who conceived herself to be no less royal in the realm of literature.

'Feb. 22. 1797.

'Know also that I have spent four and twenty hours with Miss Seward, to whom I brought a letter from Llangollen, and I vote her the female of greatest powers of mind with whom I ever conversed. Her superiority so completely awed me, that I was not quite at ease, and of course lost some even of my natural mental advantages. She does not "bear her faculties *very* meekly," for there is a lofty swell in her language that makes us around her appear like the *confidantes* in white linen, though to do her justice, this is only on suitable and serious subjects. You are not to judge of her solely by her poetry. Her talents for criticism, her prose, for I have seen several of her letters, and her conversation, are all infinitely beyond her verses. She is fifty-four, but appears younger; has a large person, a stoop, and walks with difficulty from the effects of an accident in her three and twentieth year. Her dress is rather showy than simple, but perfectly within the bounds of propriety and fashion. Her hair is auburn, eyes of a most brilliant hue, neither blue nor black, but a fine warm painter's brown; they have great fire and expression. Her countenance is in general highly animated, her complexion fair and florid. She has been the most flattered woman I suppose in the world, and seems queen of Lichfield.' (MS.)

'July 27. 1799.

'I went with Lady Buckingham to the opera, and the Prince was very gracious in the coffee room. She then insisted on presenting me to Mrs. Sturt, and took me there. Mrs. Sturt, who last year affected to say that it was impossible to add to her list of female acquaintance, was now all civility—such is the force of a respectable chaperone. The Prince was there also; talked a vast deal to me, and returned twice to resume the conversation. He pressed me to go to Brighthelmstone. I said I hated a place without wood. "Yes, but it has every other perfection, and after all, *one has seen so many trees!*" He spoke of the Llangollen ladies, and said, such a party must be composed of either two men or two women, for no pair of friends or lovers of different sexes could have existed together so many weeks without being tired of each other. I mention this to give you an idea of the absurd importance attached to every word of his—you know 'tis what everybody says, though perhaps no one thinks; yet a person who overheard came up and said to me, "I thought he was tired of Lady Jersey before; but I am sure of it from his speech. Did you ever hear anything so marked?" The Prince's civility ridiculously tickled the civility of others; and Mrs. Sturt followed me to the door, pressing me to supper, as if I was her dearest friend; but we went away about one.' (MS.)

In the autumn of this year, she undertook what at that time really must have been an undertaking for a solitary lady,

a journey to the principal cities in Germany, the diary of which was printed last year for private circulation, and excited so much attention and interest as to have produced the publication of the present volume.

We at once meet with familiar names: she is consigned to the care of young Mr. Hudson Gurney, the banker at Yarmouth, by his London partners, who conceived her to be a decrepit elderly lady travelling alone for her health, and she describes the expression of his surprise as 'conceived in a very 'good strain of flattery.' On her arrival at Hamburgh, she is immediately visited by Baron Breteuil, the noted diplomatist of Louis Quinze, and at his house she meets 'Lady Edward 'Fitzgerald and her lovely little daughter, whose eyes and 'eyelashes are celestial.' She arrived at Hanover early in November; and in a few days Prince Adolphus, then acting there as Regent, called upon her, and appointed a lady to take her the round of the Court, and introduce her to the wife of Marshal Walmoden, son of George II., who occupied a semi-royal position. Here is the portrait, in his youth, of the Prince whose genial and green old age as Duke of Cambridge is still dear to the memory of the people of England:—

'His exterior is highly prepossessing. He is extremely handsome, tall, and finely formed. His complexion fair, yet manly; his features regular, yet expressive. His manners bear that stamp of real goodness, which no art can imitate, no other charm replace; and though he presents himself with suitable dignity, his address immediately inspires ease and confidence. His conversation is fluent, various, and entertaining.' (P. 37.)

She adds: 'He cannot speak of his father without tears in 'his eyes. He rises at six, and takes four lessons daily in study 'and science.' The Irish stranger clearly made a sensation, and we may not uncharitably suppose that the agreeable variety of the presence of such a person in an uneventful society may have had something to do with the extreme good-nature of the Hanoverian ladies, who evinced no sign of displeasure at the Prince's continued favours. In truth, although the Dean has modestly refrained from telling the story, the charming widow made so deep an impression on the Prince, that nothing but the stern provisions of the Royal Marriage Act debarred her from an alliance of the highest rank. A correspondence ensued; and it was only upon the subsequent marriage of Mrs. St. George with Mr. Trench, that the Duke returned her letters and her portrait by the hands of Lady Carysfort, intimating with great delicacy that he thought he had no longer the right to keep them. At Brunswick Mrs. St. George was

presented to the Dowager Duchess, who distinctly remembered her grandfather, George the First, and who 'appeared a model 'of agreeable old age turned in ivory, a softened resemblance 'of her brother Frederic the Great.' The lively old lady remarked, 'Vous n'aimez pas beaucoup en Angleterre le Roi de 'Prusse;' 'I frankly owned to her we did not.' 'But,' said she, 'il n'est pas assez riche pour faire face aux dépenses d'une 'guerre contre les François et d'ailleurs il ne pourrait pas s'unir 'avec l'Empereur. Les François ont bien voulu lui donner 'Hanovre, mais il l'a refusé.' She expressed great regret at not having learned English, saying, 'she much preferred Pope 'to Voltaire.'

In the days of universal politics in which we live, we can hardly comprehend how this and two or three other allusions are all that this wise and witty woman gathers up and thinks noteworthy with relation to the tremendous contest then actually in progress between the French Republic, with its great 'child and champion of Revolution,' and the constituted order of Europe. How thick the cloud was gathering which was to reduce these German Courts and peoples into vassalage to a power which they had abhorred and contemned; and yet here we merely see the hereditary Prince, the 'Black Brunswicker,' as making foolish love to the attractive traveller, who receives his attentions with a playful *malice!*

She remained a short time at Berlin, where she had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of another member of our Royal Family, whom she thus describes: —

'*Ten* P.M.—I have just had a visit of two hours from Prince Augustus. He is taller and larger than Prince Adolphus, and much resembles the Prince of Wales. His hair is too scientifically and studiously dressed to be very becoming, but on the whole his exterior is to be admired. He appears to have a fund of conversation and great fluency. His vanity is so undisguised that it wears the form of frankness, and therefore gives no disgust. I mentioned to him that I had heard of his excellence in singing, and he agreed that he possessed it without the least hesitation, adding, "I *had* the most wonderful voice that ever was heard—three octaves—and I do understand music. I practised eight hours a day in Italy. One may boast of a voice, as it is a gift of nature." Yet his vanity is so blended with civility and a desire to please, that I defy any person with a good heart to dislike it.' (P. 15.)

Her residence at Vienna lasted many months, and afforded her much matter for observation on men and manners. She was pleased with the cheapness, the air of calm and dignified existence under a mild but vigilant police, and the absence of all importunity and servility. There was an universal appear-

ance of goodnature. On the other hand, ladies dressed without taste in gaudy and ill-assorted colours; the young men danced and rode, and had scarcely any beauty. Political discussion, she somewhat vaguely remarks, is forbidden 'by the laws, 'which are exactly obeyed;' frequent regrets for the loss of Joseph II. are the only expressions of the kind that ever escape, and then he is said to have been so ardent in his desire to *faire le bien* that he did not give himself leisure to *le bien faire;* the nobility did not disdain any branch of commerce or mercantile speculation, not even usury, selling their wine, a florin's worth at a time, and single trees out of their gardens; scandal was totally unknown, the main object of it among women not carrying the slightest disgrace, and being always spoken of without censure and exaggeration; an uniformly virtuous life, however, did receive some commendation. The only allusion to art or literature is a visit to the painter Füger, an enthusiast who illustrated Klopstock, and who thrust an Italian translation of the Messiah into her hands, exclaiming, 'Lisez, lisez, cela vous tournera la tête et vous 'échauffera le sang.' We should have rather regarded it as an intellectual febrifuge. Classical knowledge was not thought essential to education, and reading was scarcely considered as an ordinary occupation or amusement. Our ambassador, Lord Minto, lived very much to himself; she says, 'he is very 'pleasing when he does converse, but, like a ghost, will rarely 'speak till spoken to, unless to his most intimate friends.' He seems to have carried his absence of mind to the extent of forgetting his appointments with the Emperor, and of going out when he had invited parties to dinner; and she cites, as applied to him, a phrase which, however, is of older date, 'il se fera 'présenter quelque jour chez lui.' All this time Moreau was crossing the Rhine, conquering at Engen, at Möskirch, at Bibrach; Nice had surrendered to Melas; Buonaparte scaling the Great St. Bernard, entering Milan, and by the battle of Marengo winning Genoa and all the fortresses of Piedmont and Lombardy. And around Vienna there were women only in the fields, and not a piece of gold coin seen by our traveller during her four months' sojourn. No wonder that the people ardently desired peace, unconscious through how many more sufferings and sacrifices it was to be permanently attained.

Passing on to Dresden in the autumn, she was cordially received by our minister, Mr. Elliot, whom she found 'wonderfully amusing;' 'his wit, his humour, his discontent, his 'spleen, his happy choice of words, his rapid flow of ideas, and 'his disposition to playful satire, make one always long to write

'short-hand and preserve his conversation.' At his house she met Lord and Lady Holland, the description of whose merits and foibles will be recognised by many as a faithful picture of scenes and persons that are still fresh in the memory of our time. But the great event was the arrival of the Conqueror of the Nile, accompanied by Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and their auto-biographical friend, Miss Cornelia Knight. Mrs. St. George's judgment of the personages and incidents of this visit has already called forth some painful exclamations from the family of the hero, who have asked whether such extravagances could possibly have occurred? Upon this point we do not think the distinction has been properly drawn, between what she gives as the result of her personal observation and what she received through the playful but caustic criticisms of Mr. Elliot. That Lord Nelson was a little man without any dignity, that Lady Hamilton had absolute possession of him, that her beauty was of a coarse and colossal character, and her movements in common life ungraceful, that Sir William never spoke but to applaud his wife, that Miss Knight wrote, 'Bri-'tannia's leader gives the dread command,' and other bombastic strains, which were sung after dinner by Lady Hamilton and chorussed by the hero himself, with 'Hip, hip, hurrah!' and the *supernaculum**,—we believe to be accurately true. That Lord Nelson proposed bumpers to the Queen of Naples, adding, 'She 'is my Queen, she is Queen to the back-bone;' and that Lady Hamilton said, 'She had much rather have half Sir William's 'pension than be received by our Queen,' there cannot be the slightest reason to doubt. But there may, perhaps, be some exaggeration in Lord Nelson having said, with regard to her reception by the Elector, 'Sir, if there is any difficulty of that 'sort, Lady Hamilton will knock the Elector down,' or in Sir William's having performed feats of activity, 'hopping round the 'room on his back-bone, his arms, legs, star and ribbon all flying 'about in the air,' or in the scene on board the frigate at Hamburgh, when 'there was an end of the fine arts and attitudes,' and 'Lady Hamilton began bawling for an Irish stew, and her 'old mother set about washing the potatoes,' Mr. Elliot being evidently much disgusted with the whole party, and with the ridicule they cast on the English glory and the English name.

* Mrs. St. George misapprehends this ancient ceremony, which she says she had never heard of or seen before. It is not merely 'a 'bumper with a last drop on the nail,' but the ring of the nail of each guest on the inside of his glass, to show that it is empty, and ready to do duty again.

We know, from other sources, that he used to speak of Lord Nelson's mixture of sheepishness and vanity as something incredible; and two distinguished ladies still remember their childish terror when they were there fiercely handled by Lady Hamilton in the character of Medea. Let any reader of Lord Nelson's Memoirs turn to that astonishing piece of laudatory doggrel which he indited to himself in his 'angel's name,' dated 'nine o'clock at night, after a hard-fought battle,' that battle being the memorable battle of Copenhagen, won by his skill and genius, and in which he exhibited a curious care of the national dignity in continuing the contest till he could formally seal the letter containing the acceptance of the terms of capitulation,—and then ask himself whether anything here related is more incongruous in the moral composition of that singular man. It is with historical characters, less perfect than those of Agricola, that we often feel the opportuneness of the fatal blow which removes them from the frailties and inconsistencies of our meaner nature, and purifies, while it consecrates, the greatness of their name.

Mrs. St. George returned to Berlin, notwithstanding Mr. Elliot's discouraging remarks. 'The King is a fool,' he said, 'and 'the Queen a doll. The Berlin people are false and unprincipled. 'You will lose a winter, and probably repent your journey.' She seems, however, to have been well entertained, and to have lived with some notable people, although Berlin reminded her of a provincial town with a large garrison, and manners pretty much on a par with its morals. 'The women are *borné* 'to a degree, and do not even possess ornamental accomplish-'ments. I forgive this, as a consequence of their bad education, 'but I cannot excuse their failure in dress and dancing, which 'are the study of their lives.' She was duly impressed by Frederic von Gentz, just rising into importance in the Prussian service.

'He strikes me as possessing more energy than any man I had ever seen. His head seems to be organised in a very superior manner, and his conversation bears the stamp of real genius. He is one of those who seem to impart a portion of their own endowments; for you feel your mind elevated while in his society. In argument he is irresistible; but it seems to be from fair and honest force, unassisted by trick or artifice. His voice rises, and his eye kindles, yet his warmth never becomes displeasing, nor degenerates into either violence or sharpness. In his writings he proposes Burke for his model, and walks boldly beside him, for we cannot say he is a copyist, though a successful imitator.' (P. 121.)

This allusion to Burke is interesting, for it has always seemed

to us that it was in the triumvirate of Burke, Gentz, and De Maistre that the French Revolution found its most formidable and characteristic opponents, in the separate aspects of politics, philosophy, and religion. It was hardly necessary for our clerical editor to have revived the recollection of what the veteran statesman called his 'Indian summer' under the influence of Fanny Elsler, rather than that of the patriotism and eloquence with which, in 1805, he invoked an united Germany as the only power which could throw off the foreign yoke and give freedom to Central Europe.

Mrs. St. George was witness to the strange catastrophe of the sudden death of a young officer at a ball, in consequence of his tight lacing, which, her friend Prince Adolphus writes to her, he hopes 'may serve as an example to other young men, that they 'may not likewise fall victims to their dress.' It does not seem certain whether Mrs. St. George accepted the pressing invitation to revisit Hanover with which this letter concludes, the journal closing abruptly; but, at any rate, she returned to England in the spring, and soon passed over to Ireland, where the accidental circumstance of a crowded inn was the means of introducing her into the family of Mr. William Shackleton, the Quaker philanthropist and schoolmaster of Ballytore, in the county of Kildare, with whose daughter, Mrs. Leadbeater, she formed a most intimate friendship, and commenced a correspondence that lasted a quarter of a century.*

In the spring of 1802 France was opened by the Peace of Amiens to English travellers, and Mrs. St. George started with her son to spend a few weeks in Paris. What was intended for a holiday excursion resulted in two important events, her second marriage to Mr. Richard Trench, a young lawyer, of the Ashtown family, and her detention for above four years by the useless cruelty of the French despot.

She was struck with the general sadness and worn aspect of the country people, and not very much attracted by Paris:—

'I have never seen a spot where I should more grieve at fixing my residence, nor a nation with which I should find it so difficult to coalesce. A revolution does not seem to be favourable to the

* The 'Leadbeater Papers' have been recently published, including 'The Annals of Ballytore,' by Mary Leadbeater, perfectly justifying Mrs. Trench's description of 'a highly finished Dutch 'painting, where one is not only struck by the general effect, but 'amused and interested by the details, which all bear to be separately 'examined,' and a most interesting correspondence between the young Edmund Burke and Richard Shackleton.

morals of a people. In the upper classes I have seen nothing but the most ardent pursuit after sensual or frivolous pleasures, and the most unqualified egotism, with a devotion to the shrines of luxury and vanity unknown at any former period. The lower ranks are chiefly marked by a total want of probity, and an earnestness for the gain of *to-day*, though purchased by the sacrifice of that character which might ensure them tenfold advantage on the morrow.' (P. 145.)

The Louvre, where the spoils of the world were then collected in a permanent triumph, filled her with delight; and it is quite in accordance with the general classic tone of her mind and precision of her thoughts and style, that she writes, 'When 'I walk among the best Grecian statues, I feel a sort of dignified 'calmness take possession of my soul. A secret influence seems 'to overshadow me, and keeps off all little and agitating ideas. 'Pictures please, but statues both please and elevate.'

Mr. Trench was confined on *parole* to Orleans and its immediate vicinity, but his wife was permitted to visit Paris as often as she chose, and probably might have obtained a passport without difficulty, had she been willing to return to England alone. In the correspondence that spreads over this period, we are certainly disappointed at finding so little matter of public interest; but it must be remembered that these letters had to go through the French Post-office, and that therefore, just the information respecting men and things, that we should have wished for, is what Mrs. Trench would be least able to communicate. Nor was the society into which she was now cast, such as to supply any available material. The imperial government kept watch and ward over the *salons* of Paris, and so charming a *détenue* would hardly have been permitted to become an *habituée* in what still remained of good society. She was therefore constrained to live with people she did not like, and cannot help sometimes contrasting her present position with the former sway of her wit and beauty. Isabey keeps her a long time waiting for a sitting; and she recalls the days when artists vied with each other to paint her for their own advantage, adding, 'I will write a poem, called the Progress of 'Woman, a fine occasion to show one's skill in the degradation 'of the tints.' The official people whom she sees on the subject of her own and Mr. Trench's detention were civil, and the Empress to whom she presented her *placet*, very kind, saying, she remembered her at Court, and would herself present her petition to the Emperor. The following passage is remarkable, as it will remind our readers of the recent restoration of the ground in front of the Tuileries, when the malcontents said, 'On voit bien que ce n'est pas *Lenôtre*.'

'Paris, July, 1805.

'The Emperor has adopted an idea which I admire very much, of having a small garden under his windows, into which no creature ever enters, except himself and the Empress. I think the idea of having a little sacred spot, very beautiful; and I wonder it has never been thought of, as it is almost as practicable as it is refined.' (P. 172.)

It must be confessed that in the art and mystery of letter-writing, English women cannot be said to have attained the eminence that has been won by our Gallic neighbours. In the old days, when letters were literature, we can indeed enjoy, with Charles Lamb, the magnificent conceits of the 'Sociable Letters' of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, which referred to such a sociability as never existed here or elsewhere, but we have nothing to compete with those wonderful exercises of feminine grace, wit, and ingenuity which originated with the society of the Hotel Rambouillet, under the example of Balzac and Voiture, and passed on in uninterrupted succession, through the *salon* of the Marquise de Sablé, in the Place Royale, down to the Hotel d'Albret, and the last days of the Grand Monarque. We have no English noble lady who occupies the literary position of Mme. de Sévigné, and no companion of Royalty who can be classed with Mme. de Maintenon. It is needless to say how much this depended upon a peculiar condition of society, and the high controlling authority exercised by women in France, where *la vieille femme* never meant 'an old woman,' and where men of the highest station and intellect looked upon female companionship, not as a diversion, but as a fair intercourse of mind with mind, with differences of superiority, but parity of intelligence. The correspondence of Ladies Hertford and Pomfret, the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, of Mrs. Montague, of Miss Seward and Mrs. Carter, have each their merits, the last perhaps the greatest, but they none of them can be said to possess that undefinable charm which accompanies the flow of good thought and pleasant expression from the pen of a woman who is writing to a person she loves or likes, without a notion of fame or interest beyond. Mme. de Sévigné, no doubt, knew well that Bussy bound up her letters in quarto volumes, and that many important eyes, it was said even those of divine Majesty itself, had lighted upon them. But this did not apply to those addressed to her daughter and more intimate friends, which form the real foundation of the affectionate celebrity she has inspired. Heinrich Heine somewhere lays down the proposition 'that every woman who 'writes anything does so, with one eye on her subject and the

'other on some particular man (always with the exception of a 'certain Countess, who having only one eye, is compelled to 'cast it alternately from one to the other).' The best female correspondence fully accepts this conclusion, and the letters of an accomplished woman to a man in whom she has entire confidence, will always afford a scope for the use and play of all her faculties that she can never find elsewhere. Thus many of us are acquainted with women, of no especial social endowments or vivacity of disposition, who come out upon paper in confidential correspondence, with a readiness, neatness, versatility and wit, which no one would otherwise suspect to belong to them.

It will therefore excite no surprise in those who have entered into the peculiar qualities of Mrs. Trench's mind, to find in her letters to her husband and her son as perfect specimens of this form of composition as our language can supply. There is a certain foreign, or may be Irish, manner about them, which checks a tendency to small moralisings and stilted sentiment that were characteristics of the ethics of her time, while a large amount of English good sense and a real purity of heart control a somewhat petulant spirit that might otherwise have degenerated into flippancy and cynicism.

In the spring of 1807, Mr. and Mrs. Trench obtained the long-sought-for permission to return to England. From this period to her death in 1827, she kept up the lively correspondence which occupies the rest of this volume. Her spirits had been sadly depressed by the death at Paris of her much-loved boy, the offspring of her second marriage. It is evident that she derived some consolation from the facility of the utterance of her grief which she pours out with unreserved eloquence both in English and French. But her animation fully returned when she found herself back again in the London society she loved so well; still she says with much feeling, 'You know I have no weak, vain pride in being inconsolable, 'on the contrary, no sooner did anything divert my thoughts 'than I adopted and cherished it, neither do I profess at all 'moments to feel the wound, although I always feel its general 'effects on my mind.'

She does not seem to have resided much in Ireland, and thus ingeniously defends her absenteeism, writing in a letter from Cheltenham to Mrs. Leadbeater:—

'You are kind in wishing us in Ireland. A superior education for our children, the power of enjoying all the innocent pleasures of life without injuring *their* future prospects by expense, and my own health, all conspire to detain us here. We leave no gap, and

interrupt no course of duty. No deserted mansion claims us within its ruined walls; no ancient followers look in vain for our protection. Had my husband been an elder brother, our case would have been different. As it is, we have acted from serious, and I hope conscientious, motives. Setting our own case aside, nothing has been more mistaken by the friends of Ireland than the effects of the occasional residence of some of her children in the sister country. Who are most anxious for her prosperity? With some brilliant exceptions, we must say, Those who have mixed with English society, who have visited England, witnessed the humanity of her landlords, the prosperity of her peasantry, the smiling neatness of her cottages. To improve a country by forbidding her inhabitants to know by experience what is done in those foremost in the race of virtue and civilisation, is a solecism. Already has much been done by the infusion of English society.' (P. 300.)

But Mr. Trench appears to have been frequently engaged with the management of their estates, and hence some of the most delightful letters of this volume. Here is a short specimen:—

'Bursledon Lodge, Dec. 1810.

'None of us have been out of the house since Monday, and there was a fresh fall of snow to-day. How I thank my *young* self for having cultivated such a taste for occupation that my *old* self never knows *ennui*. That I prefer society to loneliness, is quite another thing; and I am glad to see clearly that I do so, and no longer to be cheated by the false ideas a warm imagination picks up on the subject from books, or an impatient spirit from the momentary disgust inspired by unpleasant company.

. . . . 'I think to be excellent as a husband a man must be excellent in many other points; and if women were more convinced of this than they are in general, there would be fewer marriages, and perhaps more happiness; or else, in hope of pleasing us, men would improve themselves. The greatest fault our sex can be accused of, is being too easily pleased by yours; who seem to take an unfair advantage of it in being as much *over*, as we often are *under*, nice; since the smallest fault of temper, manners, or even person, is thought a sufficient apology for your breaking loose; while *poor we* ——; but this is too copious a subject, and my poor baby is crying. I hope Bonaparte may have a sick child, as I think the cry of an infant, whose pain one cannot know or assuage, would make him feel his want of power, though nothing else has done it.' (P. 238.)

Another series of familiar letters is addressed by Mrs. Trench to her son by her first marriage. They combine the best maternal counsel with an almost lover-like tenderness, a determination at once to hold his respect and to win his friendship. Of course, in so close a relationship the public cannot be admitted within the innermost circle of family affairs, but we

are permitted to give one example which any young man might be proud to receive:—

To Charles St. George, Esq.

'Bursledon Lodge, 1814.

'The most beautiful and the most superb Brussells veil—the prettiest, the best chosen, the newest, in short a present in the most excellent taste. It is admired by all beholders, and accepted with cordial pleasure, as a proof, among ten thousand others, of my dearest Charles's vigilant and perennial affection. It came just in time to appear at the music meeting, the bustle of which was combined with the private fuss of a removal from James's Square to the dear old house where Charles and his Mother were so merry and happy together.

'These united bustles prevented me from writing for some days, but I know you will not be uneasy, because you are well assured that if I were ill or unhappy, I have one with me who would most certainly give you the earliest information. I was *triste* on first coming here at seeing your empty room, and I miss you at the Piano-forte, and everywhere else. Think of my going to six concerts, three of them in the morning and three in the Abbey, in the space of five days. I began to speak in recitative, and all this public music has awakened the taste for private performance. Thank you for your news, which was very diplomatic as it had appeared in the papers three days before. I am not sorry to hear you propose remaining in your present situation some time longer, long enough to prove your steadiness and your ability for a more ostensible place. I hope you really feel satisfied, and do not place everything in the fairest light in order to give me pleasure. Excuse my having mistaken Japan for Dresden. Your beautiful present is my A. B. C. as to China, in which I am deplorably ignorant.

'I cannot help wishing you would give one hour—look at your watch—I ask no more—to writing to your affectionate grandmother, and your still more affectionate brothers. These are in the two extremes of age when kindness is most sensibly felt. There are some exceptions to this rule, warm exceptions, I think, in the hearts of your mother and her mate, not to mention my dear son Charles, but the rule is tolerably general notwithstanding. Adieu, my dear inspirer of present pleasure and future hope.' (MS.)

Interspersed with graver matter, we meet with free and humorous pictures of London society. There is a joust of talk between Jekyll and Rogers, in which the latter ingeniously prevents any of the jokes of the former from coming to maturity. There is Rogers, when Mr. Wilmot has left the room, addressing the remaining circle, 'That Mr. Wilmot is a sensible 'man. I don't say so from my own knowledge; not the least. 'He wrote a book too. That you'll say was nothing. And 'printed it. I don't say that from my own knowledge either,

'for I never read it. Never met anybody that had.' And we think the following, if not perhaps accurately true, at any rate an ingenious explanation of the very unfavourable change which has taken place within the last thirty years in the social habits of the higher classes of this country.

'Dec. 31.

'It is not wholly our refinement, as we are apt to think, which has banished social and sprightly amusements from our drawing-rooms. Commerce, contracts, loans, and war prices have poured an influx of wealth into hands not hitherto in contact with the Corinthian pillars of society. Many persons were suddenly raised, as well by wealth as by alliances, places, and Court favours, to mingle with those, of whom some boast a long line of distinguished ancestors, others all the advantages of the best education, and not a few unite both. The patricians were not delighted with the intimacy with such persons which playing at cards for a low stake, private acting, domestic dancing without the formality of previous preparation, or small plays, naturally produced; nor in general could the merely wealthy shine, where ease, sprightliness, and accomplishment were required. Accordingly they invited their noble friends to splendid dinners in apartments of Eastern magnificence; and from the moment these invitations were accepted, our English nobility declined from those habits of simple enjoyment by which they were formerly distinguished. They were disinclined to be much inferior in *récherche* and expense to these new acquaintances, and invited them to entertainments more luxurious and more formal than they had themselves habitually given—more luxurious from contagion, more formal, in part to preserve their own dignity—thus adding insensibly to the far-sought delicacies of the table, and the ornament of their houses; till at last all society, saving Almac's, which is a "bright particular star," and that dignified delightful scene of dozing, the Ancient Music, has taken one uniform colour. The duke, the commoner, the contractor, all *entertain*, as it is called, in gay apartments, full of pomp and gold;

"And one eternal dinner swallows all."' (Pp. 411-12.)

We have hitherto allowed Mrs. Trench's literary merits to be inferred from her writings, and we would not now press into special notice the specimens of her composition in prose and verse that are here before us. They are always graceful and expressive of the mind of the author in correct and feeling language, but they never would have won of themselves the high and lasting repute which we believe to be the destiny of this volume.

There is an Eclogue entitled 'Mariazell,' probably written during her tour in Germany, which has quite a Wordsworthian simplicity and tenderness about it, and the following stanzas show that she could occasionally take a still higher range:—

'Their eyes have met. The irrevocable glance
Stamped on the fantasy of each a face,
That neither weal nor woe, nor meddling chance,
Shall ever pluck from its warm resting-place:
There it shall live, and keep its youthful grace,
Time shall not soil a single glossy tress,
Nor lightest wrinkle on that surface trace;
In life, in death, remains the deep impress,
Through all eternity endures to curse or bless—

'Eternity! sweet word to lover's ear,
For love alone unfolds a sudden view
Of thy long vista and immortal year;
All other passions do some end pursue,
And in fruition die—to live anew,
And seek the food that kills. Love's finer frame
Turns all to aliment and honey-dew;
Of past, of future, hardly knows the name,
Exists self-poised, and wishes all its days the same.'

The following self-criticism expresses her own judgment on her writings:—

'I should write much better if I had ever been criticised. The heaths and many other flowers require wind (not merely air, but blasts of wind) as well as sunshine; and it would have been both a stimulus and an improvement, if I had ever heard the voice of truth. But alas! that was impossible; and my little attempts *can* have no merit but that of showing to those who love me, what I might have done had I not been deprived of the advantages of classical learning; had I not been flattered in my youth, as one to whom mental acquirements were unnecessary; had I not been the fond mother of nine children and the troublesome wife of one whom I do not much like to have out of my sight;—four very unfavourable circumstances to the cultivation of any art or science whatever.' (P. 432.)

Her French style is evidently founded on the elder models with which she was so familiar. It would now perhaps be considered somewhat formal and constrained, but it is usually correct and sometimes rises to eloquence. Mrs. Trench's estimate of the books of her day is generally far from indulgent. She is enthusiastic about no contemporary poetry except 'Childe Harold' and Rogers' 'Human Life.' She gives Walter Scott's later novels a very cool reception, and while she enjoys 'The Corsair' and 'Lara,' (and indeed suggests that the only way in which posterity can account for Jacqueline appearing in company with the latter will be by supposing that Rogers was Lord Byron's dissenting chaplain), she thus accurately analyses 'The Giaour,' and its defects:—

'1813.—"The Giaour" is a trial of skill how far picturesque, ani-

mated, and eloquent description will please, without dignity or delicacy of character, novelty of scene or manners, interesting narrative, or elevated sentiments. Events similar to those recorded in this tale have not only been thrice told, but three hundred times; and in point of manners, every one who has read a book of "Travels in Turkey." knows too well all of which he is here reminded, not to feel a certain disappointment at being carried so far and shown nothing new.'

'The story of "The Giaour" could hardly be comprehended by human ingenuity, if it did not turn on circumstances the most commonplace, as we are only presented with unconnected fragments from the lips of two nameless narrators, who ask a variety of questions, and whom we should be glad to question a little in our turn. Fragments of this uninteresting story are tricked out in gaudy colouring, and amidst a greater proportion of indifferent lines than are fairly admissible in so short a production, we meet occasional proofs of originality and genius. Still "The Giaour" ranks far below any former production of the same author. It contributes, as far as its mite goes, to injure the taste of the age, by reducing poetry merely to an amusement for a vacant hour, instead of employing it to elevate our minds, soften our hearts, and refine our pleasures. Whether these effects are produced by sentiments, by characters, by imagery, is immaterial. When they are not produced, when poetry addresses herself chiefly through the ear to the eye, she must be on the decline; and this decline works like "The Giaour" at once accelerate and proclaim.' (P. 279.)

The following are somewhat severe but not injudicious strictures: —

'*Oct.* 1816. — I am reading Mrs. Marcet's "Political Economy." It is all *Say*, thrown into dialogue, with the objections which might be made. This is a good plan for chemistry, where a well-educated and thinking person *may* begin the book entirely ignorant of the subject. But it is a bad plan for political economy, on which every one has some information, more or less. One has not patience to be stopped every minute by a foolish objection, to which one knows the answer. It may do as an elementary book; but though I could read her "Chemistry," I cannot read this; and I should suppose the effect would be similar on all *grown people*. It shows a laudable spirit of industry, but I think it unfair to Say, of whom it is a sort of unavowed translation; for though she professes it to give the quintessence of other authors, all of it which I have read, except what is avowedly quoted, is cribbed from him without even changing his phrases.' (P. 348.)

'*July*, 1817. — We are now reading Miss Edgeworth's "Ormond and Harrington." The Edinburgh Reviewers have done her much mischief; first, by persuading her to stick fast to the bogs, after she has exhausted all that was comic, pathetic, or striking in the peculiar distinctions between England and Ireland; next to objecting to her morality being so apparent. Now she never writes half so well as when she evidently endeavours to illustrate a moral or prudential

axiom; and in this case, as ships sail best with ballast, she always walks more firmly and gracefully, instead of being impeded in her course.' (Pp. 370–1.)

'*Nov.* 7. 1820.—I have just finished Southey's "Life of Wesley," a book one cannot read without some religious improvement; but what a trimmer poor Southey is, bowing to right and left! I have looked into Croker's translation of Fontaine's "Fables." I grieve to see my dear old French friend in a masquerade Court dress, a Windsor uniform. It is a coarse and bad translation. He leaves out the sweetness, *finesse*, and simplicity of his author, and substitutes a vulgar jollity of phrase, quite intolerable on comparison with the original.' (P. 437.)

'*July*, 1821.—I should ask if you had seen "Mrs. Delany's Letters." They are too much alike, and, short as is the volume, it might be shortened with advantage; but some of them give a most pleasing and minute picture of the interior of Windsor Castle in the happiest days of our late Sovereigns. They are valuable historically, as a faithful, though slight sketch of that branch of history, detailing the private life of the great, of which the French have too much, and we too little.' (P. 449.)

What would Mrs. Trench have said, had she lived to see the six portentous volumes of this elderly lady's Correspondence which are now before the public!

'*Nov.* 13. 1825.—"Moore's Life of Sheridan" lowers the biographer and the subject. He is a great motive-monger, and usually selects, among a variety of probable motives, those which are least dignified and meritorious. He does not appear to love Sheridan; and he alters the complexion of facts in his domestic life, so as to make him appear blameable in a point where the plain truth would have been highly to his honour. That truth could not have been all told, but Moore ought not to have employed language which leads us to form an opposite conclusion.' (P. 513.)

As to the character of the mind of the authoress herself, it becomes us to touch with discretion on a person whose memory is still held sacred by many of the living. But we may be permitted to notice certain peculiarities which illustrate, perhaps, quite as much the generation in which she lived, as any individual idiosyncracy. Her religion was plainly undoubtingly orthodox, a practical consolation in all her sorrows, and in its public services a positive enjoyment. Yet this did not prevent her from recognising the superiority in many serious aspects of a Society of Friends to which her beloved Mrs. Leadbeater belonged, nor from speaking of her attendance at a Dissenting chapel as a very suitable, 'rational,' and pleasant way of passing an evening. Her social morality was generous, some might think even too liberal, but she had so clear a sense of the temptations and calamities of mankind, that she could afford

to be compassionate, especially to women, without lowering her own standard of virtue. She tries to find excuses for both parties in the Byron separation, and in another family difficulty she writes —

'—— is going to receive his wanderer again. I cannot laugh at him, as others do. In a man, not otherwise deficient in sense and firmness, so much confiding love for a wife, — against experience, — against probability, — against hope, — against advice, — against all but affection,—is in my eyes interesting, and partakes of the feelings a superior being might have for erring mortals.' (P. 349.)

We know how unfavourable an impression both Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton left upon her, but when his letters to Lady Hamilton were published, she speaks of them as 'though dis-'graceful to his principles of morality on one subject,' not appearing to her, 'as they do to most others, degrading to his 'understanding.'

'They are pretty much what every man, deeply entangled, will express, when he supposes but one pair of fine eyes will read his letters; and his sentiments on subjects unconnected with his fatal attachment are elevated — looking to his hearth and his home for future happiness; liberal, charitable, candid, affectionate, indifferent to the common objects of pursuit, and clear-sighted in his general view of politics and life.' (P. 291.)

In these our days, a lady of Mrs. Trench's intelligence, information, and interest in all about her would have her theological and ethical speculations, her schemes of philanthropy, and her, perhaps, partial or extravagant ideas as to her duties and mission in the world. But Mrs. Trench had no 'views;' she accepted without remonstrance the conditions of thought and of society in which she found herself placed; she extracted as much advantage as she could from them, both for herself and others; she criticised the shortcomings and laughed at the foibles of her time, but she never looked at herself as a reformer or as in a position to dictate to her contemporaries. Thus to some earnest persons her life, sincere as it was, might bear an aspect of occasional frivolity, and of a too ready conformity to manners which she would in her graver moments condemn. To others, again, there may seem something commonplace, and even pedantic, in her general adherence to established forms, and her submission to the public opinions of her own class, though she had the courage to think for herself, whenever her feelings were engaged, as was shown in her hearty sympathy for the unfortunate Queen Caroline.

One word in conclusion as to the task which the learned and accomplished Dean of Westminster has undertaken in the

publication of this volume. It required some courage to project, and much delicacy to execute as he has done, the design of bringing before the public the history of the mind and heart of one so near and dear to him. His materials were her journal, which had shared the frequent fate of private papers—some portions unaccountably lost, and others perhaps intentionally destroyed—and such letters as had happened to be preserved by family affection, or the tender admiration of friends. He has connected these by scarce half a dozen pages of narrative and explanation, and has printed them with conscientious accuracy, without apology, without eulogy, without vindication. He has let the book tell its own story, in its free and simple relations and in the candid exhibition of thoughts and feelings. Nor can we doubt that the result has justified his most ardent expectations, and that this volume will long be dear to all lovers of observant anecdote, of the wit that springs from the union of common sense and vivid fancy, of womanly sensibility combined with a masculine understanding, and of powers of expression, which, had they been seriously applied to objects of more general interest, would no doubt have ranked the name of Mrs. Richard Trench with those female worthies of which English literature is so justly proud.

She died at Malvern in May 1827, after some years of illness. She reproaches herself in a letter to Mrs. Shackleton for not having sufficiently appreciated the danger of her friend Mrs. Leadbeater's condition, adding, 'I have been so long in a state 'of suffering that it seemed to me the most natural thing in the 'world to be ill, and though I heard your dear mother was so, 'the idea of danger never passed through my mind.'

The last record in her journal is an expression of gratitude for the kindliness of her neighbours, which 'must never be for-'gotten by me, be the time long or short during which I may 'remember it here.' She left five sons, the eldest being the editor of these interesting memorials, which only came into his hands, on the decease of Mr. Richard Trench, about two years ago.

ART. IX.—1. *Kirche und Kirchen, Papstthum und Kirchenstaat. Historisch-politische Betrachtungen.* Von JOH. JOS. IGN. V. DÖLLINGER. München: 1861.

2. *The Church and the Churches; or the Papacy and the Temporal Power. An Historical and Political Review.* By Dr. DÖLLINGER. Translated, with the Author's permission, by WILLIAM BERNARD MACCABE. London: 1862.

OUR readers will not blame us for seizing the opportunity of the appearance of Dr. Döllinger's learned work to recall their attention to a subject we have already more than once had occasion to refer to, and which is still a question of pressing European interest. 'The Roman Question,' said Baron Ricasoli, while speaking in his place in the Chamber of Deputies, as Prime Minister of Italy, 'is essentially a moral question;' and he proceeded to explain that it must be decided, not by physical force, but by appealing to the moral convictions of Italy and of the Catholic world. It is in this sense, as a moral not a controversial question, and, consequently, as one vitally affecting the interests of European society both within and without the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, that we would deal with it here. While ultramontane zealots are denouncing almost as heresy every attempt to discriminate between what is essential and what is accidental in the double attributes of the 'Pope-King,' and Exeter Hall fanatics are confidently predicting the downfall of Popery as necessarily coincident with the downfall of the temporalities of the Pope—both extremes apparently agreed in this—there is a large middle class, including the devoutest and most intelligent thinkers, alike amongst Catholics and Protestants, who, because they differ from both the others, feel only more deeply the gravity of the situation which disturbs scrupulous consciences, hinders the moral development of the Italian kingdom, and, by imperilling the influence of the spiritual chief of the larger half of Christendom, imperils also the influence of the religion which he represents.

Apart from its intrinsic merits, which are considerable, there is much in the circumstances connected with the appearance of this work which gives it a peculiar importance at the present time. Dr. Döllinger is far the most eminent Roman Catholic theologian of Germany, the worthy successor of the late Dr. Möhler, and has a school of disciples growing up around him; indeed, unless Father Passaglia is to be considered an exception, we might say that he is the most eminent Catholic theologian living.

He also completes the trio of the three greatest Catholic divines of France, Italy, and Germany respectively, who have, with more or less distinctness, though with some minor shades of difference, expressed themselves in a sense adverse to the essential nature of the temporal power for the welfare of the Church, and have very unmistakeably denounced it, in its present shape, as an evil. And if it be objected that Passaglia speaks rather as an Italian patriot than as a Catholic priest, no such insinuation can be made in the case of a writer who not only is no Italian himself, but who obviously has little sympathy for the Italian people, and still less for Italian unity, while the strong conservative temper which betrays itself throughout the volume would naturally incline him to adopt the view most favourable to the old *régime*. The circumstances attending the delivery, last year, at Munich, of the two lectures which are here reprinted in an appendix, and the excitement caused by them in the Catholic religious world, give additional interest to a work originating under such conditions. It is stated, moreover, on good authority, that the Pope has been made acquainted with its contents, and has expressed his approval of them. How far the declaration introduced into a recent Allocution, that the temporal power is 'not a dogma,' may be due to this influence, we are unable to say.

Dr. Döllinger has entered a protest against being identified in sentiment with Passaglia and Tosti, and we are bound to accept his disclaimer on a point of which he must be necessarily the sole judge. But we shall do him no injustice if we say that the main drift of his book is to impress on his co-religionists that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is in no way essential to the integrity of the Church, and that there is no Divine promise that the successor of St. Peter 'shall 'always remain monarch of a temporal kingdom.' He has, in fact, said much more than this; for if he has not felt himself at liberty to draw the inference, he has given us abundant data for inferring (as we shall by and by have occasion to show), that the loss of the temporal power, so far from being a serious injury, would, in many ways, greatly increase the moral and spiritual force of Catholicism. He sets out with the statement of three possible results of the present complication: viz., either that the temporal dominion will be restored, or partly restored, after a temporary alienation; or that the independence of the Holy See will be secured by some other means; or, lastly, that we are on the eve of a general European catastrophe, involving the whole edifice of existing social order in a common ruin. And he tells us that of these three possibilities, he regards the first as most probable, viz., the restoration of the temporal power,

though under very altered conditions; for a continuance of its present state, he adds, is not desired 'by any intelligent friend 'of the Papal See.' Perhaps we had better let him give, in his own words, what he considers to have been the substance of his lectures. The italics are our own.

'Let no one lose faith in the Church if the temporal principality of the Papacy should disappear, whether it be for a season, *or for ever*. It is not essence, but accident; not end, but means; it began late; it was formerly something quite different from what it is now. It now justly appears to us to be indispensable, and so long as the existing order lasts in Europe it must, at all cost, be maintained; or, if it is violently interrupted, it must be restored. But it is possible to suppose a political condition of Europe in which it would be superfluous, *and then it would be only a clogging burden.*' (P. 5.)

But the only reasons he has urged for considering the temporal principality indispensable under existing circumstances, or for anticipating its restoration, are so slender and unconvincing, and he has supplied so many cogent arguments for thinking it unnecessary, if not undesirable, that it is difficult for his readers not to believe his cautious reticence on that part of the question which has been elaborately treated by Passaglia, due rather to an exaggerated sense of ecclesiastical etiquette than to any strong convictions antagonistic to those of the great Roman divine. Be this as it may, however, the value of his testimony, especially as addressed to members of his own communion, cannot be depreciated or denied.

Before referring to it more in detail, it will be as well to glance briefly at the prevalent phases of sentiment among ultramontane supporters of the temporal claims. Allowing for many lesser shades of difference, they may be broadly divided into two classes. There are those — and we fear Count Montalembert must be numbered among them — to whom it does not appear unreasonable or immoral to assert that the sacrifice of the freedom, and, if it be so, the happiness of three million Italians is a necessary, and therefore a legitimate condition of the welfare of the universal Church. We need not wonder at such a theory being maintained. To do evil that good may come has been the darling temptation of religious partisans in every age and of every creed, nor are the advisers of Job the only theologians who have thought it an acceptable service to lie for God. But those who have an intelligent faith in Catholicism will be slow to defend its interests by so suicidal a paradox. *Fiat justitia ruat cœlum* is a principle true for all times and all circumstances, and of only the more imperative obligation the more sacred are the interests at stake. There cannot be a greater dishonour to

Christianity than to insist that its welfare is implicated in the maintenance of a corrupt and superannuated despotism, for which we vainly seek, even in Turkish maladministration, an adequate parallel. A second class, including probably all, or nearly all, the English champions of the Papal Government, while holding with the former its necessity for the interests of the Church, if not indeed in some cases, as with Dr. Manning*, almost for the integrity of the faith, maintain that its existence is also beneficial to its subjects, and that the alleged disaffection is both grossly exaggerated, and entirely the result, so far as it is a fact, of secret societies and foreign propagandism. It is difficult to argue on such a strange view of the matter as this. The sincerity of many who maintain it cannot be questioned, but the significant silence of all the more influential Catholic members in the Italian debate provoked by Sir G. Bowyer in the House of Commons, sufficiently indicated that his views were far from being shared by all his brethren in the faith. Were those who think with him open to such evidence, we should remind them that the silent demonstration of the Romans at the last Carnival, when nearly the whole population, in obedience to the National Committee, absented themselves from the Corso, with which may be contrasted the enthusiastic reception of Victor Emmanuel at Naples, were strikingly indicative of the universal feeling among both Romans and Neapolitans in favour of Italian unity.† For these, be it remembered, are not isolated expressions of feeling, but are in entire accordance with what we should otherwise be led to anticipate, and take place in cities stated by the friends of the Papal and Bourbon power to be deeply attached to the old governments. It must be a strong religious conviction which can lead men so utterly to ignore either the elementary principles of justice or the clearest evidence of fact, as to maintain, with one class of advocates, that the former must be sacrified, or, with the other, that no sacrifice is required for the continuance of the temporal power. We shall therefore go on to inquire, under the guidance of a Catholic theologian, what is the teaching of history as to the action of that power on the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

For upwards of seven centuries — the age of the Martyrs, the Œcumenical Councils, the Fathers of the Church, the Creeds,

* See two sets of Lectures by him on 'The Recent Crisis,' and 'The latter Glories of the Holy See greater than the first.'

† It is worth observing that the proclamation of the National Committee here referred to closed with the words, 'Viva Pio Nino, '*Pontefice non Ré.*'

the conversion of the greater portion of Europe—there was no temporal power. It began at the close of the eighth century with the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, suggested probably in part by the fabulous 'donation of Constantine.' Seven centuries more had to pass away before it became a recognised and substantial fact. 'The Roman See subsisted 'seven centuries without possessing in sovereignty a single 'village. . . . . In fact it was not till the time of Leo X., 'about 350 years ago, that the Popes held quiet possession of the 'State, with its three million of inhabitants.' (P. 457.) With the fall of the Carlovingian dynasty fell also the ecclesiastical policy which its founder had originated; and for more than two centuries, till about 1060, 'the greater portion of the Papal 'States had fallen into the hands of laymen.' For most of that period the Papacy itself became the catspaw of the Roman nobility, and its moral influence was discredited by a rapid succession of impotent or flagitious *fainéants*, the creatures of the dominant faction of the day at Rome; for some time the favourites of two abandoned women, Theodora and Marozia, were thrust into the Papal chair, among whom was John XII., whom our author euphoniously designates a 'good-for-nothing 'Pope,' and who was in fact the veriest incarnation of all the darkest vices which can defile humanity. The Emperor Henry III. did much by a succession of German Popes to elevate the position of the Roman See. At the end of the eleventh century Gregory VII., one of the most powerful ecclesiastical rulers who have ever sat on St. Peter's chair, never held in a firm grasp the sceptre of his temporal sovereignty. 'During the whole of the twelth century, the Popes had no 'fixed settled territory of their own in Italy.' At its close, Innocent III., the next most powerful Pope after Hildebrand, 'was not so much the restorer as he was practically the first 'actual founder of the Papal States.' From this period dates the formation of the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, which involved the cause of the Church with the divided interests of political partisanship, and ranged the subjects of the same spiritual father under the opposite banners of the champions of the Emperor and the champions of the Pope. Henceforth the Popes, though still 'in such a position that no city was really subject to them,' became the leaders of an Italian party, and began to employ against their political enemies the spiritual weapons of ban and interdict, and the temporal arms of foreign mercenaries. Indeed, it is remarkable throughout the Middle Ages that the terrible weapons of excommunication and interdict are far more frequently resorted to for secular than for spiritual ends, and

become the recognised method for quelling a revolted city, or enforcing a disputed salt tax. A new era for the Papacy and for Italy opens with the succession of the House of Anjou to the Sicilian throne; French influence predominates over the Guelphic party and the Popes themselves, who had hitherto been its undisputed leaders, till at the commencement of the fourteenth century they removed their court to Avignon, whence a succession of French pontiffs ruled over Rome, like one of the provinces of the old empire, as a distant dependency, through the instrumentality of French legates, whose oppressive government kept the city in a state of almost chronic revolt, which was met by the old weapons of ecclesiastical censures and brutal foreign mercenaries. At the end of the seventy years 'grass 'was growing in the streets of Rome, and the number of its in-'habitants was only 17,000.' Then the demand for a Pope, who should be 'a Roman or at least an Italian,' became too strong to be resisted. It was gratified in the election of Urban VI., an Italian, but a man of infamous character, as were most of his immediate successors, and with the opposition made to his appointment by the French Cardinals begins the schism of the Anti-Popes, which did so much to discredit Papal authority in Europe, by exhibiting two rival claimants for divine jurisdiction over the Church hurling anathemas at each other, and thus indirectly paved the way for the greater schism of the sixteenth century. At this period the Papal States were almost in dissolution, and Boniface IX., Urban's successor, even *sold* to their various owners the sovereign rights of which they were already in actual possession, in consideration of an immediate payment and a yearly tribute. It must be remembered that all along nepotism had been one of the crying grievances of the Papal rule, the more so as very many of the Popes had, besides other relatives, their own illegitimate children to be enriched out of the revenues of the Church. This evil practice culminated at the close of the fifteenth century under Sixtus IV., and the wretched Alexander VI., who alienated the greater part of his dominions in favour of his son, Cæsar Borgia. Julius II., a brave soldier and a man of vigorous and statesmanlike capacity, though of immoral life, recovered forcibly what his predecessor had frittered away, and thus became, in the words of our author, 'the third founder and restorer of the Papal States;' the work of internal consolidation was successfully inaugurated by the next Pope, Leo X., who was at once a statesman, a voluptuary, and a sceptic. The dismemberment of the Papal States by nepotism was not brought finally to an end till the reign of Pius V., who prohibited, under threat of excommunication, every alienation,

temporary or permanent, of the property of the Roman Church, or any part of it; and from his time dates the oath, of which we have heard so much lately, taken by every Pope at his coronation, which did not, however, prevent Pius VI. from succumbing to political exigencies, and alienating, in the Treaty of Tolentino, the three legations of Ravenna, Ferrara, and Romagna. Since the Reformation dynastic interests have over and over again led the Popes to adopt a line of policy incongruous with their ecclesiastical position as heads of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus Clement VII. aided the friends of the Smalkaldic League against Charles V., who, though his political opponent, was a zealous and even vehement champion of Catholicism; Urban VIII. countenanced Gustavus Adolphus in his invasion of Germany, undertaken in the interest of Protestantism; Innocent XI. gave his concurrence, if not his open sanction, to William III. in his claims on the English throne. A more striking instance of the Papal States being used 'as a *fulcrum*' to extort from the Holy See measures uncongenial to its religious instincts is mentioned by our author, when the French Government, by seizing part of the States and threatening the rest, enforced on Clement XIV. the suppression of the Jesuits—at that time the great missionary power of the Roman Church—just as six centuries before the Emperor Henry V. had by similar means compelled Paschal II. to yield the right of Investiture, which had for thirty years been the critical question contested between the Papacy and the civil power, and had been the turning point of St. Anselm's career in this country as Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed it is difficult to say to what period of its chequered history the words applied by Dr. Döllinger to the temporal sovereignty in the eighteenth century do not apply:—'Times in which the States of the Church, so far from aiding 'to serve the Papal independence, were on the contrary regarded 'and treated as the very means by which a Pope could be forced 'to adopt measures which otherwise he never would have assented to.' Pius VI. and Pius VII., we are told, though excellent and conscientious men, felt bound to postpone the interests of their spiritual to those of their secular kingdom; 'they regarded the quality of a territorial prince more highly 'than that of the head of the Church.' And so we are brought down to the French Revolution, and the restoration of the Papal Sovereignty in 1814 by the Treaty of Vienna, a treaty which ignored any rights but those of princes, and which since then forms the sole basis and guarantee of the secular claims of the Holy See.

What then is the verdict of history on the relations of the

temporal power to the spiritual authority of the Papacy? That the chief pastor of Christendom, on whom as such devolves 'the 'care of all the churches,' should be distracted by the toils of civil government, and involved in the tangled skein of European diplomacy, is of course implied in the very fact of his being also an earthly sovereign. But much more than this may be gathered from the foregoing sketch, which is mainly extracted from the pages of Dr. Döllinger's book, and partly expressed in his own words. We have seen that from the beginning of the temporal power in the time of Charlemagne, it has entailed on the Popes an almost uninterrupted condition of warfare, to retain or recover some portion of their nominal dominions, of which, for above seven centuries, they cannot be said to have enjoyed peaceful possession. As a result of this, grew up the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, and the spiritual influence of the Papacy became strangely mixed up in the complications of secular politics, while 'the hateful employment of 'spiritual, combined with temporal, weapons,' went far to break down all respect for ecclesiastical authority. To this may be added the infliction on the Roman Church for lengthened periods of a series of incompetent or infamous pontiffs, through the interest or ambition of political factions, and in total disregard of the sacredness of their office. Of the systematic prevalence of nepotism we have already spoken, and although for the last century or more the Popes have, with one exception, been free from this charge, 'it is otherwise,' says our author, 'with the nepotism of cardinals and prelates.' Last, but not least, we have found that what was designed as a guarantee of independence, has again and again, under most varied circumstances, been used by foreign courts as a lever for bringing their influence to bear on the Holy See, and extorting concessions which would not otherwise be granted. To an ordinary apprehension it would seem hard to imagine a more damning case against the temporal power from a purely Roman Catholic point of view. Nay, we can hardly wonder that the preservation of the Papacy through so tremendous an ordeal, which struck Lord Macaulay as a masterpiece of human ingenuity, should be urged by Baronius in proof of its divine origin. And if from the external history we turn to the internal administration of the Papal States, the argument becomes stronger still. We cannot follow our author through all the details of this portion of his subject, which he has traced with a minuteness and an outspoken candour greatly to his credit as a writer and as a man. The most important circumstance to notice here, and that on which all else ultimately depends, is the administration of the

State by ecclesiastics, which dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. From that time also dates the jealousy, or rather hatred among the laity of the *governo dei preti* — a government which has abundantly illustrated the truth of Lord Clarendon's famous observation, that 'of all mankind none form 'such a bad estimate of human affairs as churchmen.' For it would be a great mistake to suppose that this jealousy of clerical government is of recent origin, though it may have received a fresh impetus from recent events — such as the Achilli or Mortara cases, or the edict of Airaldi, ordering all maid servants, under pain of excommunication, to inform against their masters for eating meat on fast-days. Equally idle is the argument sometimes based on an arithmetical calculation of the relative numbers of ecclesiastics and laymen employed in the executive. It may be quite true that, 'in the year 1848 there 'were 5,059 lay employés to 109 ecclesiastics;' but, inasmuch as all offices of trust and importance have ever been held by the latter, except during Count Rossi's brief administration and the period immediately preceding it, it would be as absurd to infer from such a numerical proportion, were it constantly preserved, that the government was not essentially an ecclesiastical one, as to say that the Court of Arches is a civil court because Dr. Lushington is a layman. That any fundamental change in the Papal administration in this respect would be found a practical impossibility we fully believe, notwithstanding Dr. Döllinger's contrary opinion, and on this point Mgr. Dupanloup is agreed with us. But, were it otherwise, the history of the Papacy previous to the last three centuries is sufficient evidence that only one out of many injurious concomitants of the temporal power would be thereby eliminated, not to add that the Papal Sovereignty in any form would be inconsistent with Italian unity.

Since 1814 the government has been more bureaucratic after the French model, though, unlike the French, the highest offices have still been in the hands of ecclesiastics. Indeed, a more complicated or more inadequate machinery of red-tapism than is described by our author in his chapter on the Papal States, from 1814 to 1846, could hardly be conceived, or one more radically corrupt. Nor can it be doubted that the same influences have reacted on the ecclesiastical policy of the Holy See, too. Cardinal Consalvi, who was denounced by the ultramontanes of his day as a dangerous innovator, not only restored but greatly strengthened the clerical power in the State, placing under it the whole control of education, and a strict censorship of the press. Leo XII., a member of the

party of *Zelanti*, not only restored the hated Inquisition, with its obligation of secret denunciation imposed on all citizens alike, but established besides an elaborate system of *espionage*, both for political and moral offences. The last was indeed abolished by his successor, Pius VIII., but again restored under Gregory XVI., in whose reign many promises of reforms were made, in reply to the Memorandum of the Great Powers, but little or nothing was really accomplished. Irritation has sometimes been caused in this country when clergymen have discharged the duties of magistrates; but what are we to say of an absolute government where the whole powers of police are normally vested in the priesthood? What of the odious *privilegium fori*, as it is called in the canon law, whereby priests are exempted from the jurisdiction of civil tribunals, and reserved for the milder punishments or complete impunity accorded by ecclesiastical courts, of which the notorious Achilli is an instance, who, after being convicted of the grossest crimes, was not only left unpunished, but actually made an Associate in Visitations, a Professor in the College of Minerva at Rome, and a preacher at Capua? What are we to say of the *preti di piazza* — the multitude of ignorant and needy priests who congregate in the streets and coffee-houses of the ecclesiastical metropolis, and do what in them lies to break down all reverence for the order to which they belong? A darker blot on the Papal Government is the derival of income from the official lottery, described by Mr. Dicey in his 'Rome in 1860,' thus making capital out of one of the worst vices of the Italian people — their passion for gambling. Can we wonder that pious Italian laymen, like Tommaseo and D'Azeglio, should use such words as these: 'It is the gross faults and abuses of the 'civil government that make the people falter in their faith, and 'shake their confidence in the Papal guidance of the Church. 'The unfavourable opinion fostered by the condition to which 'the government of the Papal States has reduced them, opens a 'path for erroneous doctrines in religion.' (P. 408.)

It would be beyond the scope of this article to enter at any length on the history of the Papal States since the accession of the reigning Pontiff. It is natural that Dr. Döllinger should speak of Pius IX. with that reverence and affection which his blameless life, his benevolent character, and his many personal virtues have justly merited; nor have we any wish to detract from his praise. To apportion with critical accuracy the merits or demerits of those who have been concerned in carrying on his government, would be an ungracious and useless task. Still less do we question the purity of his own motives, or the sincerity of his aims. He desired to effect a reformation; but he failed because,

from the nature of the case, it was simply impossible he should succeed. A Pope with the very best intentions can do little when it is the interest of all about him to maintain the existing state of things, and where, too, the very character of the government precludes any efficient action of public opinion. Never, perhaps, was the Papal Chair occupied by a more unselfish and single-minded Pontiff than Pius IX.; yet seldom have the Papal States been worse governed than since his restoration in 1849. Were it not so, the Piedmontese could never have entered his States with the tacit acquiescence or open approval of nearly all Europe. But the question lay deeper than that — something more than reformation was needed, for the whole system was rotten to the heart's core. Of that we need seek no further evidence than is supplied by the volume before us. It is due, indeed, to the author to say that he professes to desire and to anticipate a continuance of the Temporal Power; but then it is due both to him and to the interests of truth to add, that he only desires it on conditions so completely new as shall make it the model government instead of the standing scandal of Christendom, and shall put an end to the ecclesiastical administration of the States. How far such a change is conceivable, we may leave safely to the judgment of our readers. We hail certainly with satisfaction the assurance of a Catholic divine, that the Canon-Law and the mediæval policy of the Church is a mere variable and temporary accident, and that her infallibility is pledged to nothing beyond the development of her abstract dogma. But we think him more than sanguine, when he supposes that the traditional instincts of centuries are likely to be abandoned, and the Papal States governed, under the autocracy of the Popes, on principles accordant with modern liberal ideas.

What is required of them is, not that they should undertake the hopeless task of reconstituting a civil government radically corrupt, but that they should surrender it to the exigencies of the times, and throw themselves heartily and generously into the altered conditions of society. Everywhere else the combination of civil and spiritual power in the same hands has been condemned. The German prince-bishopricks, though administered through lay officials, have yielded to the public opinion of the day, and we have yet to learn that the Church has suffered by their fall. In England the last relic of spiritual sovereignty—existing, indeed, more in name than in reality, except as to its princely revenues—was suppressed within our own memory, and no regret has been manifested at its loss. In other ways the Church of England has been stripped during

the last half-century of much of her political power and prestige; yet there probably has never been a time since the Reformation when her hold on the affections of her members was stronger than it is now — and for this obvious reason, that her clergy have, on the whole, though not perhaps at first without complaints and misgivings, accepted frankly their somewhat altered position, and regained by the exercise of moral energy far more than could be guaranteed by the enactments of the Statute-book. That the change has worked beneficially for the Catholic Church in Germany may be learnt from Dr. Döllinger's account of its present state.

'If the Court of Rome should reside for a time in Germany, the Roman *Prelati* will doubtless be agreeably surprised to discover that our people are able to remain Catholic and religious without the leading-strings of a police; and that their religious sentiments are a better protection to the Church than episcopal prisons, which, thank God! do not exist. They will learn that the Church in Germany is able to maintain herself without the Holy Office; that our Bishops, although, or because, they use no physical compulsion, are reverenced, as if they were princes, by the people; that they are received with triumphal arches, and that their arrival in a place is a festival for the inhabitants. They will see how the Church with us rests on the broad, strong, and healthy basis of a well-organized system of pastoral administration, and of popular religious instruction. They will perceive that we Catholics have maintained for years, straightforwardly and without reservation, a struggle for the deliverance of the Church from the bonds of bureaucracy; that we cannot entertain the idea of denying to Italians what we have claimed for ourselves; and that, therefore, we are far from thinking that it is anywhere an advantage to fortify the Church with the authority of the police, and with the power of the secular arm.' (Pp. 453–4.)

Noble words, and worthy of a Christian divine of the great Germanic race. That such should be also the condition of the Church in Italy must be the desire of every sincere and enlightened Catholic. But most persons will consider such a result more likely to be brought about by the cessation of the temporal power of the Holy See than by any attempt to remodel its administrative machinery. 'The Church in danger' has always been a favourite cry with churchmen whose zeal outran their wisdom, but they have frequently had occasion to learn that the danger of clerical privileges may be the salvation of the Church. It is inconceivable that what everywhere else is felt to be a glaring anachronism should in Italy be a first necessity of spiritual independence and life. We have already observed that Dr. Döllinger's testimony receives additional weight from his unconcealed contempt, as a German,

for the Italian people, and his dislike, as a strong conservative, for the revolutionary character of the unitarian movement. We cannot but feel that he has suffered himself to be misled by prejudice when he speaks of the 'Piedmontese beast of prey,' and of 'a Ricasoli or a Ratazzi, or above all of those lawyers 'and *literati*, those land plagues that, with trumpery pompous 'rhetoric and hollow-sounding phrases, are now — and mayhap 'for some little time longer may be — permitted to swim upon 'the surface of society.' He ought to be aware that the Italian parliament is, both in composition and character, much more like the English House of Commons than those French assemblies with which he is mentally comparing it. Neither does he seem to have taken the trouble to estimate carefully the extent and vitality of unitarian sentiment in Italy, and the peculiar aptitude of the country for passing from a geographical expression into a compact and well-organised State. But on these points we have had opportunities of speaking before, and we are well content to leave so clear-sighted and honest an observer to correct his theory by the gradual teaching of events. The last three years have won unlikelier converts to the cause of the new kingdom. It is more to our present purpose to point out some further collateral advantages to the moral influence of the Roman Church which would accrue from the cession of her political power.

There are many institutions bound up with the Court rather than the Church of Rome which have long been an occasion of scandal to her enemies and a drag upon her inner life. Such is the *Index Expurgatorius*, instituted originally by Alexander VI. to screen a corrupt court from hostile criticism, but which has been too often used to check the course of scientific and religious thought, and has only of late years ceased to be odious because it is felt to be impotent. It has succeeded however, in union with the censorship, even more completely than the Spanish Inquisition in its own country, in preventing the creation of a native literature at Rome, or even the desire for it. Latin theology and French novels are the staple commodity of Roman booksellers; and the latter, which however immoral do not often dabble in heresy, form the staple reading of such Romans as care to read at all. 'Ninety-'nine in every hundred,' says Dr. Döllinger, 'had never, either 'before or after the revolution, taken a book or newspaper in 'their hands;' and he thus describes the intellectual condition of the Papal States:—'The state to which we are 'brought is this — that in the finest, and mentally, most richly 'endowed part of Italy, we are absolutely without any literature

'—nothing now appears but a few volumes on archeological 'subjects and local histories — not a line of the slightest im- 'portance upon science and general literature.' He might have added that the best works on Catholic theology emanate from Germany, not from Rome. Can we wonder, after this, at the intellectual condition of exclusively Catholic as contrasted with Protestant countries? The whole working of the '*prelatura*' system is another case in point, but to that we have alluded elsewhere. So again the method of training in the Roman ecclesiastical colleges may be admirably adapted to produce willing and submissive tools, mere passive instruments of a centralised theocratic bureaucracy, but it is very ill calculated to inform the intellect or mould character. It makes machines, not men; and when tried on minds of a higher order, whether of genius or individuality, is apt to drive them not only from the ministry but the communion of their Church, as was exemplified in the person of the late Dr. Wolff (who has told the story in his own characteristic way), and more recently in the case of the distinguished philologist, M. Rénan, who was educated for a priest. The mark of intellectual depression may be traced on the very faces of the ecclesiastical students as they pace, two and two, along the streets of Rome. There is another point which we would touch with a delicate hand, but which cannot altogether be passed over here. We are not going to enter on any discussion of the theory of asceticism or the relative value of the contemplative and active life. But we think most educated Roman Catholics will agree with us, that a great multiplication in any country at the present time of monastic establishments, richly endowed and with no active duties attached to them, is not only a drain on its material and moral resources, but an element of weakness rather than of strength to the Church herself, by the encouragement held out to idleness or other secondary motives short of what would be considered a real 'vocation,' to evade the service whether of Church or State. Dr. Döllinger is severe, in common with other writers of his communion, and not without some justice, on the forcible suppression of monasteries under Henry VIII. But he should remember that nearly every Catholic country has subsequently followed the example of Protestant England. The wealthy abbeys of France fell in the first Revolution, and not too soon if we may trust the unexceptionable testimony of Montalembert. Religious endowments in Spain and a great part of Italy have been confiscated; and those best acquainted with the moral state of the rich Benedictine monasteries which still survive in the Austrian Empire will not be disposed to

quote the exception in disparagement of the wisdom of the general rule. Nor is the reason far to seek. Many of the functions discharged by the mediæval abbey have passed into other hands, since knowledge has no longer been confined to the university or the cloister. Schools, institutes, almshouses, and all the varied appliances of modern instruction and modern charity share the work once performed, so far as it was performed at all, by the monks. Numberless openings, again, for secular enterprise and talent exist now, whereas in the Middle Ages the army was almost the only profession for a layman. These, and other causes which need not be dwelt upon here, have materially changed the relation of the monastery to the nation and the Church. It is a fact, that the immense number of such establishments in the Papal States, and the extent of landed property belonging to them, has converted great part of the country into a wilderness, and is one main cause of the extreme unpopularity of the Government. The release of the lands held in mortmain, which has recently contributed to restore prosperity to Spain, is even more urgently needed in Pontifical dominions. It is an economical reform which ought to precede all others. But economical reforms cannot be separated from that moral reformation which is not less needed in the monastic establishments of Rome. We happen to know on good authority that scarcely a single Dominican monastery in Italy — and the same is probably true of others — keeps strictly to its professed rule. If devotional retirement be the highest ideal of Christian perfection — a point we are not concerned with here — an otiose seclusion from the active duties and responsibilities of life, where religious observances are neglected too, is certainly one of the lowest. We shall not rake up the foul insinuations often made against the internal condition of these communities, but it is obvious to remark, that nowhere is the Aristotelian alternative (we purposely leave it untranslated), *ἢ θήριον ἢ θεὸς*, more surely verified than here. In what Roman Catholic divines have termed the 'angelic life' there can be no middle position between the ardour of intense devotion and the miserable littlenesses, both moral and intellectual, which sink beneath the dignity of human nature, to say nothing of those darker currents of feeling which are apt to run riot in the vacant heart. Blanco White's terrible experiences as a nuns' confessor show that such possibilities are something more than a surmise. On the whole, then, we conceive that if the fall of the Papal temporalities should involve a considerable diminution in the number and wealth of their monastic establishments, such a

change would brace more than it would cripple the active energies of the Church.

Another point connected with the Papal *Curia* is the dominant Italianism, if we may use the word, which for the last three centuries has increasingly prevailed in the Latin Church, shaping her theology, her policy, and her whole religious life. And the reason is clear enough. The Teutonic and Romance races, though descended from a common Aryan stock, represent two opposite poles of national character, or rather the two principles which, under various forms, have in every age striven for the mastery. To the Teutonic race belongs energy, self-assertion, a keen sense of individual rights and duties; the passive virtues of reverence and submission are the inheritance of the Romance nations. Dr. Döllinger has insisted so strongly on the benefits which accrue to the Church from the infusion of fresh blood, as each new nationality enters her pale and contributes another element to the common life, that he will probably admit the comparative withdrawal of the Teutonic element at the period of the Reformation (for broadly speaking, the Romance nations alone continued Catholic,) to have been even more injurious as a moral than as a numerical loss. The Western Church, it is true, had inherited much, both of her canon law and her traditional polity, from the Roman Empire, whose indelible impress is also stamped on the civil law of every European State. But previously to the Reformation, this Latin influence had been counterbalanced by the successive accretion of various new elements of national life. Since then it has almost exclusively predominated, and naturally finds its stronghold in an absolute bureaucratic court, at once the centre of ecclesiastical government, and at the head of a petty Italian State. It is clearly unsuitable that the spiritual chief of a 'world-church,' as our author is fond of calling it, should always be chosen from one nation, and he has himself pointed out how in the Middle Ages the German Popes were the salvation of the Church. But it is natural that a Pope who is also an Italian Sovereign should be an Italian, and that the Cardinals who are to form his court should be mostly selected from the same nation. We cannot pause to trace out this Italianism into its detailed results, affecting the political action, the devotional and theological literature, of the Roman Church, especially moral theology, and giving to all the colouring of a particular national temperament. To take but one instance, it has been matter of regret to many of her own members that the theology of Liguori should have given its tone to her whole moral teaching,—a writer who is, to say

the least, singularly lax on questions such as strict veracity to which Englishmen are accustomed to attach a high importance. We do not say that any change in the internal policy of the Roman Catholic Church would wholly repair the moral losses of the Reformation, but she still retains her hold over a considerable part of Germany, and a certain proportion of the Anglo-Saxon race both in England and America; and there would obviously be room for other than Italian influences, when the necessity had ceased to exist for an Italian *Curia* and an Italian Pope.

No one who has carefully watched the march of events in Italy, both before and since the campaign of 1859, can doubt that the interests of religion there have been seriously compromised by its seeming identification with civil despotism. It is not a little remarkable that the most strenuous advocates of the temporal power of the Pope have also been the clamorous apologists of the dethroned Italian sovereigns, especially the Neapolitan Bourbons. Yet the late Government of Naples, justly described ten years ago by a conservative statesman as the 'negation of God,' was anything but submissive to the Holy See, of which it was on canonical theory a feudal dependency. Ecclesiastics were in high honour at Court, but their services were used much as our own Stuarts used the Church of England, as an instrument of police. It is a fact that the wretched inmates of the crowded Neapolitan dungeons refused the consolations of religion at the hands of the Jesuits, not, as was insinuated, because they were unbelievers, but because they distrusted men supposed to be in league with the Government, while they gladly accepted the ministry, when it chanced to be offered, of priests not labouring under a similar suspicion. Nor can we be surprised, when it is known that the confessional at Naples was prostituted in the interests of the reigning despotism, and even the seal of secrecy imposed under most awful sanctions on the Roman Catholic confessor could not always be relied upon. To attempt to bolster up religion by an alliance with despotic power is indeed to lean upon a broken reed; but it has been the unwisdom of a certain school of churchmen in every age to do so, and the ultramontane admirers of Francis II. are but re-enacting on a less respectable platform the character of a Laud or an Atterbury. It is peculiarly inconsistent in them to do so, considering that what Pius VII. in the Bull *Ecclesia Christi* in 1801 implied, Gregory XVI. in 1831 expressly declared in reply to the legitimist clergy, viz., that the Church recognised none but *de facto* Governments. What is indifferent in France cannot be matter of principle in Italy, nor can the

rights of legitimacy become divine from their accidental coincidence with the supposed interests of the Church.

But the evil lies deeper still. There are times—as Count Montalembert had occasion three years ago to remind his ultramontane countrymen who were exulting over the cruelties perpetrated by heathen sepoys on the heretic English — when orthodox Catholics might hear with advantage a course of lectures on those 'virtues of the natural order' which underlie all forms of revealed religion.* A terrible responsibility rests on those who help to put asunder what God has joined together. And in Italy at present there is an unnatural divorce between the highest ideal of human excellence and the holier aspirations which inform the Christian heart. It is this which gives point to the leading argument of Father Passaglia's pamphlet, and will tell on those who care little for his patristic authorities or his political views. For it is no light thing that the millions of Italy should be practically told to choose between fidelity to their moral convictions and allegiance to their Church; that patriotism should be placed in antagonism to piety, and devotion to the cause of freedom be made to look incompatible with adherence to their ancestral creed. That land is in evil case whose greatest men are by the very fact of their greatness alienated from their religious faith.

We spoke just now of the exclusive Italianism of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation. But it must not be forgotten that Latin Christianity had its origin in a protest, not against the freedom and flexibility of the Teutonic spirit, but against the rigid immobility of the East. To a great extent, as Dr. Döllinger has shown in his sketch of the Oriental Communions, this contrast still holds good. But at the beginning the very speciality of the Latin Church lay in its vigorous and liberal adaptation of its whole method of teaching, ritual, and life to the varying exigencies of place and season. This has been so fully exhibited in Dean Milman's History, that to all acquainted with it (and what educated man is not?)

* The passage itself is worth putting on record. 'Pour ma part, 'je le dis sans détour, j'ai horreur de l'orthodoxie qui ne tient aucun 'compte de la justice et de la vérité, de l'humanité et de l'honneur; 'et je ne me lasse pas de répéter ces fortes et récentes paroles de 'l'Evêque de la Rochelle; "ne serait-ce pas bonne chose que de faire '"à plusieurs Catholiques un cours sur les vertus de l'ordre naturel, '"sur le respect dû au prochain, sur la loyauté même envers ses adver-'"saires, sur l'esprit de l'équité et de la charité." Les vertus de l'ordre 'naturel sont des vertus essentielles, dont l'Eglise elle-même ne dis-'pense pas.' (*Débat sur l'Inde*, p. 13.)

the very briefest reference will suffice. The abolition of infant communion, the postponement of confirmation to the age of reason, the substitution of pouring for immersion in the baptismal rite in the Western Church, are cases in point. A more conspicuous illustration of the difference may be found by comparing the history of Greek and Latin monasticism. The latter contains much indefensible to Protestant convictions, but it differs far more widely from the passive abstraction of the old Egyptian Laura, or the dull illiterate routine of the monasteries of Mount Athos. What they were from the first they are still. Empires and civilisations have risen and passed away; the existence of Christendom has been threatened from without and its unity broken from within; but the lapse of a thousand years has brought to their changeless solitudes no newer mission, no fuller light. Eastern monachism has lasted from the days of St. Antony to our own, but it has reckoned amongst its legislators no Benedict, no Dominic, no Francis; it reverences no Bernard, no Anselm, no Abelard, no Aquinas among its doctors or its saints. The last grand exhibition of this creative energy in the West was displayed in the institution of the Order of Jesuits in the sixteenth century, altering or omitting almost everything hitherto reputed a distinctive badge of the monastic state; but their day has gone by, and as yet no successor has appeared to claim the inheritance of the future. When we ask, then, that in points which none of her members can profess to regard as essential the Roman Catholic Church shall consent to accommodate her action to the altered conditions of the modern world, we are simply asking her to fall back on her own truer and better instincts. Her champions point with a justifiable pride to her earlier triumphs in proof of her superiority to the schismatic East; let them learn to deserve that praise, and not be content to reap where they have not sown. Let them strive to emulate the temper of the thirteenth Gregory, who, in his famous reform of the Calendar, adopted gradually and after not very creditable misgivings by all the Protestant nations of Europe, placed himself in the vanguard of the civilisation of his own day.

Dr. Döllinger's idea of the reformation essential in the Papal States, and the manner in which it may be most probably accomplished, shall be summarised in his own words from the second of his Munich Lectures:—

'The thought here forces itself upon me, that the Church State had its beginning with the German Empire; and it may well be affirmed that the fall of that empire inflicted a wound on the Roman State from which it is still bleeding. The Emperor was the armed

"Protector" of the Papal See—on him lay the duty of wielding the sword, and when the Popes took this on themselves it was either a mistake or an act of the direst necessity. And although the Empire had long presented only the shadow of the old idea and purpose, yet was it to the last the prop and centre of the ancient political order of Europe, and covered with its majesty the Papal See as a member engrafted upon the United Roman Empire. If, with the Empire, an outward stay has fallen, inwardly the State is sickening under the false relations in which "an ecclesiastical administration" necessarily stands to a modern system of statesmanship. It is difficult to reject the opinion that lay hands are better suited to direct the action of state and police, with their manifold increasing material wants and cares,—they are better suited than those of priests for a police and administrative omnipotence, a care for lotteries, theatres, gaming-houses, and houses of public entertainment, for managing passports and manufactories. It is, indeed, frequently asserted that the Pope, as an ecclesiastical prince, *must* commit the administration to ecclesiastical officers. This necessity, however, is not very evident. At least, the ecclesiastical sovereignties of Germany, to which Bellarmine appealed in justification of the Pope's temporal dignity, afford no parallel. The prince-bishops and ecclesiastical electors never hesitated to govern their countries through the instrumentality of lay ministers, chancellors, councillors, employés, and judges.' (Pp. 464–5.)

And for the method of bringing about this change:—

'That the Pope should be obliged to quit Rome, and take up his abode for a time in some other Catholic country. Rome, and the remainder of the States of the Church, would be forthwith incorporated with the new Piedmontese kingdom. It is self-evident that all those arrangements which the Papal Government thinks it cannot grant would be immediately introduced—the secularisation would be complete. The whole present order of things would be passed over as with a sponge; the clergy, as in all other parts of Europe, with the abolition of all privileges burdensome and offensive to other classes, would, like other citizens, be placed under the common law; and herewith the main source of the dislike of the people to the priesthood be put an end to. Then, when the germ of decay which the new Italian Kingdom bears in its bosom developes itself, and the return of the Pope to Rome, and the resurrection of the whole State of the Church, or a part of it, takes place, the Pope will find "accomplished facts"; he will enter upon an entirely altered position; he will be the head of an administration entirely, or in great part, secular in its members, and whose precedent condition, or the forcing back into forms now dead, it would be as unwise as difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish.' (P. 468.)

From another passage, already referred to, we gather that the author would wish the Papal Court to take up its residence during this interregnum in Germany. No doubt if any such sweeping reform as is here sketched out were ever to be accom-

plished, it could only be after a temporary interruption of the Papal Government. But, differing as we do widely from the writer as to the 'germ of decay' supposed to be inherent in the Italian Kingdom, we see no reason to believe that an interruption, if it once took place, would not become permanent; nor does the experience of the past at all bear out his confident expectation that, were the old government to be restored, the old abuses of the ecclesiastical administration would not reappear with it. Everything was 'passed over as with a sponge' at the deposition of Pius VII., but the policy of Consalvi was as little marked as Antonelli's by that wisdom which is learnt in the school of adversity.* Dr. Döllinger has hinted, though without approving it, at the possibility of the question being submitted to a Congress of the Catholic Powers. Whether Rome, or at least the ecclesiastical portion of the city on the right bank of the Tiber, might be put somewhat in the position of Frankfort or Washington, as a free city exempt from the jurisdiction of the King of Italy, in which the Pope might hold his court and retain the dignity and *status* of a sovereign; or what other arrangements might be entered into for securing his independence of action as head of the Church, and an ample revenue for sustaining the expenses of his court at home or abroad, is a question which it would be premature to discuss here, till the two contracting parties, the Holy See and the Italian Government, have themselves come to some understanding about it. What is essential is that the independence and dignity of the Papal See should be placed on a fixed and permanent basis secured against constant fluctuations of sentiment in the Italian Parliament; and this, as a matter of European interest, might fairly be guaranteed by the European Powers. The civil government of the Papal States is an Italian question, and one which the Italians alone are competent to decide upon. Should they desire to replace it in the hands of the Pope, nobody will have any right to object;

* It is worth bearing in mind that three of the points made special matter of complaint in the Exposition attached to the famous Allocution of January 1855 against the Sardinian Government were: 1. The introduction of freedom of the press. 2. The toleration of Protestant worship. 3. The subjection of the clergy in secular matters to the ordinary jurisdiction of the civil or criminal courts. The last point was established in the Siccardi law, for assenting to which Santa Rosa was on his deathbed deprived of the sacraments. Yet Dr. Döllinger considers that all these reforms, which a few years ago elicited excommunications against a neighbouring government, might without difficulty be introduced into the Papal States themselves. See pp. 424. 432–3. 398, &c.

but till they manifest such a desire, nobody has the right to demand it. And they, it may be presumed, are not likely to forget that the experiment of an unreformed and a reformed Papal Government have been successively tried, and both alike have failed. From the restoration of Pius VII. to the death of Gregory XVI. it was sought to perpetuate the old traditional *régime*, deteriorated as it was by the admixture of some of the worst features of modern French bureaucracy. The statesman-like genius of Consalvi, and the single-minded energy of Leo XII., a despotic sovereign but a reforming Pope, did but leave to Gregory XVI. a kingdom honey-combed by secret societies, and a reign disturbed by almost ceaseless conspiracies. 'From 'the accession of Pius IX. in June 1846,'—we are quoting from Mr. Gladstone's Preface to his Translation of Farini's History of the Roman States,—'a second era commenced; and the 'question now became this; whether it was possible to remove 'the crying oppressions and abuses of the old system and to 'establish constitutional freedom, retaining at the same time any 'effective sovereignty in the Papal chair.' How that ended we all know; and the excesses of the Roman Revolution in 1848 are a significant comment on the results of the former system of government. We have already said that the ecclesiastical independence of the Holy See must in any case be properly secured, but those who maintain that it cannot be otherwise secured than by the material guarantee of the temporal sovereignty would do well to remember that the present Pope was preparing the definition of the Immaculate Conception, the most remarkable dogmatic act of the Church of Rome since the Tridentine Council, while an exile at Gaeta; and was scarcely reseated by French intervention on his temporal throne, when he achieved, in his edict constituting the Papal hierarchy in this country, an exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction unparalleled since the Reformation, unless perhaps by the somewhat similar act of Pius VII. in redistributing the dioceses of France.

We have already more than once had occasion to refer to Father Passaglia's pamphlet 'Pro Causa Italica,' and we may as well give our readers a sketch, though it must be a very brief one, of the contents of so singular a document. After a preface occupied in vindicating the right of priests, and even laymen, by testimony both of Scripture and Fathers, to speak on matters affecting the general interests of the Church, no less than bishops, he proceeds to describe, on the authority of St. Augustine, in what the proper unity of the Church consists. This unity is endangered by the hostility of the Italians, not to the doctrines or rulers of the Church, as such, but to the line adopted by the latter in

temporal policy '*in scandalum gubernandorum ut membra Christi* '*crudeli divisione lanientur*,' inconsistently with their pastoral duties, and forgetful that bishops were ordained for man and not man for the bishops. He then traces the source and centre of unity to the divine primacy of St. Peter, giving the usual patristic quotations. But unity requires the adhesion of flocks to their pastors, and in Italy they are separated; the prelates have forgotten St. Augustine's warning that excommunication should only be used, even against notorious evil doers, where there is no danger of schism, and that an unjust excommunication recoils on him who pronounces it. And why do they fight against the new kingdom? Because it is accused of injustice in disregarding the rights of the Italian princes, and of impiety in attacking the temporalities of the Holy See. But the injustice of the revolution is, to say the least, *doubtful*, and moreover it has always been the principle of the Church to recognise *de facto* Governments. As regards the impiety of attacking the temporal power, the author maintains that the declarations of Pius IX. on the subject are of a mutable not a dogmatic character; and that the obligation of his oaths to preserve it may be modified or suspended by circumstances, such as impossibility of keeping them, or inexpediency for the good of the Church, for which alone they were imposed. He ends by strenuously repudiating on religious grounds the notion that the civil sovereignty is necessary or even beneficial for sustaining the dignity and independence of the Supreme Pontiff. Such, in a few words, is the substance of Passaglia's pamphlet, which is garnished with copious extracts, chiefly from the Scriptures and St. Augustine. We may add that a very considerable section of the Catholic priesthood of the Kingdom of Italy has actually given in its adhesion to the opinions of which Father Passaglia is the chief representative; and we are informed that a declaration to this effect has been signed by no less than *eight thousand* Italian priests of different orders in the Church.

'A free Church in a free State' is Passaglia's ideal; to the Prince de Broglie it is an idle dream.* We may of course readily admit that the manifold and complicated relations of Church and State cannot be reduced to an exhaustive formula, and may even be said to comprehend, under one or other of its various aspects, almost every important department of moral and social life. From the days of Constantine to our own this same question, ever recurring in some new form, has perplexed

* See an article in the 'Correspondant' for October 25. 1861, 'La Souveraineté Pontificale et la Liberté.'

the brains and distracted the policy alike of statesmen and divines. But M. de Broglie does not appear to recollect that it is worse than folly for the belligerents in an internecine domestic strife to refuse even to listen to proposals for negotiation because it may be found troublesome to settle the details. We are not concerned, as we said before, to draw up the terms of a Concordat between the Holy See and the Italian Kingdom; but if it is difficult to arrange the conditions on which the two rival Powers shall consent to dwell peaceably together, it is far worse that they should remain in a state of chronic hostility; nor do we see what the Church has to gain by 'contesting 'the shreds of a power which is escaping her grasp.' To our mind a writer who professes himself at once a liberal in politics and a devoted adherent of the Papacy would be better employed in smoothing than in seeking to exaggerate the difficulties of a crisis which involves the dearest interests of political liberty and of the Roman See. Moreover, the line of argument he has adopted, if it proves anything proves too much. It is not in Italy alone but in every Christian country that the civil and ecclesiastical authority are brought into contact, and it may be collision, with one another; and we do not see how, for instance, the marriage law of Holland, or the exemption of the French clergy from the conscription, can be affected one way or the other by the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. We are far from ascribing to so able a writer a theory which he has explicitly disclaimed, and which, probably, the extremest ultramontanist in the present day would shrink from openly avowing, but what his reasoning really implies is, that the Pope should be the sovereign not of the Romagna but the world. As every question on which the State adjudicates may also be brought within the range of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, we must recur to the famous mediæval argument about the 'two swords,' and the 'greater 'and lesser light,' and add to the authority of scriptural types the plea of human necessity to prove that the kingdoms of this world are of right the kingdoms of the Pope. But many difficulties which look insoluble on paper find a ready solution when brought to the test of practice. Let us instance a point M. de Broglie has referred to, and which, from its double character of a civil contract and an ecclesiastical sacrament, is confessedly one of the standing causes of quarrel between Church and State—we mean the law of marriage. In England, as in many other countries, the law of the land allows divorce *a vinculo* in certain cases; Roman Catholics are precluded by the rules of their Church from availing themselves of that permission. But the religious obligation rests, and can only rest in the last resort, on

their own consciences. The day has gone by when the dogmas or the laws of the Church could be enforced by civil penalties, nor is reverence for them likely to be increased by the spectacle of an exceptional Inquisition bearing rule in one region of Italy.

But then, we are told, 'in modern Europe the whole legal 'state of the Catholic religion rests upon Concordats.' Be it so, though we believe the Roman Catholic Church is nowhere so free as in the British Empire, where there are no Concordats. But when it is added that 'the chief basis of these Concor-'dats is the Pontifical Sovereignty' (of the Papal States,) we demur to such a plea. Why cannot Concordats be made with a Pope whose independence is secured without his being the ruler of an earthly kingdom? Which was most powerful in Europe Gregory I. or Gregory XVI.? Who made his spiritual influence most widely felt, Pius VII. in his prison, or Leo X. on his throne? As long as some two hundred million Catholics recognise the Pope as their common father, it will be not the duty only but the obvious interest of States to guarantee his ecclesiastical independence against the reality or the suspicion of improper influence; and to say that no other security can be devised but a temporal sovereignty is in flat contradiction both to reason and experience. Papal States have not once but often been invaded; and pledges may surely be enforced which it is the common interest to observe, though destitute of the 'material guarantee' of a State dependent for its defence on foreign arms. It is no answer to say that other Governments would not accord to the Roman Catholic hierarchies in their respective countries the independence and inviolability claimed for the Papal Court. The cases are not parallel. A Concordat made by any State with the Holy See is made for the sake of its own Catholic subjects, and is therefore, in fact, made with *them*. If it included demands deemed inconsistent with national welfare, it would be rejected whether by a French or an Italian Government, and rejected equally whether the Pope had or had not a civil sovereignty of his own. His independence is required, not to insure the acceptance of his demands—that would require him to have a universal monarchy—but to insure his freedom in proposing them. It is said that the Italian Government cannot be trusted, because the Archbishops of Turin, Pisa, and Naples, and some fifty other bishops, have already incurred civil punishment. And why have they incurred it? Not on any spiritual ground, but because they obstinately adhered to a political course, which Prince de Broglie considers essential to the weal of the Church,

but which placed them in direct antagonism, not to the religion but the patriotism of their countrymen. It was as impossible for the Italian Government to tolerate such a course in them as it was for the Government of William III. to tolerate Archbishop Sancroft while persisting in his allegiance to the Stuarts.

The notion that a Pope who had ceased to be a sovereign would be regarded as more of a 'stranger' by foreign governments, scarcely seems to require serious refutation. He might, no doubt, misuse his influence or his resources in the interest of the Italian Kingdom, just as the present Pope is popularly believed to have given moral and material support to Francis II. against the wishes of other States. The writer cannot be ignorant that subjection to a foreign potentate has always been one of the main causes of jealousy against the Papal hierarchies of other countries.

A Free Church is, no doubt, a difficult idea to realise in a state governed on that bureaucratic system, the bequest of the *ancien régime* to the French Revolution, which the Prince de Broglie confidently assumes to be spreading, in imitation of France, over the whole of Europe; in strange oblivion, surely, of that portion of Europe comprised in the British Empire, where Napoleonic ideas are far more consistently repudiated than in the United States, to which he refers as the sole exception in the present day. We cannot wonder that, with his recent experience of the arbitrary action of his own government in religious concerns, he should shrink from the prospect of the French Church becoming 'a great Society of 'St. Vincent of Paul, and nothing more.' It is not easy to reconcile either corporate or individual freedom with French principles of administration; but even so, we are unable to understand why agreements, Concordats if you will, between the Government and the Holy See should be less possible, if the latter, though still representing the Church of Rome, had ceased to represent a small Italian kingdom. Of the imminent dangers and crying evils of the *status quo* of the Roman Question, from whatever point of view it may be looked at, M. de Broglie says not a word. But we may venture to remind him that it is *not* to 'a philosophical formula, an abstract principle,' that the Holy See is invited to sacrifice its temporal sovereignty, but to the demands of a whole people yearning for national unity and independence, and already beginning to be estranged in sympathy from the only religion they really believe in, by the political attitude of their Church.

This essay is throughout a homily on the oracular fallacy first uttered in the French Chambers, 'that the temporal and

'spiritual power must be united at Rome, in order that they may 'be separated everywhere else;' and its whole argument is based on the assumption—a strange one for a zealous Catholic to make—that with the fall of the temporal power the Roman See, or rather the Roman Catholic Church, would cease to have any corporate and substantive existence as an authority which could hold its own against the encroachments of the civil power in religious matters. If this is what constitutes the leading distinction between Catholic and Protestant Churches, as seems to be implied in one passage, we hardly expected to be told so by a believer in the supremacy of St. Peter and the divine perpetuity of the Roman Church. To sum up in one word our reply to Prince de Broglie, we would say this:—The Papal independence must ultimately rest upon the convictions of the Catholic conscience, for no guarantee which does not presuppose this basis is even conceivable in the present state of society. As long as those convictions support the Roman See, it has nothing to gain from the possession of a temporal sovereignty; and if they failed to support it, a contingency not very likely to occur, no temporal power could galvanize it into a second life. By these means Christianity conquered its place among the nations of the earth, and by this test every religion must be content to stand or fall. Its moral influence is the measure of its spiritual authority.

To return to Dr. Döllinger. It forms no part of our design to enter on theological controversy, and we shall therefore touch but cursorily on his 'panoramic survey' of the different extra-Papal Communions of Christendom. Before doing so, however, we gladly seize the opportunity of extracting the following passage on the spirit in which all such controversies should be carried on:—

'Upon the day when, on both sides, the conviction shall arise, vivid and strong, that Christ really desires the unity of his Church, that the division of Christendom, the multiplicity of Churches, is displeasing to God—that he who helps to prolong this situation must answer for it to the Lord—on that day four-fifths of the traditional polemics of Protestants against the Catholic Church will, with one blow, be cast aside, like chaff and rubbish; for four-fifths of it consist of misunderstandings, logomachies, and wilful falsifications; or relate to personal, and therefore accidental things, which are utterly inconsistent where only principles and dogmas are at stake. On that day also much will be changed on the Catholic side. Thenceforward the personal character of Luther and of the Reformers will be no more dragged forward in the pulpit. The clergy, mindful of the words "*Interficite errores, diligite homines,*" will ever conduct themselves towards members of other Churches in conformity with the rules of

charity, and will therefore assume, in all cases where there are no clear proofs to the contrary, the *bona fides* of opponents. They will never forget that no man is convinced and won over by bitter words and violent attacks, but that every one is rather repelled by them. Warned by the words of the Epistle to the Romans (xiv. 13.), they will be more careful than heretofore to give to their separated brethren no scandal, no grounds of accusation against the Church. In popular instruction and in religious life they will accordingly make the great truths of salvation the centre of all their teaching; they will not treat secondary things in life and doctrine as though they were of the first importance, but, on the contrary, they will keep alive in the people the consciousness that such things are but means to an end, and are only of inferior consequence and subsidiary value. Until that day shall dawn upon Germany, it is our duty as Catholics, in the words of Cardinal Diepenbrock, "to bear the religious "separation in a spirit of penance, for guilt incurred in common." We must acknowledge that here also God has caused much good, as well as much evil, to proceed from the errors of men, from the contests and passions of the sixteenth century; we must too admit that the anxiety of the German nation to see the intolerable abuses and scandals in the Church removed was fully justified; and that it sprung from the better qualities of our people, and from their moral indignation at the desecration and corruption of holy things, which were degraded to selfish and hypocritical purposes. We do not refuse to admit that the great separation, and the storms and sufferings connected with it, were an awful judgment upon Catholic Christendom, which clergy and laity had but too well deserved—a judgment which has had an improving and salutary effect. The great intellectual conflict has purified the European atmosphere, has impelled the human mind on to new courses, and has promoted a rich, scientific, and literary life. Protestant theology, with its restless spirit of inquiry, has gone along by the side of the Catholic, exciting and awakening, warming and vivifying; whilst every exalted Catholic theologian will readily admit that he owes much to the writings of Protestant scholars. We have also to acknowledge that in the Church the rust of abuses, and of a mechanical superstition, is always forming afresh; that the servants of the Church, sometimes, through indolence and incapacity, and the people through ignorance, brutify the spiritual in religion, and so degrade and deform and misemploy it to their own injury. The right reforming spirit must therefore never depart from the Church, but, on the contrary, must periodically break out with renovating strength, and penetrate the conscience and the will of the clergy.' (Pp. 16–18.)

We are very far from intending to charge the writer with oblivion of his own principles, but we must, nevertheless, point out some of the more glaring inaccuracies into which he has fallen in dealing with the religious and social condition of England. In doing so we do not forget that it is always difficult for a foreigner to estimate correctly the state of a

country with which he is not personally acquainted, and this is perhaps especially true of our own. To those who know the realities of English life, not from books and newspapers, but from their own experience, much which Dr. Döllinger has written on the subject will read rather like a clever but broad caricature than a simple sketch. Thus, to tell us that the religion of the Established Church is that of 'deportment, of 'gentility, of clerical reserve,' language which reminds us strongly of some of the more epigrammatic passages in Dr. Newman's controversial lectures, may be effective sarcasm, but is hardly in place in a sober historical sketch by a German professor. There might be some truth fifty years ago in saying that the Anglican Clergy were 'lecturers and nothing more,' but Dr. Döllinger ought to be aware that it is the reverse of being true now; neither is his inference from the absence of the Confessional that there is no intercourse between the clergyman and the lower classes of his flock, at all more correct. That great masses of the town population are still untouched by any spiritual influence is unfortunately true, but that no attempts have been made to grapple with them, or that there has not been a very marked increase both in zeal and actual results of late years, is not true. In another respect the writer is entirely mistaken, when he supposes that the lower orders in this country prefer the ministrations of men taken from their own class to those of gentlemen. The contrary is notoriously the case. Just as our soldiers prefer to obey officers who are gentlemen, so do the English poor prefer the services of ministers taken from a higher social class; and it must not be forgotten that in England the class of gentry extends over a much wider area then in continental countries. If the poor often flock to the Dissenting chapel rather than to the parish church, it is not because they like to listen to a preacher of their own rank, but because the sermon at church is too often (by no means universally as our author seems to imply) 'a speech or 'essay,' which shoots over their heads and fails to touch their hearts. Those very persons, however, who resort to the Dissenting chapel will in most cases, even in towns, send for the Anglican parson when they are sick or dying. They know the value of a man of education and refinement in their greatest trials and emergencies. It is a further misapprehension to imagine that curates are a distinct order from the beneficed clergy and derived from a lower class, instead of its being a stage of clerical life through which all, with a few exceptions, must pass, though many remain in it to the end. And Dr. Döllinger

should remember that our worst abuses of church patronage were more than equalled in the Church of France before 1789.

If he has a keen eye for the weak points of the Establishment, he has also failed to do justice to the real merits of the Dissenters. A writer so familiar with English periodical literature should know that the 'Saturday Review' is not the most impartial authority on Mr. Spurgeon's preaching, nor the 'Union' on the 'semi-infidelity' of Broad Church theology. Nor can a pamphlet on 'National Holidays,' by Lord John Manners, written twenty years ago in all the fervour of Young Englandism, be quoted as evidence of the degraded condition of the English poor. We must observe further that the Doctor's strictures on the moral condition of England cannot fairly be urged in a controversial sense, unless he is prepared to contrast them with the phenomena of Catholic countries. In candour, courage, enterprise, and self-reliance our author seems to admit that we conspicuously bear the palm. On the whole we feel sure that should he have opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with our social and religious life, and of mixing freely with both Anglicans and Dissenters, while his view of the ecclesiastical position of those bodies would remain unchanged, he would see reason to retract, or at least greatly to modify, much that he has written of their actual state, and would be willing to admit that, whatever may be the defects of English society or English morality, we should have little to gain and much to lose by exchanging them for the happy equality of France, or the moral purity of Naples.

His sketch of Protestant Germany has more intrinsic evidence of reality, and is founded doubtless on a deeper knowledge. So too in all probability is his brief account of the Russian and Oriental Churches, which is but too well borne out by general testimony, though conceived in a less generous and hopeful spirit than Dr. Stanley's recent volume on the subject. It is due, however, to him to say, and it is one of the happiest signs for the future of religious controversy, that he has generally manifested a most laudable desire, in conformity with his own professed principles, to treat opponents with candour, and in defending the cause of his own Church, neither to press unreal and fictitious claims, nor to sacrifice to ecclesiastical interests the laws of morality and justice. We have already noticed his method of dealing with the Canon Law. Another example may be found in his pointed disclaimer of the right or duty of persecution as a principle of the Church; in this sense he quotes both Leo the Great, and the present Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, who affirms summarily as an axiom, that 'the Pope

'only addresses conscience.' Similarly, the deposing power and the detestable notion that oaths made to heretics are invalid, are expressly rejected. And it is gratifying to find an eminent Catholic divine insisting that the German Reformation owed its origin not to what was worst but to what was best and truest in the feelings of the people, and was a chastisement deserved by the practical corruptions of the clergy, and in part beneficial; for the 'reforming spirit must never depart from the 'Church.'

Our readers will have perceived that we have here treated this question rather as it affects the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and therefore of Christian society, of which that Church forms so considerable a moiety, than from the standpoint of historical right and justice, or in its immediate bearings on the future of Italy. We have done so advisedly, both because we have on two former occasions dwelt separately on those aspects of the question*, and because everything that can be said has been said over and over again, and said too conclusively to admit of adequate reply, in defence of the Italian national movement. One argument alone could be urged against it with any shadow of reason, and that was the plea of the interests or exigencies of the Church. To this argument we have addressed ourselves now. And here it may be well to notice, in conclusion, an objection sometimes urged from the opposite side, which appears to us to betray an extraordinary misconception of the real state of the case. The fact, we are told, that all things continue at Rome as they were a twelvemonth or two years ago, and that the Pope still retains possession of his capital, is a striking confutation of the fears of his friends and the confident predictions of his enemies. Both parties had anticipated a speedier issue, and continued possession, under such adverse circumstances, is in itself an augury of eventual triumph. To ourselves such reasoning seems something more than infelicitous. As a material fact, it is true, the Temporal Power survives, though in a mutilated form; but, as a moral influence, it grows weaker every day while the Pope allows himself to be maintained by French bayonets, against the muttered disaffection of his subjects and the deepening indignation of the Italian people, whose righteous claims can be met with no more intelligible rejoinder than the eternal '*non possumus*' of Antonelli. The French army remains at Rome, and therefore the nominal sovereignty of the Pope continues; but its bitterest enemies could desire

* See Art. on 'Patrimony of St. Peter,' Ed. Rev. July 1860; 'Kingdom of Italy,' January 1861.

for it no more fatal predicament than a temporary maintenance of the *status quo.* Though it would be hazardous to conjecture the secret springs of action which guide the policy of Louis Napoleon, it may safely be assumed that he is not actuated by any special devotion to the Papacy for its own sake. It is highly probable that the French occupation of Rome will be indefinitely prolonged: but who does not see that it is prolonged not for any papal or spiritual object in Rome, but for party and political purposes in France? No other Catholic Power has come forward with offers of effective aid in this its hour of extremest need. No voice, save from a clique of French and English obscurantists, has been raised in its defence. The collection of Peter's pence which at best can only be regarded as a precarious make-shift, is the expression of a spiritual allegiance. The greatest theologians of the Roman Church are coldly silent, or give open utterance to their disapprobation, or their doubts. One champion, indeed, has appeared from an unexpected quarter, in the person of the distinguished Protestant statesman, M. Guizot. But never was that brilliant writer less persuasive in his words. His remarks on the religious condition of modern society, and the anxieties it must cause to a sincere believer in Revelation, will come home to many hearts; but when he goes on to base on those considerations a plea for the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, it is difficult to trace the connecting links of the argument; and it becomes evident, as it proceeds, that if the author speaks as an earnest Christian, he speaks also as a Frenchman jealous for the honour and aggrandisement of his country, who foresees a possible rival or antagonist in an united Italy. With this solitary exception, we are not aware that the Temporal Power has made a single fresh convert to its cause. The Italian clergy, secular and regular, are divided, and many of the most devoted and learned among them are openly opposed to it.

The friends of the Papacy may rest assured that they cannot do it a greater disservice than by staking its future as a spiritual Power in Christendom on a retention of its secular claims. That a great future lies before it is still possible, if only it will accept the new conditions imposed by modern society and modern thought, and adapt itself to the requirements of the nineteeth century, as it did, under Gregory the Great, to the wants of the sixth, and under Hildebrand, to the wants of the eleventh. We are no believers in a coming ecclesiastical millennium, and can neither hold out to the zealous Catholic hopes of the reconversion of Protestant Europe to his faith; nor do we anticipate, with Professor Goldwin Smith, the fusion

of all rival churches in a common Christianity by the downfall of the spiritual supremacy of the Roman See. But though the distinction of Catholic and Protestant is never likely to cease, we do trust a day is approaching when the withdrawal on either side of exploded sophistries and obsolete claims will breed a more generous rivalry and a closer sympathy of action, if not of faith; when there will be as little disposition on one side to clothe the expressions of honest conviction in the distorted imagery of apocalyptic wrath, as on the other to 'reunite the chain of the 'past,' as was proposed the other day by the Archbishop of Toulouse, by a solemn commemoration of former religious massacres. 'For one hundred years past,' says Dr. Döllinger, 'the whole course of development in Europe has led to this— 'and we may see in it the hand of Divine Providence—that 'Protestants and Catholics have been approaching each other 'more and more.' Nothing is likelier to contribute to such a result than the cessation of the Temporal Power. It will remove from the Roman Catholic Church many causes of heart-burning and jealousy, and of scandal to those without her pale, without weakening by one iota her spiritual influence — indeed, it will probably increase it.

The importance of the present crisis to the religious interests of Europe it would not be easy to exaggerate. Let it be borne in mind that, while during the last few years vigorous attempts at proselytism have been made, with more zeal than discretion, no inclination towards Protestantism has manifested, or seems likely to manifest itself in Italy. On this point Protestant and Catholic testimony is agreed. All that has occurred there has but given additional force to Lord Macaulay's observation made many years ago, that, 'since the period of the Reformation, no 'Catholic country had lost its Catholicism without losing its 'Christianity too.' Let this be borne in mind, and then let it also be remembered, that for every month and every week the Pope remains at Rome, guarded by foreign bayonets against the legitimate political aspirations of an indignant people, reverence for his person and office, and, what is still more serious, for the faith of which he is the representative, is losing its hold on the Italian nation, and, in a lesser degree, on the Catholic populations of Europe.

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ART. I.—1. *Researches on the Solar Spectrum, and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements.* By G. KIRCHHOFF, Professor of Physics in the University of Heidelberg. Translated by HENRY E. ROSCOE, B.A., Professor of Chemistry in Owens College, Manchester. Cambridge and London: 1862.

2. *Chemical Analysis by Spectrum Observations.* By Professors BUNSEN and KIRCHHOFF. Memoirs I. & II. POGGENDORFF'S Annalen (Philosophical Magazine, 4th Series, vol. xx. p. 89., vol. xxii. p. 1.). London, Dublin, and Edinburgh.

IT is unnecessary to insist, at the present day, upon the incalculable value of discoveries in natural science, however abstruse they may be, or however far-distant may appear their practical application. If we put aside for the moment that highest of all intellectual gratifications afforded by the prosecution of truth in every form, the perception of which is one of the chief distinctions of human from mere brute life, and if we look to the results of scientific discovery in benefiting mankind, we find so many striking examples of the existence of truths apparently altogether foreign to our every-day wants, which suddenly become points of great interest to the material prosperity and the moral advancement of the race, that we are less apt to utter the vulgar cry of 'cui bono' respecting any scientific discovery; and if we are not advanced enough to love science for the sake of her truth alone, we at least respect her for the sake of the power she bestows. Not once, but oftentimes in the annals of science, it has turned out that discoveries of the most recondite truths have ere long found their application in the physical structure of the world, and even in the common interests of men; for in the range of scientific inves-

tigation, it can never be said how near the deepest principle lies to the simplest facts.

A great discovery in natural knowledge, for which no equivalent in direct benefit to mankind has as yet been found, but which nevertheless excites our liveliest interest and admiration, has lately been made in the rapidly advancing science of Chemistry. This discovery, which is one of the grandest and most important of all the recent additions to science, consists in the establishment of a new system of chemical analysis — of a new power to investigate the constitution of matter. This is of so delicate a nature, that, when applied to the examination of the substances composing our globe, it yields most new, interesting, and unlooked-for information. At the same time it is of so vast an application as to enable us to ascertain with certainty the presence in the solar atmosphere — at a distance of 95,000,000 miles — of metals, such as iron and magnesium, well known on this earth, and likewise to give us good hopes of obtaining similar knowledge concerning the composition of the fixed stars. Here, indeed, is a triumph of science! The weak mortal, confined within a narrow zone on the surface of our insignificant planet, stretches out his intellectual powers through unlimited space, and estimates the chemical composition of matter contained in the sun and fixed stars with as much ease and certainty as he would do if he could handle it, and prove its reactions in the test-tube.

How can this result, at first sight as marvellous and impossible as the discovery of the elixir vitæ or the philosophers' stone, be arrived at? How did two German philosophers, quietly working in their laboratory in Heidelberg, obtain this inconceivable insight into the processes of creation? Are the conclusions which they have arrived at logical consequences of bonâ fide observations and experiments — the only true basis of reasoning in physical science — or do they not savour somewhat of that mysticism for which our German friends are famous? Such questions as these will occur to all who hear of this discovery; and it will be our present aim, in reviewing the publications which are placed at the head of this article, to answer these and similar questions, and to show that, far from being mystical, these results are as clear as noon-day, being the plain and necessary deductions from exact and laborious experiment. And here we may express our satisfaction at the change which has occurred within the last few years in the direction given to the powerful intelligence and the indefatigable industry of Germany. The labours of the Germans in physical science have far surpassed in their results those speculative researches

which had rendered 'German philosophy' the synonym of all that was unintelligible and perplexing: and it is impossible to overrate the services which men like Liebig and Bunsen (the chemist) and Kirchhoff have rendered to mankind. In chemistry, Germany may now be said to take the lead of England, of France, and of Italy: already she has paid an ample contribution to the common stores of human knowledge. It is a remarkable circumstance that although for several years the once productive fields of German literature have been comparatively barren, or have at least presented us with no work of the highest order, the supply of German works on natural science is immense, and the quality of these works excellent.

The only channel through which we on the earth can obtain information of any kind whatever concerning the sun and stars, consists in the vivifying radiance which these luminaries pour forth into surrounding space. The light and heat which we receive from the sun not only supply the several varieties of force which we find in action upon the surface of the earth, thus rendering the whole human family truly children of the sun; but a knowledge of their nature enables us to ascertain the chemical composition of those far-distant bodies upon which the existence of our race so intimately depends. The examination of the nature of sunlight and starlight has led to the foundation of a science of stellar chemistry; and it is likewise upon the examination of the light given off by terrestrial matter, when through heat it becomes luminous, that the new method of spectrum analysis is founded — a method so delicate as to enable the analyst to detect with ease and certainty so minute a quantity as the $\frac{1}{180,000,000}$ part of a grain of substance.

The world owes to the great Newton its first knowledge of the nature of sunlight. In 1675 Newton presented to the Royal Society his ever-memorable treatise on Optics; and amongst the numerous important discoveries there disclosed and recorded, was one demonstrating the constitution of white light. He describes what he observed when he passed a beam of sunlight, from a hole in the shutter of a darkened room, through a triangular piece of glass called a prism. He noticed that, instead of a spot of white light corresponding to the hole in the shutter, a bright band of variously coloured lights, showing all the tints of the rainbow, was thrown on the wall of his room. Newton concluded that these colours were no peculiar effect of the prism, because a second prism did not produce a fresh alteration of the light. He showed that the white light is thus split up into its various constituent parts; and by bringing all these

coloured rays together in the eye, and again obtaining the white image of the hole in the shutter, he proved that the kind of light which produces on the eye the sensation we term *whiteness*, is in reality made up of an infinite number of differently coloured rays.

The coloured band thus obtained by Newton did not, however, reveal to him all the characteristic beauties of solar light, because in his spectrum the tints were created by the partial superposition of an infinite number of differently coloured images of the round hole through which the light came. It was not until the year 1802 that Dr. Wollaston, by preventing the different coloured lights from overlapping, and thus interfering with each other, discovered that great peculiarity in solar light which has led to such startling discoveries in the composition of the sun itself. Dr. Wollaston noticed, when he allowed the sunlight to fall through a narrow slit upon the prism, that a number of dark lines cutting up the coloured portions of the spectrum, made their appearance. These dark lines, or spaces, of which Wollaston counted only seven, indicate the absence of certain distinct kinds of rays in the sunlight; they are, as it were, shadows on the bright background.

It is, however, to the celebrated German optician Fraunhofer, that we owe the first accurate examination of these singular lines. By a great improvement in the optical arrangements employed, Fraunhofer, re-discovering these lines, was able to detect a far larger number of them in the solar spectrum than had been observed by Wollaston. He counted no less than 590 of these dark lines, stretching throughout the length of the spectrum from red to violet, and in the year 1815 drew a very beautiful map of them, some of the most important of which he designated by the letters of the alphabet. Fraunhofer carefully measured the relative distances between these lines, and found that they did not vary in sunlight examined at different times. He also saw these same dark fixed lines in reflected as well as direct solar light; for on looking at the spectrum of moonlight and of Venus-light, the same lines appeared quite unaltered in position. But he found that the light of the fixed stars was not of the same kind as direct or reflected sunlight, as the spectra of the starlight contained dark lines entirely different from those which are invariably seen in the solar spectrum. From these observations Fraunhofer, so early as 1815, drew the important conclusion that these lines, let them be caused by what they may, must in some way or other have their origin in the sun. The explanation of the production of these lines was reserved for a subsequent time; but

Fraunhofer opened the inquiry, and all his conclusions have been borne out by recent and more elaborate investigations.

Since the time of Fraunhofer our knowledge of the constitution of the solar spectrum has largely increased. Professor Stokes, in his beautiful researches on Fluorescence, has shown that similar dark lines exist in that part of the spectrum extending beyond the violet, which require special arrangements to become visible to our eyes; and Sir David Brewster and Dr. Gladstone have mapped with great care about 2000 lines in the portion of the spectrum from red to violet.

But it is to Kirchhoff, the Professor of Physics in the University of Heidelberg, that we are indebted for by far the best and most accurate observations of these phenomena. In place of using one prism, as Fraunhofer did, Kirchhoff employed four prisms of most perfect workmanship, and thus enjoyed the advantage of a far greater dispersion, or spreading out, of the different rays than the Munich optician had obtained. The lines were observed through a telescope having a magnifying power of 40, and when the whole apparatus was adjusted with all the accuracy and delicacy which the perfection of optical instruments now renders possible, Kirchhoff saw the solar spectrum with a degree of minute distinctness such as had never before been attained; and of the beauty and magnificence of the sight thus presented those only who have been eye-witnesses can form any idea.

Kirchhoff's purpose was not merely to observe the fine vertical dark lines which in untold numbers crossed the coloured spectrum, stretching from right to left. He wished to measure their relative distances, and thus to map them, exactly as the astronomer determines the position of the stars in the heavens, and the surveyor triangulates and marks out the main features of a country; so that future wanderers in this new field may find fixed and well-recognised points from which to commence their own excursions. Professor Kirchhoff is far from thinking that his measurements, delicate and numerous though they be, have exhausted the subject. The further we penetrate into the secrets of nature, the more we find there remains to be learnt. He saw whole series of nebulous bands and dark lines which the power of his instrument did not enable him to resolve; and he thinks that a larger number of prisms must be employed to effect this end. He adds—'The resolution of these 'nebulous bands appears to me to possess an interest similar to 'that of the resolution of the celestial nebulæ; and the investi-'gation of the spectrum to be of no less importance than the 'examination of the heavens themselves.' True, indeed, does

this appear, when we learn that it is by the examination of these lines that we can alone obtain the clue to the chemical composition of sun and stars!

The exact measurement of the distances between the lines was made by moving the cross wires of the telescope from line to line by means of a micrometer screw with a finely divided head, and reading off the number of divisions through which the screw had to be turned. The breadth and degree of darkness were also noticed, and thus the lines were mapped. In order to give a representation in the drawing of the great variety of the shade and thickness of the lines, they were arranged according to their degree of blackness, and drawn of six different thicknesses. First, the darkest lines were drawn with thick black Indian ink; the ink was then diluted to a certain extent, and the lines of the next shade drawn, and so on to the lightest series. As soon as a portion of the spectrum had been drawn in this manner, it was compared with the actual spectrum, and the mistakes in the breadth and darkness of the lines, as well as in their position, corrected by fresh estimations, and the drawing made anew. A second comparison and another drawing were then made, and this process repeated until all the groups of lines appeared to be truthfully represented. Copies from the same lithographic stones accompany the English edition of the memoir as are appended to the original, and these are masterpieces of German artistic skill. They are printed on six different stones, with ink of six different tints, and reproduce with marvellous fidelity the appearance which the solar spectrum presents when viewed through the magnificent Heidelberg instrument.

These maps extend, however, over only one-third part of the visible portion of the solar spectrum, and it will, we fear, be long before the other two-thirds are completely surveyed, as the following note, telling of the failing eyesight of the ingenious observer, touchingly explains:—'My drawing,' he says, 'is 'intended to include that portion of the spectrum contained 'between the lines A and G. I must, however, confine myself 'at present to the publication of a part only of this, as the re-'mainder requires a revision, which I am unfortunately unable 'to undertake, owing to my eyes being weakened by the con-'tinual observations which the subject rendered necessary.'

Before it can be understood how these dark lines reveal the chemical composition of the solar atmosphere, it must be shown how the constitution of terrestrial matter can be ascertained by the examination of the nature of the light which such heated matter emits. That certain substances, when heated or burnt,

give off peculiar kinds of light, has long been known; and this fact has been made use of by the chemist to distinguish and detect such substances. Thus compounds of the earth strontia, when burnt with gunpowder, produce the peculiar mixture well known as the 'red fire' of the pyrotechnist; the salts of baryta give colour to the green fires of the stage; and we all see in the Christmas game of snap-dragon that a handful of salt (chloride of sodium) thrown into the dish imparts to the flame a yellow colour.

This property of substances to give off certain kinds of light was formerly only known to hold good for a few bodies; but the progress of science has taught us that it is not confined to one substance, but is applicable to all. We only require to examine a body under the proper conditions, in order to see that when heated it emits a peculiar and characteristic kind of light; so that each elementary substance — that is, a substance which has not been split up, or decomposed, or out of which no two or more bodies differing in their properties have been obtained—whether it be a gas, a solid, or a liquid, may by heating be made to emit a kind of light peculiar to itself, and different from that given off by any other substance. Here, then, is the basis of this new method of spectrum analysis — a science which demonstrates the chemical composition of a body by the colour or kind of light emitted from it when heated. We now only need to know, in order to understand the subject, the proper conditions under which bodies can be made to develope this beautiful property, by help of which their chemical natures can be thus easily investigated, and analysis rendered not only independent of test-tubes, but likewise of distance; for it is clear that so long as light can be seen, it matters not how far removed its source may be. The sole condition which must be fulfilled in order to attain the object, is that the body to be analysed must be in a condition of luminous gas or vapour; for it is only in the gaseous state that each kind of matter emits the light peculiar to itself. It is somewhat difficult at first to understand how a gas or air can be heated until it emits light, and yet familiar instances are not wanting of such a condition of things. Flame, indeed, is nothing else than heated and luminous gas; and in the blue part of the flame of a candle, and in the lambent blue flame which plays on the top of a large fire, we have examples of a truly gaseous body heated until it becomes luminous.

The modes in which the various elements can be best obtained in the condition of luminous gases are very different. For the compounds of the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths, it

suffices to bring a small quantity of one of their salts into a flame of a spirit lamp, or into a gas flame. The salt then volatilises, or becomes gaseous; and this vapour, heated to the temperature at which it is luminous, tinges the flame with a peculiar colour. For the compounds of the other metals, such as iron, platinum, or silver, a much higher temperature is needed; whilst for bodies such as air and hydrogen, which are gases at the ordinary temperature, a different mode of manipulation is necessary.

In order to become acquainted with the exact nature of the light which bodies in the condition of luminous gases emit, their light must be examined otherwise than by the naked eye. The same kind of apparatus is used in this investigation which Fraunhofer and Kirchhoff applied to the investigation of solar light; in short, the distinctive qualities of these luminous gases are ascertained by their *spectra*. Then only is it that the full beauty of this property of matter becomes apparent, and the character of each elementary body is written down in truly glowing language — language different for every element, but fixed and unalterable for each one, as to the interpretation of which no variety of opinion can possibly exist.

To Professors Bunsen and Kirchhoff science is mainly indebted for the examination of this hitherto hidden language of nature. These philosophers undertook an investigation of the 'Spectra of the Chemical Elements,' and nobly have they carried out their intention; unfolding a vast store of nature's secrets to the knowledge of mankind, and revealing the existence of much more yet to be learnt in unlimited fields which promise a rich harvest of discovery to the patient and exact inquirer. Seldom indeed has it been the privilege of men in a single discovery to found a science, or to open a subject so pregnant with important results as that of spectrum analysis.

Those alone who are acquainted with the practical details of the science of Chemistry will be able fully to appreciate the grand change which the introduction of this new method effects in the branch of their science devoted to analysis. Qualitative analysis thereby undergoes a complete revolution; the tedious operations of precipitation and filtration must now be superseded by the rapid observation of the spectra of the coloured flames by which the presence of the most minute trace of the substance — far too small to be found by the older and coarser methods — can be surely and clearly detected. Let us endeavour to form an idea of the appearance of the peculiar spectra thus obtained; the most complete or eloquent description must, however, fail to give more than a bare idea of the reality.

In the first place, if we look through the telescope of Kirchhoff's instrument, having placed a flame coloured yellow by a sodium compound in front of the slit through which the light falls on to the prisms, and thence into the telescope, we shall see the spectrum of sodium. We notice that it consists simply of two very fine bright yellow lines placed close together, all the rest of the field being perfectly dark. On investigation we find that all the compounds of the metal sodium give these two lines, and no other substance is met with in whose spectrum these lines occur. So excessively delicate is this indication of sodium—that is, so small a quantity of sodium salt suffices to bring forth a flash of these bright lines—that we discover sodium everywhere; in every particle of dust; in the motes visible in the sunbeam. We cannot touch any substance without imparting to it some soda salt from our hands. Hence it appears that Professor Bunsen was easily able to detect the presence of $\frac{1}{180.000.000}$ part of a grain of soda; and we learn without astonishment that common salt, derived from the ocean which covers two-thirds of the earth's surface, is always present in the atmosphere in a very finely divided solid form, which doubtless produces most important effects on the animal œconomy, and probably on all the phenomena of life.

If a small quantity of a potash salt, instead of the soda, be placed in the flame, it will be tinged purple; the potash spectrum consists of a portion of continuous light in the centre, bounded by a bright red and a bright violet line at either end. This peculiar appearance is alone caused by the compounds of potassium, and is produced by all the salts of this metal. So, too, with each metal we notice peculiar bright coloured bands, or lines, which are so distinct and characteristic that a glance through the telescope reveals, to an experienced eye, the presence of each of the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths, when they occur or are combined together even in the minutest quantities. For none of these bright lines overlap or interfere with any other; the lines of each metal, when all are present together, appear perfectly distinct. It is a hopeless task to endeavour by words to express the beauty of the phenomena which in this branch of science present themselves to the beholder; as well might we attempt to convey by description, to one who had not witnessed those scenes, the grandeur of the high Alps, or the majesty of the flight of a comet through the heavens. Suffice it to say, with Kirchhoff, that the appearances here noticed 'belong to the most brilliant 'optical phenomena which can be observed.' Professor Bunsen thus describes what he saw when he placed a mixture of the

salts of all the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths into the flame, and observed the spectra thus produced: —

'I took,' he says, 'a mixture, consisting of chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, chloride of lithium, chloride of calcium, chloride of strontium, chloride of barium, containing at most $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of a grain of each substance. This mixture I put into the flame, and observed the result. First, the intense yellow sodium lines appeared on a background of a pale continuous spectrum; as these began to be less distinct, the pale potassium lines were seen, and then the red lithium line came out, whilst the barium lines appeared in all their vividness. The sodium, lithium, potassium, and barium salts were now almost all volatilised, and after a few moments the strontium and calcium lines came out as from a dissolving view, gradually attaining their characteristic brightness and form.'

The most striking example of the value of this new power of analysis, and of its probable results, is that of the discovery of two new alkaline metals by Bunsen. This distinguished chemist, in examining the spectra of the alkalies contained in the mineral waters of Dürkheim in the Palatinate, observed some bright lines that he had not seen in any other alkalies which he had investigated. He was sure that no other metals but those of the alkalies could be present, because, by well-known chemical processes, he had separated every other kind of metal. Hence he concluded that these new lines indicated the presence of an alkaline metal whose existence had as yet been overlooked. In fact, just as Adams and Leverrier, from the perturbations of the planet Uranus, predicted the existence of Neptune, so Bunsen, from the perturbations seen in the spectra of the alkalies, predicted the existence of a new member of the large family of the elementary bodies. So certain was Bunsen of his method, and so confident was he that his bright lines could not fail him, that, although the weight of substance from which he obtained his result only amounted to the $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of a grain, he hesitated not a moment, but began to evaporate forty tons of the water, in order to get enough material to separate out his new metal, and examine all its chemical relations. No sooner, however, had he obtained more than a mere trace of the new substance, than he found that with it was associated a second new metal. From the forty tons of the water in question Bunsen got only about 105 grains of the chloride of one metal, and 135 grains of the chloride of the other; in such minute quantities do these substances occur! Yet, thanks to the skill and patient industry of the great chemist of Heidelberg, these difficulties were triumphantly overcome, and we now possess a chemical history of these two new metals as complete and well authen-

ticated as that of the commoner alkalies. The names wisely chosen for these substances indicate the nature of their origin, and point out the property by help of which they were discovered. Bunsen calls one of them 'Cæsium,' from *cæsius*, bluish grey, because the spectrum of this metal is distinguished by two splendid violet lines; the other he named 'Rubidium,' from *rubidus* dark red, owing to the presence of two bright red rays at the least refrangible extremity of its spectrum. Since the publication of the discovery of these metals, their salts have been found to be pretty commonly diffused; but, owing to their close resemblance to the compounds of potassium, they were not recognised as separate substances; in fact, had it not been for this new method, we should not have been able to distinguish them from the well-known alkali potash. Cæsium and Rubidium occur in the water of almost every salt spring; and they have likewise been found in the ashes of plants, especially in those of beet-root, so that they must be contained in the soil; but in all these cases the quantity in which they are found is very minute. The mineral lepidolite contains a certain quantity of Rubidium, which now may be obtained by the pound; but Cæsium is still extremely rare.

It is satisfactory to learn that in a similar way the existence of another new metal has been pointed out by Mr. Crookes. This body is characterised by a spectrum containing one bright green band, and has been called 'Thallium.' *

In an article like the present it is impossible to enter minutely into the details of such discoveries, or even to mention more than the most striking points by way of illustration. Enough has, however, been said to show the enormous fertility of this field of research, and to give an idea of the principles upon which the method depends. We anticipate, more especially, important results to the art of medicine from the application of this analytical process to mineral waters, as they are termed, noted for their therapeutic qualities. The composition of these waters, their apparently inexhaustible faculty of reproduction, their modes of affecting the human frame in various states of health or disease, are only known as yet empirically. Yet it is impossible to doubt or deny that waters, like those of Carlsbad, Aix-la-Chapelle, or Bagnères de Luchon, contain certain agents

* This new element has lately been prepared in somewhat larger quantities by M. Lamy from the residues of the Belgian sulphuric acid chambers. He finds that in its specific gravity and outward properties it closely resembles the metal lead, but that it possesses very peculiar chemical characteristics.

of the most powerful sanative character, which the means of chemical analysis hitherto employed do not appear to have reached. It is extremely probable that the application of spectral analysis to the elements contained in these springs will bring them within the range of accurate medical knowledge, and perhaps extend the resources of medicine itself.

The field of spectrum analysis was not wholly untrodden until it was explored by the two German professors. Even so long ago as 1826, Mr. Fox Talbot, a gentleman whose name is honourably associated with discoveries in that most beautiful of the modern applications of science to art — Photography — made some experiments upon the spectra of coloured flames, and pointed out the advantages which such a method of analysis would possess. Professor Wheatstone, Mr. Swan, Sir David Brewster, and Professor W. Allen Miller in our own country, and Ångström, Plücker, Masson, and others on the Continent, have likewise contributed to our knowledge of this subject; but, whatever may have been done by others for the establishment of the new method, it must be admitted that the names of Bunsen and Kirchhoff will justly go down to posterity as the founders of the Science of Spectrum Analysis; for they first established it on a firm scientific basis, by applying to it the modern methods of exact research.

For the purpose of obtaining the peculiar spectra of iron, platinum, copper, and most of the other metals, these metals must be exposed to a much higher temperature than that of the gas flame, to which they impart no colour. This high temperature is best attained by the use of the electric spark. So great, indeed, is the heat developed by this agent, that a single electric discharge past through a gold wire dissipates the metal at once in vapour. Our illustrious Faraday — the founder of so many branches of electrical science — first showed that the electric spark was produced by the intense ignition of the particles composing the poles; and Professor Wheatstone proved that if we look at the spark proceeding from two metallic poles, through a prism, we see spectra containing bright lines which differ according to the kind of metal employed. 'These differences,' said Wheatstone, writing in 1834, 'are so 'obvious, that any one metal may instantly be distinguished 'from others by the appearance of its spark; and we have here 'a mode of discriminating metallic bodies more ready than a 'chemical examination, and which may hereafter be employed 'for useful purposes.' This has, indeed, turned out to be a true prediction.

The large number of bright lines which are seen in the spark

spectrum are not all caused by the glowing vapour of the metal forming the poles; a portion of them proceed, as Ångström first pointed out, from the particles of gas or air, through which the spark passes, becoming luminous also, and emitting their own peculiar light. Thus, if we examine the spectrum of an electric spark passing from two iron poles in the air, we see at least three superimposed spectra, one of the iron, one of the oxygen, and a third of the nitrogen of the air.* By help of a little mechanical device, it is easy to distinguish between the air lines and the true metallic lines, and in this way to detect the various metals. So certain and accurate is this method that Professor Kirchhoff has, without difficulty, been able to detect and distinguish the presence of minute traces of the rare metals Erbium and Terbium, as well as Cerium, Lanthanum, and Didymium, when they are mixed together; a feat which the most experienced analyst would find it almost impossible, even after the most lengthened and careful investigation, to accomplish with the older methods.

In endeavouring to form an idea of the present and future bearings of the science of spectrum analysis as applied to the investigation of terrestrial matter, we must remember that the whole subject is as yet in its earliest infancy; that the methods of research are scarcely known; and that speculations as to the results which further experiments will bring forth, are therefore, for the most part, idle and premature. We may, however, express our opinion that a more intimate knowledge of the nature of the so-called elements, if it is to be attained at all, is to be sought for in the relations which the spectra of these substances present; and if a 'transmutation' of these elementary bodies be effected, as is by no means impossible, it will be effected by help of the new science of spectrum analysis. That we shall thus gradually attain a far more accurate knowledge of the composition of the earth's crust than we now possess, is perfectly certain; nor is it less certain, that with the progress of the investigation, other new elementary bodies will be added to our already somewhat overgrown chemical family.

So long ago as 1815, Fraunhofer made the important observation, that the two bright yellow lines which we now know to be the sodium lines, were coincident with, or possessed the same degree of refrangibility as, two dark lines in the solar spectrum called by Fraunhofer the lines D. A similar coincidence was

* The spectra of the permanent gases, as well as those of the other non-metallic elements, have been accurately examined by Professor Plücker, of Bonn.

observed by Sir David Brewster, in 1842, between the bright red line of potassium and a dark line in the solar spectrum called Fraunhofer's A. The fact of the coincidence of these lines is easily rendered visible if the solar spectrum is allowed to fall into the upper half of the field of our telescope, whilst the sodium or potassium spectrum occupies the lower half. The bright lines produced by the metal, as fine as the finest spider's web, are then seen to be exact prolongations, as it were, of the corresponding dark solar lines.

Although the fact of the coincidence of several bright metallic lines with the dark solar lines was well known, yet the exact connexion between the two phenomena was not understood until Professor Kirchhoff, in the autumn of 1859, investigated the subject. Nevertheless, before he gave the exact proof of their connexion, some few bold minds had foreseen the conclusions to which these observations must lead, and had predicted the existence of sodium in the sun. Foremost among these stand Professors Stokes and William Thomson, and the Swedish philosopher Ångström. It is, however, to Kirchhoff that we are indebted for the full and scientific investigation of the subject, and he must be considered as the founder of the science of solar and stellar chemistry.

Wishing to test the accuracy of this frequently asserted coincidence of the bright metallic and dark solar lines with his very delicate instrument, Professor Kirchhoff made the following very remarkable experiment, which is interesting as giving the key to the solution of the problem regarding the existence of sodium and other metals in the sun:—

'In order to test in the most direct manner possible the frequently asserted fact of the coincidence of the sodium lines with the lines D, I obtained a tolerably bright solar spectrum, and brought a flame coloured by sodium vapour in front of the slit. I then saw the dark lines D change into bright ones. The flame of a Bunsen's lamp threw the bright sodium lines upon the solar spectrum with unexpected brilliancy. In order to find out the extent to which the intensity of the solar spectrum could be increased without impairing the distinctness of the sodium lines, I allowed the full sunlight to shine through the sodium flame, and to my astonishment I saw that the dark lines D appeared with an extraordinary degree of clearness. I then exchanged the sunlight for the Drummond's, or oxy-hydrogen lime-light, which, like that of all incandescent solid or liquid bodies, gives a spectrum containing no dark lines. When this light was allowed to fall through a suitable flame coloured by common salt, dark lines were seen in the spectrum in the position of the sodium lines. The same phenomenon was observed if instead of the incandescent lime a platinum wire was used, which being heated in a flame was

brought to a temperature near its melting point by passing an electric current through it. The phenomenon in question is easily explained upon the supposition that the sodium flame absorbs rays of the same degree of refrangibility as those it emits, whilst it is perfectly transparent for all other rays.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, pp. 13, 14.)

Thus Kirchhoff succeeded in producing artificial sunlight, at least as far as the formation of one of Fraunhofer's lines is concerned. He proved that the yellow soda flame possesses this—at first sight anomalous—property of absorbing just that kind of light which it emits; it is opaque to the yellow D light, but transparent to all other kinds of light. Hence, if the yellow rays in the spectrum produced by the Drummond's light in the above experiment are more intense than those given off by the soda flame, we shall see in the yellow part of the spectrum shadows, or dark lines; and if the difference of intensity be very great, these shadows may by contrast appear perfectly black. This opacity of heated sodium vapour for the particular kind of light which it is capable of giving off, was strikingly exhibited by Professor Roscoe, in one of a course of lectures on Spectrum Analysis, lately delivered by him in London at the Royal Institution. A glass tube, containing a small quantity of metallic sodium, was rendered vacuous and then closed. On heating the tube, the sodium rose in vapour, filling a portion of the empty space. Viewed by ordinary white light this sodium vapour appeared perfectly colourless, but when seen by the yellow light of a soda-flame the vapour cast a deep shadow on a white screen, showing that it did not allow the yellow rays to pass through.

This remarkable property of luminous gases to absorb the same kind of light as they emit, is not without analogy in the cognate science of Acoustics. Sound is produced by the vibration of the particles of gravitating matter, whilst light is supposed to be produced by a similar vibration of the particles of a non-gravitating matter, called the luminiferous ether. In the case of sound, a similar phenomenon to the one under consideration is well known. We are all acquainted with the principle of resonance; if we sound a given note in the neighbourhood of a pianoforte, the string capable of giving out the vibrations producing that note takes up the vibrations of the voice, and we hear it answering the sound. The intenser vibrations proceeding in one direction are absorbed by the string, and emitted as waves of slighter intensity in every direction.

Not only did Professor Kirchhoff show experimentally that luminous gases absorb the kind of light which they emit, by

reversing the spectra of several of the metals, but by help of theoretical considerations he arrived at a very important general formula concerning the emission and absorption of rays of heat and light, which includes these phenomena as a particular case. The general law is called the *law of exchanges*, and it asserts that the relation between the amount of heat or of light which all bodies receive and emit is for a given temperature constant. Somewhat similar results were arrived at independently by Mr. Balfour Stewart in this country.

In order to determine and map the positions of the bright lines produced by the electric spectra of the various metals, Kirchhoff employed the dark lines in the solar spectrum as his guides. Much to his astonishment, he observed that dark solar lines occur in positions coincident with those of all the bright iron lines. Exactly as the sodium lines were identical in position with Fraunhofer's lines D, for each of the iron lines (and Kirchhoff examined more than sixty) a dark solar line was seen to correspond. Not only had each bright iron line its dark representative in the solar spectrum, but the breadth and degree of distinctness of the two sets of lines agreed in the most perfect manner; the brightest iron lines corresponding to the darkest solar lines. These coincidences cannot be the mere effect of chance; in other words, there must be some causal connexion between these dark solar lines and the bright iron lines. That this agreement between them cannot be simply fortuitous is proved by Kirchhoff, who calculates—from the number of the observed coincidences, the distances between the several lines, and the degree of exactitude with which each coincidence can be determined—the fraction representing the chance or probability that such a series of coincidences should occur without the two sets of lines having any common cause; this fraction he finds to be less than $\frac{1}{1.000.000.000.000.000.000.000}$, or, in other words, it is practically certain that these lines have a common cause.

'Hence this coincidence,' says Kirchhoff, 'must be produced by some cause, and a cause can be assigned which affords a perfect explanation of the phenomenon. The observed phenomenon may be explained by the supposition that the rays of light which form the solar spectrum have passed through the vapour of iron, and have thus suffered the absorption which the vapour of iron must exert. As this is the only assignable cause of this coincidence, the supposition appears to be a necessary one. These iron vapours might be
'tained either in the atmosphere of the sun or in that of the earth.
it is not easy to understand how our atmosphere can contain such
antity of iron vapour as would produce the very distinct absorp-

tion-lines which we see in the solar spectrum; and this supposition is rendered still less probable by the fact that these lines do not appreciably alter when the sun approaches the horizon. It does not, on the other hand, seem at all unlikely, owing to the high temperature which we must suppose the sun's atmosphere to possess, that such vapours should be present in it. Hence the observations of the solar spectrum appear to me to prove the presence of iron vapour in the solar atmosphere with as great a degree of certainty as we can attain in any question of natural science.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, p. 20.)

This statement is not one jot more positive than the facts warrant. For to what does any evidence in natural science amount to, beyond the expression of a probability? A mineral sent to us from New Zealand is examined by our chemical tests, of which we apply a certain number, and we say these show us that the mineral contains iron, and no one doubts that our conclusion is correct. Have we, however, in this case proof positive that the body really is iron? May it not turn out to be a substance which in these respects resembles, but in other respects differs from, the body which we designate as iron? Surely. All we can say is, that in each of the many comparisons which we have made the properties of the two bodies prove identical; and it is solely this identity of the properties which we express when we call both of them iron. Exactly the same reasoning applies to the case of the existence of these metals in the sun. Of course the metals present there, causing these dark lines, *may* not be identical with those which we have on earth; but the evidence of their being the same is as strong and cogent as that which is brought to bear upon any other question of natural science, the truth of which is generally admitted.

We do not think we can give our readers a more clear and succinct account of the development of this great discovery than by quoting from Kirchhoff's admirable memoir the following passage:—

'As soon as the presence of *one* terrestrial element in the solar atmosphere was thus determined, and thereby the existence of a large number of Fraunhofer's lines explained, it seemed reasonable to suppose that other terrestrial bodies occur there, and that, by exerting their absorptive power, they may cause the production of other Fraunhofer's lines. For it is very probable that elementary bodies which occur in large quantities on the earth, and are likewise distinguished by special bright lines in their spectra, will, like iron, be visible in the solar atmosphere. This is found to be the case with calcium, magnesium, and sodium. The number of bright lines in the spectrum of each of these metals is indeed small, but those lines, as well as the dark lines in the solar spectrum with which they coincide,

are so uncommonly distinct that the coincidence can be observed with great accuracy. In addition to this, the circumstance that these lines occur in groups renders the observation of the coincidence of these spectra more exact than is the case with those composed of single lines. The lines produced by chromium, also, form a very characteristic group, which likewise coincides with a remarkable group of Fraunhofer's lines; hence, I believe that I am justified in affirming the presence of chromium in the solar atmosphere. It appeared of great interest to determine whether the solar atmosphere contains nickel and cobalt, elements which invariably accompany iron in meteoric masses. The spectra of these metals, like that of iron, are distinguished by the large number of their lines. But the lines of nickel, and still more those of cobalt, are much less bright than the iron lines, and I was therefore unable to observe their position with the same degree of accuracy with which I determined the position of the iron lines. All the brighter lines of nickel appear to coincide with dark solar lines; the same was observed with respect to some of the cobalt lines, but was not seen to be the case with other equally bright lines of this metal. From my observations I consider that I am entitled to conclude that nickel is visible in the solar atmosphere; I do not, however, yet express an opinion as to the presence of cobalt. Barium, copper, and zinc appear to be present in the solar atmosphere, but only in small quantities; the brightest of the lines of these metals correspond to distinct lines in the solar spectrum, but the weaker lines are not noticeable. The remaining metals which I have examined—viz., gold, silver, mercury, aluminium, cadmium, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, strontium, and lithium—are, according to my observations, not visible in the solar atmosphere.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, p. 21.)

We are now in a position to understand why the discovery of the existence of these metals in the sun is no myth, no vague supposition, or possible contingency. We now see that this conclusion is derived, by a severely correct process of inductive reasoning, from a series of exact and laborious experiments and observations, and that the presence of these metals in the solar atmosphere has been determined with as great a degree of certainty as is attainable in any question of physical science. But it is only to those who have witnessed the spectacle of the coincidence of the bright iron with the dark solar lines, shown in such an apparatus as that of Kirchhoff's, that it is given adequately to feel the force of this conclusion; and the impression made by such a sight is not one likely to be easily effaced from the mind.

The mode in which new and perhaps startling facts in science, such as those we are now considering, are unwittingly misinterpreted and misapplied by certain minds to suit their own preconceived notions, must be an interesting branch of study to

the psychologist. The Heidelberg Professors received a letter from a worthy farmer in Silesia thanking them for the great discovery they had made; it had particularly interested him, as it confirmed in a remarkable manner a theory which he had himself long held respecting the nutrition of plants; he believed that all artificial addition of inorganic materials to the plants in the shape of manure, was quite unnecessary, as the plants obtained the alkalies, the phosphorus, and the silica, &c., which they require, if a sufficient supply be not present in the soil, from the *sunlight!* The Heidelberg Professors, he continues, had clearly proved the presence of sodium, potassium, iron, and magnesium (all substances needed by plants), in the *sunlight*, and he felt sure that his theory of vegetable nutrition now required no further proof, but must at once be adopted by the previously incredulous world.

As a similar instance of this unconscious perversion of facts, we may mention the case of an English gentleman who believed that by a series of elaborate experiments he had proved the presence of iron in the *sunlight!* In spite of the previous caution of an eminent man of science, this gentleman was induced to publish his views, because, as he says, 'the whole scope and 'object of Bunsen's and Kirchhoff's experiments are to prove 'the possibility of the most minute particles of metal existing 'in light, and the probability of certain dark lines in the solar 'spectrum being formed by iron!' Thus, the fact of the existence of iron in the body of the sun, at a distance of 95,000,000 miles, is represented by these scientific fanatics — we really can use no milder term — as being identical with the existence of iron in the sunlight, which, travelling at the rate of 192,000 miles per second, bathes the whole universe in its vivifying beams.

Of stellar chemistry applied to other self-luminous celestial bodies, we have at present but little knowledge. Fraunhofer, as we have already stated, observed that the spectra of the fixed stars contained dark lines differing from those seen in the solar spectrum. The half-century which has elapsed since Fraunhofer made these observations has not brought us further knowledge on this point, although it has assured us of the truth of his statements. In the spectrum of Sirius he observed no dark lines in the orange-coloured region; but in the green there was a distinct line, and in the blue two dark bands, none of which were seen in solar light. The spectra of other stars were likewise examined by Fraunhofer, and they appeared each to differ from the other. The difficulties attending the exact observation and measurement of the dark lines in the spectra of the stars are, of course, very

great: but, with the aid of the vastly improved optical instruments of the present day, we believe that astronomers will overcome these difficulties; and we look forward with interest to no far distant time, when we shall receive some clue to the cause of the colour of those wonderful blue and red stars which appear to be confined to certain quarters of the heavens.*

In the last chapter of Professor Kirchhoff's memoir he leaves the sure road of inductive reasoning, and puts forward a theory on the physical condition of the sun. Doubtless the Professor is as well aware as any one can be of the great difference between his discovery of the existence of the metals in the sun and his physical theory of the solar constitution. One is an ascertained fact, the other is a mere hypothesis. It is, however, necessary to point out this difference, lest many who may not agree with the theory of the physical constitution of the sun proposed by Kirchhoff should think themselves at liberty to discard his discovery of the presence of the metals in the solar atmosphere. It is not possible to give here the arguments which may be adduced in favour of, or in opposition to, Professor Kirchhoff's theory. Scarcely, indeed, can we do more than quote one or two passages from his memoir, to give an idea of his views respecting the structure of the sun: —

'In order to explain,' he says, 'the occurrence of the dark lines in the solar spectrum, we must assume that the solar atmosphere encloses a luminous nucleus, producing a continuous spectrum, the brightness of which exceeds a certain limit. The most probable supposition which can be made respecting the sun's constitution is, that it consists of a solid or liquid nucleus, heated to a temperature of the brightest whiteness, surrounded by an atmosphere of somewhat lower temperature. This supposition is in accordance with Laplace's celebrated nebular theory respecting the formation of our planetary system. If the matter, now concentrated in the several heavenly bodies, existed in former times as an extended and continuous mass of vapour, by the contraction of which sun, planets, and moons have been formed, all these bodies must necessarily possess mainly the same constitution. Geology teaches us that the earth once existed in a state of fusion; and we are compelled to admit that the same state of things has occurred in the other members of our solar system. The amount of cooling which the various heavenly bodies have undergone, in

* We rejoice to see, from his last annual report, that the Astronomer-Royal is about to undertake the examination of the spectra of the fixed stars. He remarks—'I have prepared a prism-apparatus to be 'used in conjunction with the SE. Equatorial for the examination of 'the fixed stars; but hitherto I have been able to do little more than 'adjust its parts.'

accordance with the laws of radiation of heat, differs greatly, owing mainly to the difference in their masses. Thus, whilst the moon has become cooler than the earth, the temperature of the surface of the sun has not yet sunk below a white heat.

'Our terrestrial atmosphere, in which now so few elements are found, must have possessed, when the earth was in a state of fusion, a much more complicated composition, as it then contained all those substances which are volatile at a white heat. The solar atmosphere at this present time possesses a similar constitution. The idea that the sun is an incandescent body is so old, that we find it spoken of by the Greek philosophers. When the solar spots were first discovered, Galileo described them as being clouds floating in the gaseous atmosphere of the sun, appearing to us as dark spots on the bright body of the luminary. He says, that if the earth were a self-luminous body, and viewed at a distance, it would present the same phenomena as we see in the sun.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, p. 24.)

Certain appearances connected with those spots on the sun's surface have induced astronomers in general to adopt a different theory of the constitution of the sun from that proposed by Galileo and supported by Kirchhoff. This theory supposes, according to Sir William Herschel, that the centre of the spot reveals a portion of the dark surface of the sun, seen through two overlying openings — one formed in a photosphere, or luminous atmosphere, surrounding the dark solid nucleus, and the other in a lower, opaque, or reflecting atmosphere. The supposition of the existence of such an intensely ignited photosphere surrounding a cold nucleus is, according to Kirchhoff, a physical absurdity. He puts forward his views on this point clearly and forcibly in the following passage: —

'The hypothesis concerning the constitution of the sun which has been thus put forward in order to explain the phenomena of the sun-spots, appears to me to stand in such direct opposition to certain well-established physical laws, that, in my opinion, it is not tenable, even supposing that we were unable to give any other explanation of the sun-spots. This supposed photosphere must, if it exists, radiate heat towards the sun's body as well as from it. Every particle of the upper layer of the lower or opaque atmosphere will therefore be heated to a temperature at least as high as that to which it would be raised if placed on the earth, exposed to the sun's rays, in the focus of a circular mirror whose surface, seen from the focus, is larger than a hemisphere. The less transparent the atmosphere is, the quicker will this temperature be attained, and the smaller will be the distance to which the direct radiation of the photosphere will penetrate into the mass of the atmosphere. What degree soever of opacity the atmosphere may possess, it is certain that in time the heat will be transmitted, partly by radiation, partly by conduction and convection, throughout the whole mass; and if the atmosphere ever had

been cold, it is clear that in the course of ages it must have become intensely heated. This atmosphere must act on the nucleus in the same way as the photosphere acts upon it; the nucleus must likewise become heated to the point of incandescence. It must therefore give off light and heat; for all bodies begin to glow at the same temperature.' (*Kirchhoff. Researches, &c.*, pp. 25, 26.)

Our author then proceeds to account for the phenomena of the solar spots by the supposition of two superimposed layers of clouds being formed in the solar atmosphere. One of these, being dense and near the sun's surface, does not allow the light of the underlying portion of the sun to pass, and forms the nucleus of the spot; whilst the other, being produced at a higher elevation, is less dense, and forms what we term the penumbra.

It is unfortunate for Kirchhoff's theory that the unanimous verdict of all who have examined these singular phenomena is in favour of their being funnel-shaped depressions. Preconceived notions have, however, so powerful an influence over the mind, and it is so difficult to obtain a truthful estimate of relative depression and elevation at such distances, that we are willing to believe that astronomers may possibly be mistaken in their views on this subject. There is, however, one method of observation which would seem qualified to settle the disputed question. If the astronomers' view of the construction of the spots is correct, the dark nucleus never can be seen beyond the penumbra, when the spot moves round towards the sun's limb. On Kirchhoff's view such a separation of the two clouds forming nucleus and penumbra is perfectly possible, and when they have nearly reached the edge of the sun's disc, we ought to see the dark cloud below, and separate from the upper one. Such a separation, however, has not been noticed, and on the other hand we may adduce the following observation of Sir William Herschel as leading to a directly opposite conclusion: —

'Oct. 13, 1794.—The spot in the sun, I observed yesterday, is drawn so near the margin, that the elevated side of the following part of it hides all the black ground, and still leaves the cavity visible, so that the depression of the black spots and the elevation of the faculæ are equally evident.'

The more the question of the physical constitution of the sun is considered, the more does it appear that we have no right to make up our minds concerning it, either in one way or the other. Seeing how little is really known about the matter, with the true spirit of scientific inquirers, we hold ourselves open to conviction as soon as satisfactory evidence shall be brought forward. The singular observations first made by Mr. James

Nasmyth*, a few months ago, concerning the physical condition of the sun's surface — observations so novel that astronomers were loth to receive them as facts until they were confirmed by other observers — need only to be mentioned in order to show that we are not in a position to uphold any theory whatever of the physical constitution of our great luminary. Mr. Nasmyth asserts, and his assertion has been confirmed by the subsequent observations of more than one competent observer, that the well-known mottled appearance which the surface of the sun exhibits is due to the presence of 'willow-leaf-shaped' luminous bodies, which, interlacing as it were, cover the whole surface of the sun. These most singular forms can be well observed, according to Mr. Nasmyth, in the 'bridges' or streaks of light which cross the dark spots, and they are there seen to move with an astonishing velocity. Imagination itself fails to give us the slightest clue to the probable constitution of these most recent of astronomical novelties!

The beautiful red prominences seen projecting from the sun's disk during a total solar eclipse, and reaching to a height of 40,000 miles above the sun's visible surface, are likewise objects whose existence cannot be reconciled with any of the proposed theories of the sun's structure. Thanks to Mr. De la Rue, we have attained some knowledge concerning these wonderful flames, as, by the help of photography, this gentleman has succeeded in proving that the prominences really belong to the sun, and are not caused in any way by the light passing over the interposed surface of the moon, as was by some imagined.

In considering the subject of solar chemistry, or indeed of any other novel branch of science, we cannot be too frequently reminded of the incompleteness of our knowledge. This is especially the case with reference to the subject to which we have now directed the attention of our readers. But although the results of these agencies are still very imperfect, and leave ample space for the labours of future investigators, yet the discovery of this new method of analysis is at once so original and so important, that we do not hesitate to rank it among the greatest achievements of science in this age, and we await with great curiosity its further application.

* Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. 3rd Series, vol. i. p. 407.

ART. II.—1. *Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt.* Vols. I.—XI. Fol. Neapoli: 1793—1855.

2. *Herculanensium Voluminum P. I.—II.* Sumptibus Typogr. Clarendon. lithographicé excudebat N. WHITTOCK. Oxonii: 1824-5.

3. *Epicuri Fragmenta, Librorum II. et XI. in Voll. Papyraceis ex Herculano erutis reperta, probabiliter restituta, ex Tomo secundo Voll. Hercul.* emendatius edidit J. C. ORELLIUS. 8vo. Lipsiæ: 1818.

4. *Philodemi* Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς, *ex Herculanensi Papyro restituit, Latinè vertit, et Dissertationibus auxit* E. GROS. Parisiis: 1840.

5. *Phædri Epicurei, vulgo Anonymi Herculanensis, De Natura Deorum.* A CHRISTIANO PETERSEN. Hamburgi: 1833.

6. *Philodemi de Vitiis Liber Decimus.* Ad Vol. Hercul. exemplar Neapolitanum et Oxoniense distinxit, supplevit, illustravit, HERMANNUS SAUPPIUS. Lipsiæ: 1853.

7. *Philodem's Abhandlungen über die Haushaltung und über den Hochmuth; und Theophrast's Haushaltung und Charakterbilder.* Griechish und Deutsch von J. A. HARTUNG. Leipzig: 1857.

8. *Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt. Collectio altera.* Tomi I. Fasciculus I. *Complectens Philodemi* Περὶ κακιῶν καὶ ἀντικειμένων ἀρετῶν *et* Περὶ Ὀργῆς. *Publicazione eseguita, con Approvazione del Ministero d'Istruzione Pubblica, dal Consiglio di Direzione del Museo Nazionale e degli Scavi di Antichità.* Neapoli: 1861.

9. *Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt. Collectio altera.* Tom. I. Fascic. II.—V. Neapoli: 1862.

IF the value of a work could in any degree be estimated by the length of time occupied in its production, the 'Volumina 'Herculanensia' might lay claim to one of the very highest places in literature. More than a century has elapsed since it was first undertaken. It has descended as an heirloom through three or four generations of editors. It has maintained its feeble vitality through as many revolutions and counter-revolutions. Its successive volumes are separated from each other by intervals which might almost make up an ordinary literary life; and, if the work were to continue at the same rate of progress which has been heretofore maintained, the materials

still remaining to be explored might, to judge by their reported number, be expected to occupy at least three or four centuries in the process of publication.

And yet few works have ever been taken up with more passionate enthusiasm, or looked forward to with livelier anticipation. The Herculanean Papyri, when the practicability of their decipherment was first seriously suggested, were confidently regarded as a wholesale repertory of the lost literature of the ancients. The discovery occurred just at a time when the learned had become fully and finally satisfied as to the extent and the hopelessness of the losses which were deplored in every department of ancient learning. Most of the great libraries of the world had been submitted to a searching examination, stretching back from the 'Iter Italicum' of Montfaucon to the day when Enocho d'Ascolo set forth on his memorable tour of exploration, armed with the authority of Nicholas V., commanding all librarians and heads of religious houses, under the censure of the Church, to lay open their literary stores to his inspection. During this wide interval, four or five successive generations of gleaners had visited every spot which seemed to promise a chance of success. All the then known sources of classical literature had thus been drained to the utmost; nor had men yet begun to think of those which have since been so sedulously turned to account; of the precious hoards which remained mouldering in the unvisited monasteries of the Levant, or the still more unsuspected treasures which lay hidden under their very eyes, in the palimpsest manuscripts of the libraries of Europe. In one word, it was just in the crisis when, at the close of what seemed to have been a completely exhaustive search, the scholars of the eighteenth century had reluctantly resigned themselves to a loss which appeared utterly irreparable, that the discovery of the Papyri of Herculaneum renewed, in a most exaggerated form, the hopes which had lately seemed extinguished for ever. The news was hailed as a second revival of letters. It appeared impossible that, in a collection so extensive, comprising nearly two thousand manuscripts, there should not be found a considerable proportion of the still missing literature of Greece and Rome. The very site of the discovery seemed itself pregnant of promise. The city of Herculaneum, a Greek colony on Roman soil, appeared to unite in itself the advantages of both countries. A collection so considerable, and formed upon ground so apparently neutral, might reasonably be expected to contain specimens of the best authors of both literatures; and, although it was too much to hope that every gap would be satisfactorily

filled up, yet even the least sanguine might reckon upon a large contribution. Many works, no doubt, must still be found wanting; but it would be strange indeed if it should prove that the authors missing in the library of the Herculanean collector were precisely the same which had hitherto escaped the research of modern classical explorers in every other quarter. Where, more naturally than in the library of a scholar of this luxurious city, might it be hoped to recover the long-lost Menander, and the other masters of Greek comedy? Could anything seem more unlikely than that, among the many hundred volumes of such a collection, there should not turn up a few at least out of the many missing plays of the great tragedians, Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus—some contribution to our scanty store of Greek comedy—a few additional plays of the sadly mutilated Aristophanes, or some specimens of his utterly unknown fellow poets, Eupolis, Cratinus, Crates, or Teleclides? Surely, too, the historical student might calculate on the recovery of many important materials, wherewith to fill up the 'hiatus valde 'deflendus' in the series of Greek writers on Roman history, Polybius, Dion, Dionysius, and their continuators; and, if such were the anticipations as to the Greek writers, how much more confidently were the papyri looked forward to for the lost treasures of Latin literature—for the missing decades of Livy, the lost books of the Annals of Tacitus, the dramas of Plautus and other Latin imitators of Greek comedy, the philological treatises of Varro; and, above all, the long-regretted poems of Varius, the superior, as an epic poet, if we may believe Horace, even of Virgil himself—

'forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit!'

The issue of all these high hopes is well known. Not only did the papyri prove to be in a state of mutilation far beyond what had been anticipated, but the character of the collection itself utterly disappointed the expectations which had been formed as to its extent, its variety, and its value. In general literature, whether Greek or Latin, it proved a complete blank. Not a single one of the longed-for authors appeared among its remains; hardly even a single fragment of their writings. It was found to be a class collection, in the narrowest sense of the phrase, its contents being exclusively philosophical, and, indeed, confined to one particular school of philosophy—the Epicurean; and the authors being for the most part entirely unknown, except as members of one of the least literary of the philosophical sects of antiquity.

This mortifying failure was, of course, followed by a reaction,

and it even led to an excessive depreciation of what was actually found. The experiment too, even such as it was, began inauspiciously. The treatises of Philodemus on Music, on Rhetoric, and on Vices, which ushered in the series of 'Volumina Herculanensia,' were almost unanimously denounced as dull and uninteresting commonplaces, utterly without value in themselves, and equally without promise of value in the publication which they inaugurated. They attracted little notice, even from the professional scholars of the period; and although the collection continued, during upwards of sixty years, slowly to advance, till it reached its eleventh volume, and has recently been resumed in an altered form, which, as it comprises only the engraved fac-simile of the text, and thus dispenses with the tedious and difficult labours of the editor, translator, and commentator, may be expected to proceed with greater rapidity, yet, with a few exceptions to which we shall presently refer, the later works have been received by the general public with the same indifference.

In no country was the reaction more marked, and in none has it been of longer duration, than in England. Much interest had been taken by the Regent, Prince of Wales, in the experiments for unrolling and deciphering the papyri; and very considerable sums, not only of public money, but also from his own private purse, had been expended by his order in their prosecution, both in Naples and at home. The result was regarded as a miserable failure, and the attempt was allowed to fall hopeless to the ground. Two volumes, it is true, of the deciphered papyri presented to the Prince, were issued from the Clarendon Press at Oxford; but the production of these volumes was a mere mechanical operation of printing, without the slightest expenditure of literary labour, even of the humblest rank. The Oxford volumes consist barely of a lithographic fac-simile of the deciphered papyri, without translation, without commentary, without even a transcript in cursive Greek letters; and in the notice which we* devoted to the work on its first appearance, we could not help unfavourably contrasting the indolence or indifference of our own university in the getting up of that portion of the papyri which fell to its lot, with the diligence of the Neapolitan literati, and the copious, and indeed over-minute, illustrations which they had lavished on the volumes produced by them. Beyond this meagre and unscholarlike publication, and a few critical essays and notices in the various learned journals of the time, the Herculanean Papyri can hardly be said

* Ed. Review, vol. xlviii. p. 354.

to have received any attention in England. It has not been so abroad, especially in Germany. It reminds one of the chances of which the gold-seekers of California and Australia present so many examples. The first rush of eager adventurers, who had entered upon the work with visions of easy and rapid enrichment, expecting to gather gold-dust in handfuls from every gully, and to pick up nuggets at every stroke of the mining-tool, shrink away in disappointment and disgust from the rough realities which they encounter — from the weary mounds of clay turned over in vain — from the blank masses of intractable quartz, and from the irksome and precarious process, through which alone these unpromising materials can be made to yield up the treasure which they hold; and thus leave to the generation of patient and plodding workers by whom they are succeeded, the golden rewards whose presence they themselves failed to recognise. So it has been with our fastidious scholars, as regards the literary remains of Herculaneum. Once baulked of the high hopes with which they had indulged their fancy — only meeting, in place of the great masters of ancient learning for whom they had looked, a weary succession of unknown or undistinguished names, they hastily abandoned, not alone the search itself, but even the examination of the fragments brought to light by foreign explorers. The English issue of 'Volumina 'Herculanensia' began and ended with the two small volumes printed at the Clarendon Press, nearly forty years ago; and it has been left entirely to the scholars of Germany and France to turn to account the labours of the Neapolitan editors, by re-editing, annotating, and criticising the contents of the succession of folios which have appeared at Naples during the interval. The array of titles at the head of this paper will show that a good deal has been done, as well in the way of original publication as of critical re-editing; and, referring back to our last notice of the papyri, we purpose to lay before the reader a brief account of the progress since that date, and of the present condition of this once hopeful undertaking.

We shall first briefly detail as well what has been done by the original Neapolitan editors, as what is proposed by the eminent scholars who have recently undertaken to continue the work in a new series; and we shall then proceed to an account of the separate publications to which the Neapolitan text has given occasion.

A taint of procrastination, the result of excessive minuteness of detail, appears to have infected the undertaking from its very commencement. The very first of the long series of

scholars through whose hands it has come down to us, the learned Mgr. Bayardi, devoted no fewer than five quarto volumes to preliminaries connected with the name and history of the city! The catalogue of Herculanean antiquities which he drew up by order of the king is a curious monument of erudite trivialities; and a witty epigram which was composed on the occasion of its publication, can hardly be said to exaggerate the learned obscurity in which, by excessive detail and endless digression, he has contrived to bury the very facts which he desired to illustrate:

'Herculea urbs quondam sævis oppressa ruinis,
Et terræ vastis abdita visceribus,
Magnanimi Regis jussu jam prodit in auras,
Raraque tot profert quæ latuere prius.
Miramur signa ac pictas spirare figuras,
Priscorum doctas artificumque manus.
Sed quam non motus terræ valuere nec ignes
Perdere, scriptoris pagina dira valet!
En iterum tetris miserè tot mersa ruinis,
Bajardi in libro tota sepulta jacet!'

A Royal Academy was founded in 1756, expressly for the illustration of the Herculanean antiquities, and the publication of its literary remains; but although almost all the eminent academicians, Rosini, Mazzocchi, Ignarra, Baffi, and Federici, had a share in the preparation of the first volume of the series, nearly forty years elapsed before it made its appearance in 1793. The 'Dissertatio Isagogica' of Rosini, which was to have ushered in the collection, was not published till four years later. The second volume did not appear till 1809; and it is separated by a still wider interval from the third, which dates so late as 1827. This third volume had actually been published prior to the notice of the collection which appeared in this Journal in December, 1828; but, owing to the precariousness and irregularity of literary intercourse with Naples at that period, it had not come into our hands at the time of the publication of the article, which, in consequence, comprehends only the first and second volumes of the 'Volumina Herculanensia.'

Although separated so far from the first volume, the third likewise was published under the editorial superintendence of Carlo Rosini. Soon afterwards, however, Rosini was succeeded in the post which he had so long occupied, as head of the Papyrus Commission, by his pupil, Angelo Scotti, a native of the island of Procida, who had been professor of Palæography in the University of Naples, and preceptor of the Duke of Calabria, afterwards Ferdinand II. He was assisted in his labours as editor and commentator by several of his fellow academicians, and

especially by Antonio Ottaviani, the translator and commentator of Polystratus's treatise 'De temerario Contemptu,' in the fourth volume, which was printed in 1832. The fifth was divided into two parts. The first appeared in 1835; but, owing to some difficulties which arose in the progress of the printing or deciphering of the second part, its publication was delayed until 1843; so that this portion of the fifth volume is posterior in date to the sixth volume, which appeared in 1839. For a similar reason the seventh volume, although the fac-simile plates have long been engraved, and the translation and commentary in great part completed, still remains unpublished. The rest, as far as the eleventh, have appeared in regular order; the eighth in 1844, the ninth in 1848, the tenth in 1850, and the eleventh in 1855; since which date no addition had been made to the series until the recent change in the government of Southern Italy. The new Minister of Public Instruction issued a commission, under the presidency of the Prince di Sangiorgio, and including the eminent antiquarians and scholars Cavaliere Minervini and Signor Fiorelli, one of whose first duties was to examine and report upon the condition and prospects of an undertaking which had so long engaged and interested the literary world. The report of this Commission was such as to lead to a total change in the plan of publishing the papyri. It was found that the preparations for the continuation of the work under the late government were in a very forward state, and that in one department especially — that of the engraved fac-simile plates — no fewer than two thousand columns were already ready for press; but that in very few cases had the accompanying translation and commentary been completed; even that of the long-delayed seventh volume being still in an unfinished state. Hence, to continue the work with translation and commentary, as originally projected, would be to delay, almost indefinitely, the appearance of the long-expected volumes. The Commission, therefore, advised that, relinquishing the ambitious and erudite plan in which the work was originally undertaken, the government should follow the more humble example which was set by the University of Oxford in 1824—5, and should be content with giving to the public the mere fac-similes of the papyri, leaving to the learned throughout Europe the labour, as well as the honour, of translating, interpreting, and criticising the text. After some consideration this suggestion was adopted.

The present issue, therefore, of the 'Herculanensia Volumina' appears in a new series, the first volume of which has just been completed. It is entirely independent of the earlier collection: but as that collection is at present imperfect (the seventh

volume, as we saw, being still unpublished), the new editors have charged themselves with the duty of supplying this hiatus. The seventh volume of the old series was to have contained the celebrated treatise Περὶ Εὐσεβείας, with a translation and commentary by the Cavaliere Quaranta; and as the advanced years and enfeebled health of this gentleman preclude all hope of its early completion, the editors have resolved to substitute another work for the Περὶ Εὐσεβείας, as the seventh volume of the original collection. The work selected for this purpose is a further portion of Philodemus's 'Treatise on Rhetoric,' some books of which treatise had already appeared. Another volume of it had been left by the old editors in a state of complete preparation for the press, the translation and commentary having been executed with great care by the late Salvatore Cirillo, exactly on the same plan with that of the earlier volumes. This work, accordingly, will be issued in a short time as the seventh volume of the first series; and, should the Περὶ Εὐσεβείας of Cavaliere Quaranta be hereafter completed, it will be printed as a twelfth and concluding volume of the same series.

We shall speak in detail hereafter of the contents of these several volumes. For the present it will be enough to say that, with the exception of a fragment of a Latin hexameter poem on the battle of Actium, the works recovered are entirely Greek, and comprise fragments, more or less extensive, of several authors, all of the Epicurean school, including some portions of one of the works of the great master himself. The other Epicurean writers are Metrodorus, Phædrus, Polystratus, and, above all, Philodemus, who is by far the most voluminous of the entire, as well as the most miscellaneous in the selection of his subjects.

Very few words must suffice for the volume of the new series just issued. It consists mainly of fragments of the same Philodemus so many of whose works had already turned up in the earlier publication. The greater part of the new volume is occupied with what evidently formed a portion of Philodemus's work Περὶ Κακίων; viz. fragments of a 'Treatise on Anger,' and of another 'On Flattery.' These are followed by scraps from his work entitled Πραγματεῖαι, and from two other works, of which the authors, and even the titles, are unknown. The volume consists barely of the fac-simile engraving of the papyrus, without translation or notes, and even without a reprint of the text in ordinary Greek characters; and we must confess that, whether we consider the dreary nature of its contents, or the absence of the extrinsic graces which a learned and ingenious editor can lend even to an unpromising subject,

we fear it is not likely to render the study of the papyri more popular. At the same time we cannot, under all the circumstances, doubt the wisdom of the course which, as we learn from the preface of the learned editor, Cav. Minervini, the editors have resolved to pursue. The plates being already prepared for the press, it is plain that the course most advantageous for the general interests of literature is to throw them open to the inspection and criticism of the learned world, and to leave to individuals the selection of such portions among them as may appear to deserve more special editorial care. The general scholar must await the leisure or the enterprise of those patient and industrious critics, who like Petermann, Schömann, Sauppe, and Gros, will find time and means to throw this raw material into a form better suited to the general capacity, even if they cannot hope to render it perfectly attractive to the general taste.

Such is a summary of nearly a century's work at Naples. In the original publication of the papyri nothing whatever has been done elsewhere, with the exception of a single papyrus, 'De Natura Deorum,' inserted in Mr. Drummond's 'Herculanensia,' and the two octavo volumes of lithographed facsimiles printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and already noticed in this journal.

But a considerable amount of criticism has been bestowed, especially in Germany, on the texts of the Neapolitan and Oxford editors; and several of the works contained in the general collection have been republished in France and Germany, with special commentaries and dissertations. In Germany, indeed, the progress of the work has been observed with more interest than in any other country. One of the very earliest of European scholars who called attention to the value of the discovery was John Winkelmann. The first to submit its results to the critical scrutiny of the general world of letters by separate republication, was Christian Gottlieb von Murr, of Nuremberg; and we shall see that the most learned and industrious of the more recent critics and editors of the papyri have been of the same country.

For a time, it is true, our own country yielded to no other in activity and zeal for the furtherance of the undertaking, and especially for the prosecution of the various experiments to which the papyri have been submitted for decipherment. Soon after the publication of the first volume at Naples, an offer was made to the Neapolitan Government by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., to take upon himself the expense of deciphering and publishing a certain proportion of the papyri.

It would be out of place to re-open in detail the history of this transaction, which led to many misunderstandings, and is still involved in some mystery. The results alone are of real importance; and it will be enough to say that in the year 1800, the Prince's chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Hayter, was appointed to the work, and entered upon it with vigour at Naples in the end of the following year. Under the impulse given by him the work proceeded vigorously. Up to the time of his arrival but eighteen manuscripts had been deciphered. Before 1806 nearly two hundred were, wholly or in part, unrolled under his auspices.

But on the occupation of Naples by the French in this year, when the Bourbon Court withdrew to Palermo, Mr. Hayter was compelled to share their flight. By some unexplained misarrangement, the papyri were all left behind at Naples, and the facsimile copies of those which had been unrolled remained in the hands of the Neapolitan Government in Palermo. A serious misunderstanding seems to have arisen as to the right of property in these copies; but after some time they were placed in the charge of the British Legation, and were ultimately forwarded to the Prince of Wales for publication in England. The fragment 'De Natura Deorum,' printed, as the first fruit of the enterprise, in the 'Herculanensia' (1810) of Sir William Drummond and Mr. Walpole, is one of these manuscripts. They were ultimately presented to the University of Oxford. Meanwhile the Prince of Wales was induced, by the confident representations of a German palæographer, Dr. Sickler, of Hildburghausen, to submit to his experiments some of the papyri which had been presented by the Neapolitan Government. Dr. Sickler proved to be an incapable pretender; and the result of this ill-considered proceeding was, not merely a loss of many hundred pounds, but the complete destruction of some of the best preserved and most promising among the papyri. Another attempt, based upon a different view of the chemical condition of the papyri from that which had before prevailed, was made in 1818, when Sir Humphry Davy, having first submitted to a lengthened examination the rolls which were within reach in England, was commissioned by the Prince of Wales to proceed to Naples for the purpose of obtaining a wider field for the completion of his experiments. Regarding as entirely erroneous the popular notion which ascribed the charred appearance of the rolls to the action of fire, Sir Humphry was of opinion that the condition in which they are now found, but which is by no means uniform in them all, is attributable solely to a gradual process of decomposition, more or less complete. His researches and experi-

ments made on the spot confirmed him in this view. The substance of his lengthened and elaborate report may be condensed into a few statements;—that the part of Herculaneum in which the MSS. were found was untouched by actual fire;—that it lay under a compact mass of mingled ashes, sand, dust, stones, and other volcanic matter, cemented together with water, probably in a boiling state;—that the different appearance of the several classes of rolls, some of which are loose, and of a deep chestnut colour; some black and close in their folds, but yet easily unrolled; while some are dense, and penetrated with earthy matter, is inconsistent with the supposition of one uniform agent, such as fire;—that, on the contrary, it is just what we might expect as the effect, under various circumstances, of decomposition, such as takes place in vegetable substances exposed to the limited operation of air and water; as, for instance, peat, or Bovey coal;—that similar imperfect carbonisation has occurred at Pompeii, without the action of fire;—that the papyrus of the loose chestnut-coloured rolls may be supposed to have been brought to that condition by decomposition resulting from the mere action of air, without moisture or water;—that the rolls which are found black, but which unroll easily, were decomposed by moisture, but without actual percolation of water;—and that the densely compacted rolls were probably acted on by warm water, which not only carried earthy matter into the folds by infiltration, but also dissolved the starch and gluten of the papyrus, and the glue of the ink, and thus solidified the mass.

It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that Sir Humphry's experiments added little to the results previously obtained. He succeeded in partially unrolling twenty-three manuscripts; but upwards of a hundred others proved so imperfect, that all hope of successful manipulation was abandoned. This may be regarded as the last serious effort on a large scale for the decipherment of these remains. The work of unrolling still proceeds; and the present Director of the Museum, Cavaliere Minervini, has added much to its interest by a very beautiful arrangement of the unrolled papyri, which enables the student to compare them page by page with the published fac-similes; but, from the condition in which those which are still unopened seem to be, we fear that the process of unrolling must be looked to, rather as an exhibition for the gratification of learned curiosity than with the real hope of any valuable result. The number of rolls originally discovered was 1696. Of these, about one-third have either been operated upon on the spot or have been presented to foreign governments; but, unhappily, the remaining two-thirds

may be given up as of little promise,—most of them being now in such a state of mutilation as to preclude all chance of rescuing any notable portion of their contents.

No further experiment was undertaken on behalf of the Prince of Wales; nor has any English scholar attempted either to continue the course of original publication which was begun at the Clarendon Press, or to re-edit critically the contents of the Oxford volumes. But one solitary attempt, indeed, has been made to turn the English publications from the papyri to account; and that is due, not to any of our own seats of learning, but to one of the second-rate German universities. It is to Germany, indeed, almost exclusively, that we are indebted for all that has been done (except by the original Neapolitan editors) towards the critical illustration of the papyri. As we shall have occasion to refer to the principal of these publications hereafter, it will be enough here to enumerate briefly the various separate German editions of the contents of the Neapolitan volumes, in the order in which they have appeared. Murr's reprint of Philodemus's 'De Musica,' in 1804, has been already mentioned. Two years later, he published a German translation of the same treatise, with additional illustrations. The fragments of the heroic Latin poem on the 'Battle of Ac-'tium,' contained in the second volume of the Naples collection, were critically edited at Leipsig, in 1814, by Professor Kreissig. A few years later (1818), Orelli published the portions of 'Epi-'curus de Natura' which were contained in the same volume of the Naples collection. Professor Göttling, of Jena, printed, in 1830, the fourth book of Philodemus, on 'The Vices, and the 'Virtues opposed to them.' The fragment, 'De Natura Deorum,' which was included in Mr. Drummond's 'Herculanensia,' was republished in 1833, at Hamburgh, by Professor Petersen, of that city. It was originally published as 'of an unknown author,' and is enumerated as such, both in the catalogue of the papyri contained in the Oxford volumes and in another catalogue which is given by the Canon de Jorio in his 'Description of the Papyrus 'Office;' but M. Petersen makes it very plain that the author was Phædrus the Epicurean, a contemporary and friend of Cicero, on whom the latter has drawn largely in his work, 'De 'Natura Deorum.' An interesting dissertation on Philodemus's 'De Vitiis,' by Professor Schömann, appeared at Greifswald in 1839; but the next reprint, and in many respects the most important one, of the papyri, was from a French source, and consisted of the collected fragments of Philodemus on 'Rhetoric,' as well those published at Oxford as those contained in the Neapolitan series. The editor was M. E. Gros, and the work

was printed at the well-known press of M. Firmin Didot, from which was issued, in the same year, another, but very minor, reprint of Philodemus, Περὶ Ποιημάτων, edited by Frederic Dübner. In 1841 Dr. Spengel edited for the Royal Academy of Munich the fourth book of Philodemus's 'Rhetoric.' Dr. Hermann Sauppe, in 1853, published the fragments of the tenth book of the same author, 'De Vitiis;' and in 1857 a very interesting contrasted edition of the fragments of the same author, on 'Economics,' and on 'Pride,' with the 'Economics' and the 'Characters' of Theophrastus, appeared at Leipsig, with a German version by J. A. Hartung,—the text being, in the main, a reprint of the edition by Göttling already described.

These reprints, together with occasional critical or philosophical essays, in the learned periodicals, (among which we would specially enumerate those of Schömann, Saidler, and Jacobs,) comprise the most important continental republications, whether of the Neapolitan or of the English editions of the papyri, as well as all that is really valuable in the critical or philological discussions to which they have given occasion.

When we last referred in this journal—now many years ago—to the subject of the papyri, it was in relation to the hope which they, in conjunction with other sources, might be expected to afford of the recovery of the lost writings of the ancients. The experiment had then been partially tried, and considerable progress had been made towards a result: but much also remained to be done, and no small uncertainty existed as to the future of the enterprise. Upwards of thirty years have since elapsed, and it is time, now that all the available materials for the formation of a judgment are before us, to attempt some estimate of the actual value to classical learning which has accrued from this lengthened experiment.

It must be confessed that among the fruits of a century of research there is no one great and complete result which can be pointed to as a clear and tangible evidence of success. Not a single perfect work, as we have seen, is yet discovered. Even the portions of works which have been found are in themselves very far from perfect. It is hardly too much to say that there are very few sentences, certainly not a single paragraph, in the entire twelve volumes of the Naples and Oxford collections, which do not present a gap of greater or less extent and importance.

We must be content, then, with successes of a lowlier order. The recovered papyri must be judged, not by contrast with the early triumphs of classical discovery, but by comparison with the humble gleanings of its long-exhausted field,—with the

catenæ in which the Greek commentators delighted,—with the *excerpta* which probably represent the commonplace book of a still earlier period,—even with the miscellaneous fragments which are commonly appended to almost every ancient author. This is the true standard with which to compare the papyri. They are not to be judged as works complete in themselves. The degree of real worth which is to be attached to what has been published, whether by the Neapolitan or by the Oxford editors, is to be estimated upon special and very limited considerations. But measured by these considerations, their importance is by no means below the notice of scholars. It lies partly in the independent value of the isolated fragments themselves, partly in the relation which they bear to other and better-known sources of knowledge, but most of all in the light which, imperfect as they are, they throw on a subject regarding which but little else of information is available—the literary history of the Epicurean school of philosophy.

We have already seen that, with the exception of the Latin Hexameter fragments, the contents of the published papyri are exclusively Epicurean. If it be true, as stated by Murr, that two rolls, with the name of the great Stoic, Chrysippus, had been deciphered at the time at which he wrote, the editors have since given no indication of their existence or intended publication; and the authors comprised in their printed collection are all, without exception, members of the Epicurean sect. Now it is fortunate, as regards this sect, not only that the department to which the papyri for the most part refer, is that in which our knowledge of the Epicurean system is especially deficient, but also that the imperfect acquaintance with it which we do possess is precisely such as may be best eked out by such fragmentary contributions as those supplied by these mutilated and unconnected remains of ancient Epicurean literature. We need hardly say that, among all the ancient philosophical systems described by Diogenes Laertius, who, after all, must be confessed to be our sole original authority, there is none of whose *general* character he has given so skilful and so elaborate an analysis. And even as regards the *particulars* of the system, nothing could well be more complete than Laertius's account of the *physical* portion of it. But, on the other hand, our knowledge of the details of the *ethical* system of Epicurus is wofully deficient, and especially of its practical application to the affairs of every-day life. The well-known schism among the followers of his school, as to the real meaning of the master's fundamental doctrine that 'Pleasure is the chief 'good,' has added to our uncertainty regarding the master's own

theory of practical ethics; and it is scarcely too much to say that there is not one of the ancient philosophers regarding whose moral system opinions so contradictory have been maintained.

The first element, therefore, in the value which we attribute to the Herculanean collection is the light which it throws upon this hitherto obscure department of the history of ancient philosophy. The published authors are, without a single exception, Epicureans. Most of the treatises are on ethical subjects; and the greater number of these, eminently practical, as—'On Pride,' 'On Death,' 'On Virtues,' and 'On Vices.' Even those subjects which, at first sight, seem to be purely literary, or even technical, are treated, not from the literary or artistic, but mainly—or, indeed, we may say exclusively—from the moral point of view. Thus Philodemus's treatise on 'Rhetoric' does not deal with the principles of criticism, or the rules of rhetorical art, but with discussions on the lawfulness of the practice of that art, and with its bearings on the interests of morality and on the social and political well-being of mankind. In like manner, the treatise on 'Music,' to the infinite disappointment of antiquarian *conoscenti*, proved to be a purely ethical essay, without a single detail of the musical system of the Greeks. And even the papyrus upon 'Homer,' which was eagerly looked forward to, as promising a most interesting specimen of classical criticism, turned out to be merely a half-moral, half-political disquisition upon the opinions contained in the Homeric poems, 'regarding what is good for the people'! Now, although these and other similar subjects are grievously disappointing, and may appear in themselves excessively dull and uninteresting, yet it cannot be doubted that, on the one hand, as illustrating the moral teaching of the Epicureans, they are interesting; and that, on the other, everything tending to throw light upon that subject possesses, in the present condition of our literature, a higher importance than any mere literary acquisition.

It is plain, moreover, that, regarded in this point of view, the value of the portions of ancient writings thus recovered is much less affected by their fragmentary character than would be that of purely literary compositions, the interest of which might mainly depend on their integrity, and on the unbroken connexion of their several parts. The value of a history is seriously impaired by a break of continuity in the narrative. The charm of poetry depends on the integrity of its structure, the unbroken connexion of its members, and the sustained balance of its rhythms and measures. In both history and poetry, no doubt, the several parts may chance to possess an individual and independent value. An isolated fact has its use in history. A

single line may possess its own beauty in poetry. But poetry and history both, of their own nature, require completeness, as an essential condition for the full attainment of the object to which they are specially directed. But it is not so — or, at least, it is not so in the same degree — with philosophical writings. Not only has each part an independent value of its own, but each fragment may serve as a guide to the discovery of others. From the intimate connexion of the several parts of a philosophical system, and their mutual dependence upon each other, it is often an easy task, in such a subject, to fill up deficiencies by conjecture, to supply principles by inference or by contrast, to combine parts by analogy into a whole, and perhaps even to reconstruct the whole theory out of the isolated fragments of a mutilated original. We may add that this is especially true for the ethical system of Epicurus, for the reconstruction of which we possess a valuable guide in one of his own letters, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, — that to Menœceus, which contains a summary of the scheme of morality laid down by him for the regulation of the life and conduct of his followers. We shall have an opportunity of illustrating this by reference to the fragments which have been published in the Neapolitan series.

A second fruit of the Herculanean papyri is the accession which has thence accrued to the list of Greek writers on philosophy. It is true that most of the authors were already known by name, being referred to at some length by Diogenes, and occasionally by Cicero, and even by the Roman satirists. But this notice hardly went beyond the mere mention of their names; and, at all events, as regards their literary style, and the details of their philosophical opinions, we were almost entirely without information. Now, without speaking of the papyri still unpublished*, the remains embodied in the two collections comprise very considerable specimens of Epicurus, of Metrodorus, of Philostratus, of Phædrus, of Demetrius, and, above all, of Philodemus. It is true that the specimens of all

* The catalogue of unpublished papyri printed by the Oxford editors contains several other names of Epicurean philosophers. One of these, (whose name is also found in a similar list given by Canonico de Jorio,) Colotes, will be especially regretted. His book, proving 'that it is impossible even to live according to the doctrines 'of the other philosophers,' although only known to us by Plutarch's reply: — 'that it is impossible even to live pleasantly according to 'Epicurus:' — must have contained many lively sketches of the ancient schools, and would most probably have thrown much light on the character and personal history of the philosophers of his days.

these writers are but fragments; but no one will be disposed to undervalue even fragments, who considers what was the extent of our knowledge of these authors previous to the discovery of the papyri.

The fate of the writings of Epicurus himself is among the most singular in the whole range of literary history. There is not one of the various founders of the ancient philosophical schools whose memory was cherished with so much veneration by his disciples. For several centuries after his death his portrait was treated by them with all the honours of a sacred relic: it was carried about by them in their journeys, it was hung up in their schools, it was reverently preserved in their private chambers; his birthday was celebrated with sacrifices, and other religious observances; a special festival was held each month in his honour. It ought to have been expected, therefore, that his writings would have been guarded with religious care. He was one of the most prolific of all the ancient Greek writers. Diogenes calls him, πολυγραφώτατος*; and computes the volumes composed by him at no lower a number than three hundred, the principal of which he enumerates by name.† Now, out of all this prodigious collection, not a single book has reached us in a complete or, at least, in an independent form. Four letters, three of which contain some outlines of his philosophy, are embodied in the work of Diogenes, who has also preserved his Κύριαι δόξαι—forty-four propositions, containing a summary of his ethical system. These, with some fragments collected from other writers, had constituted the sum of all that, out of so vast a collection, had outlived the general wreck. In such a dearth of materials, any addition to our means of judging an author, whose writings and opinions had exercised so wide and so permanent an influence, was eagerly looked forward to; and as soon as it was known that among the

* x. 26.

† x. 27. The writer of the otherwise accurate article 'Epicurus,' in Smith's 'Dictionary of Biography,' alleges that the works of Epicurus are said to have been full of repetitions and quotations from other authors. This is directly the opposite of what is stated by Diogenes Laertius, 'that in the whole of his works there is not one 'citation from other sources, but they are filled wholly with the senti-'ments of Epicurus himself' (x. 17.). He adds that Chrysippus tried hard to equal the fertility of his rival, and that, so soon as he heard of any new work of Epicurus, he at once set about composing one of equal size. It is curious that Chrysippus's writings, although even more numerous than those of Epicurus,—amounting, it is said, to above 700,—have been equally unfortunate. Not a single one has reached us in a complete form.

yet undeciphered papyri were several which bore the name of the great master, the curiosity of the learned was awakened. The work proved to be Epicurus's celebrated treatise Περὶ Φύσεως. It had originally consisted of thirty-seven books; and in the second volume of the Neapolitan series were published some very considerable fragments of the second, and also of the eleventh books,—extending, in the whole, to nearly a hundred pages; and a further contribution, to the restoration of the original, of forty-four pages, with a commentary, is found in the tenth volume of the same series. The fragments of the second and eleventh books are interesting, as containing the philosopher's own exposition of his well-known theory of the εἴδωλα, and have been thought deserving, as we saw, of a separate publication by Orelli.

Next to Epicurus himself, perhaps, there is no member of the school who ought to hold so important a place in its history as Metrodorus. He was Epicurus's favourite disciple, and was destined by him, had he outlived himself, to be his successor as head of the school. From the first date of his association to the sect he lived in daily and intimate intercourse with Epicurus, never quitting his side, except for one interval of six months, when he paid a visit to his home. Moreover, as may well be believed from a saying of his quoted by Athenæus*;—'that 'the belly is the foundation of all philosophy;'—he is regarded as the founder of that grosser and more sensual conception of 'Pleasure as the chief good,' which a large body of the Epicureans substituted for the intellectual pleasures which Epicurus adopted as his ideal good. Now the writings of Metrodorus, of which Diogenes enumerates several, have all perished; and the first considerable specimen, whether of his style or of his mode of thought, which has been recovered is a portion of his treatise Περὶ Αἰσθητῶν, which is contained in the sixth volume of the Neapolitan collection.

A third addition, of some value, to our stock of Epicurean literature, is a portion of one of the treatises of Polystratus, who was the second in order from Epicurus among the heads of the school. The fragments of his treatise 'De injusto Con-'temptu,' although inconsiderable in extent, are valuable, as being the only literary relics of the author that we possess. As regards the Greek original, the same might be said of Phædrus, who was a contemporary of Cicero, and head of the sect in his time. Two of his works, Περὶ Θεῶν and Ἑλλάδος, are mentioned by Cicero (Ad. Att. xiii. 39.); and from the former, much of the

* Athen. Deipnosoph. vii. 11.

matter of the first book of Cicero's own work on the same subject is derived,—not alone the exposition of the Epicurean system, but also the minute account of the doctrines of earlier philosophers, which is given in the person of Velleius, in Cicero's dialogue. The original of a considerable portion of this part of Phædrus's work was for the first time made accessible in the interesting papyrus which Mr. Drummond printed in his 'Herculanensia,' and which has since been much more carefully reprinted by Professor Petersen, in the edition already described. Still less was known of Demetrius, who is barely mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Sextus Empiricus. The few fragments of this author which are contained in the first volume of the Oxford collection have no value, except as samples of a writer otherwise entirely unknown.

But by far the most prolific of the authors who have been restored to the world by the papyri, is that Philodemus whose treatise on 'Music' ushered in the Neapolitan collection, and of whom some account was given in our former notice of that series. Considered in a literary point of view, the remains of this author which have been thus recovered must be confessed to be of little worth. The style is bald, and the sentiment often far-fetched and affected; nor does the author, by citations or even allusions to other writers, make up, by information regarding other departments of Greek literature, for the uninteresting character of his own literary performances. But if Philodemus be comparatively worthless as a man of letters, we cannot help thinking that, as a philosophical writer, and especially as a member of the Epicurean school, he is deserving of most careful consideration. He is almost the only representative of that school whom we possess; and although no single work of his among those recovered from the papyri is perfect, or even moderately approaches to completeness, yet the want of completeness in the individual treatises is in some measure balanced by their number, by the variety of subjects to which they relate, and by the miscellaneous character of the information which they supply. No fewer than fourteen out of the deciphered rolls are by Philodemus; and although three of these are portions of one work, the treatise on 'Rhetoric,' yet all the rest are on separate and, for the most part, very dissimilar subjects.

Moreover, although the works of Philodemus had, previous to this discovery, been almost entirely unknown, there is quite enough in the allusions to him which occur in ancient authors to show that he was not only a person of much consideration in his sect, but also of some reputation as a writer as well in general literature as in philosophy. His literary powers are only known to

us by a few epigrams which are preserved in the Greek Anthology; but he is known to be the *Græcus facilis et valde venustus*, whose moral character Cicero attacks so fiercely in the well-known passage of his oration against Piso, but of whose philosophical knowledge, general literary ability, and elegance of poetical style, he speaks in terms of the highest commendation, as, 'non philosophiâ solum, sed etiam literis, quod fere 'ceteros Epicureos negligere dicunt, perpolitus; poema porro 'facit ita festivum, ita concinnum, ita elegans, nihil ut fieri 'posset argutius' (In Pisonem, c. 28.).

Such a reputation as this with his contemporaries must add authority to Philodemus as a representative not merely of the philosophy, but also of the literature, of his school; and, whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to the value of what has been recovered, we cannot help thinking that the foreign scholars who have applied themselves to the critical restoration and examination of even the most inconsiderable of these remains, have acted far more in the spirit of their craft than our own men of letters, who have turned from them with indifference, and, it might almost seem, with disgust.

More than ordinary enthusiasm is indeed needed to carry even a critic through the blank and seemingly pointless chapters of Philodemus's dull book, 'De Musicâ.' Had it been a treatise on the science of music as it existed among the ancients, it would have been at least instructive. But a glance sufficed to show that it was but a plodding polemical discussion of the question whether music is good and useful to men, and at once put an end, in the minds of the great majority of scholars, to all further interest in the treatise and its author. But the patient Germans did not rest here. Von Murr regarded the subject as deserving of further consideration. He was not slow to recognise the important bearing which the treatise might have upon the moral tenets of the Epicurean school from which it emanated; and his essay, founded on the despised fragments of this dull and commonplace roll, goes far to explain the paradox of the Epicurean antipathy to music, which was noticed as early as the days of Diogenes Laertius and Empiricus, and has perplexed all the later historians of ancient philosophy.

In like manner we think M. Gros has done acceptable service in re-editing critically, and collecting into a single volume, the same author's treatise 'On Rhetoric,' portions of which are scattered through the several volumes of the Neapolitan series. There is no subject which has been treated by the ancients more amply than that of rhetoric; but among the many treatises on rhetoric which have come down to us, not a single one was

from the Epicurean point of view. Philodemus, in the treatise 'On Rhetoric,' as in all his other writings, is a thorough Epicurean. He considers rhetoric (which the great master had already stigmatised under the opprobious name of *κακοτεχνία*), if not solely, at least principally, in its bearing upon the great Epicurean principle of happiness, — the *ἀταραξία*, which, in their theory of life, ought to form the great object of the wise man's desires. His treatise, therefore, presents this novel feature, that it is a treatise not upon rhetoric, but against it; and its value consists not in the precepts of art which it contains, but in the views of life and the principles of utility and of happiness which it developes. It is true that this work is not solitary among the ancients in its opposition to rhetoric. Plato condemned it as an art, and the second book of Empiricus's great work against all positive philosophy may possibly suggest itself as a parallel for the work of Philodemus; but Plato's hostility was partial and exceptional, and Empiricus, it will be remembered, argues against rhetoric, as against all the other sciences, on entirely different grounds. He writes as an exponent of the sceptical point of view; Philodemus, as the representative of the philosophy of a quiet life. It would be curious to contrast the two lines of argument in their several parts; but unfortunately the papyri have restored to us but a portion of this remarkable treatise, and it is defective in what might have been expected to prove its most characteristic parts.

In like manner, the little reprint by Professor Göttling of Jena (reproduced, with a German version, in 1857, by M. Hartung), forms part of what, if complete, would have supplied an entire code of practical Epicurean ethics. The papyri which this publication reproduces, contained but two books, the ninth and tenth, of a treatise by the same prolific Philodemus, on 'Vices and their antagonistic Virtues.' Of the tenth book we shall speak again, but the subject of the ninth is peculiarly interesting in its bearing on that view of the Epicurean system which we have been considering.

It is on 'Economics,' or the management of a household; a subject eminently calculated to bring out the practical parts of a system of ethics, but which, although a favourite with the ancient moralists of the various schools, many of whose treatises are named by Stobæus and Diogenes Laertius, had hitherto been known to us only by two treatises — the *Οἰκονόμικος Λόγος*, which is the fifth book of Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' and a treatise under the same title which had been commonly ascribed to Aristotle. It is a curious coincidence among the chances which have directed the fortunes of ancient literature, that the

fragment of Philodemus on 'Economics,' here restored to us, proves to be a criticism of these very treatises—that of Xenophon, and that which had been attributed to Aristotle, but which is now found to be the work of Theophrastus, the well-known author of the 'Characters.' Now, as both Xenophon and Theophrastus belonged to a widely different school from that of our author, his criticism of their opinions is in itself highly indicative of his own views upon the questions which he raises. The very circumstance which he himself suggests, that, whereas they treat of the household management of an agriculturist, while he discusses the subject in its bearing on the life of a philosopher, would suffice to constitute an essential difference.

But there are many points besides, on which it is interesting, even for its own sake, to learn what are the views of an Epicurean philosopher, discussing them solely in their relation to that happy tranquillity of mind, which, in his system of philosophy, is the first end of the wise man and the chief constituent of the sovereign good. The principles laid down regarding the treatment of servants, and on the comparative merits of the free and of the slave element, are very curious; as is also a discussion on the propriety of withholding wine altogether from the slaves. It is amusing, too, to read the author's reflections on the principles by which expenditure ought to be regulated. Nevertheless the Christian moralist can hardly fail, even while his curiosity is interested, to be painfully struck by the low and thoroughly utilitarian standard according to which every law of life is measured. We need but allude to a single example, in which (although the discussion is not complete, owing to the mutilation of the treatise) it would appear to have been formally discussed, whether, in point of expense and satisfactory domestic management, it be preferable to place at the head of a household a mistress or a lawfully wedded wife!*

In the same volume M. Hartung has also reprinted the tenth book of Philodemus, 'De Vitiis,' the subject of which is 'Arrogance,' and along with it, for the purpose of comparison and

* Philodemus is here criticising an opinion of Theophrastus, who had cited the passage from Hesiod's Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερῶν,

> Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα, γυναῖκά τε, βοῦν τ' ἀρητῆρα
> Κτητὴν οὐ γαμετήν, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἔποιτο,

in which it is taken for granted that the woman is to be κτητὴν οὐ γαμετήν. He himself acquiesces in the same view. It has been conjectured that the passage ought to be read κτητὴν ἢ γαμετήν; but even the alternative argues but a low standard of morality.

contrast, he has given Theophrastus's 'Characters.' In the text of Philodemus he had been anticipated by a very careful critical edition published in 1853 by Professor Hermann Sauppe of Weimar; but M. Hartung's German version will be found useful in clearing up many obscurities of the original; and at all events his plan falls in more exactly with the design for the illustration of those ethical views of the Epicurean system which we are now considering. For we confess that it is because they supply these curious illustrations of the ethical system of the Epicureans, and of its practical influence upon the moral and social condition of the ancient world, much more than on account of any intrinsic literary merit of their own, that we commend the enterprise of the German and French editors who have followed up by these critical reprints the original publications of Naples and of Oxford. There is another of the papyri still left without any such notice, and indeed, we grieve to say, so imperfect as to afford but little scope for the labours of an editor; we mean the curious treatise of the same Philodemus in the eighth volume of the Naples collection — Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὅμηρον ἀγαθοῦ λαῷ— 'On the things which, in the opinion of Homer, are advan-'tageous to the People.' As an example of a critical examination of the moral tendencies of the great Homeric poem, this treatise might prove interesting. That Homer was habitually looked to by the ancients as a great moral instructor, is sufficiently clear from the well-known criticism of Horace: —

> 'Quid sit turpe, quid utile, quid non
> Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.'

But there is a special value in such a criticism from a member of the Epicurean school, in which, as we are assured by Cicero, the study of letters was habitually neglected; and we must add that, imperfect as are the remains of Philodemus's essay, the familiarity which it exhibits with the characters, the sentiments, the plan, and the entire structure of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,' fully justifies the eulogy which Cicero passes upon him at the cost of his brethren. It is interesting to study the use which he makes of the various characters of the 'Iliad' in illustrating the advantages of virtue, or the evil effects of vice; exhibiting the ignominious punishment of the foul-mouthed braggart in Thersites; the happy results of docility and prudence in Telemachus; the beauty of piety to the gods in Achilles, submitting, in the very flush of his passion, to the slightest admonition of Minerva; the folly of unnecessary wars in the mutual sufferings of the Trojans and Greeks before Troy; and, in a word, drawing, as occasion arises, whether from the incidents of the poem, or

from the sentiments expressed by the poet, such lessons, either of encouragement or of warning, as it seems calculated to convey.

This treatise, fragment though it be, appears to us to deserve the careful attention of some of our own Homeric scholars. And there is another among the papyri of the Neapolitan collection, of which, although for a different reason, we should equally desire to see a critical reprint undertaken by a competent authority. We refer to a very curious tract (likewise by Philodemus), which is contained in the sixth volume of the Naples series, and bears the singular title, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν Θεῶν εὐστοχουμένης διαγώγης κατὰ Ζηνώνα*— 'Conjectures on the Manner of Living of the Gods according 'to Zeno.' The opinion of Epicurus as to the existence of one God, and in a general way as to the nature of God, is distinctly stated by Diogenes Laertius, who quotes the words of Epicurus's own letter to Menœceus. Epicurus teaches that 'God is a being incorruptible and happy;' and he cautions us against 'attaching to our ideas of God anything which is in-'consistent with incorruptibility and happiness.' But he also lays down the polytheistic doctrine in another passage, and adds 'that our knowledge of the gods is indistinct,' and that 'they 'are not of the character which people in general attribute to 'them.' Now the object of Philodemus's treatise is to discuss philosophically the popular notions regarding the gods; nor can we well imagine a more curious illustration of the degree in which even the wisest of the philosophers of old 'became vain 'in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened,' than is presented in these 'conjectural discussions as to the manner 'of living of the gods.' Philodemus adopts the popular notion as to the gods being endowed with a corporeal form, which he holds to be of equal size in them all. The portion of the roll in which the various questions as to 'the limbs of the gods' were considered, is unfortunately destroyed. He distinctly holds that they have blood, but of a different nature from human blood, and incorruptible; also that they use food and drink, although of a super-earthly character. The question regarding the food of the gods naturally raises the discussion as to whether we are to suppose that they are liable to sleep, like mortals. Philodemus vehemently argues the absurdity of the affirmative. 'Whereas,' he contends, 'in the sleep of animals there arises a 'new ordination of parts which has a strong analogy to death, 'and on which is founded a not improbable argument of the 'corruptibility of animals; inasmuch as sleep in them dissolves the 'parts of the soul, the same, or a very nearly analogous, principle 'would, apply to the gods, if we suppose them to undergo sleep.'

A further argument he deduces from the unchangeable happiness and tranquillity of mind which is essential to the idea of the gods, and with which, he amusingly argues, sleep would be irreconcilable; since, if we admit that the gods are subject to sleep, it will follow that they are also liable to dreams, which are often of a highly painful and disturbing nature, and, therefore, entirely inconsistent with the tranquil happiness which we must attribute to the gods!

Still more curious are his speculations as to the dwellings of the gods. On all these silly trivialities he argues upon principles which, to judge from his language, one might suppose to be founded on the very essences of things, and to enter as necessarily into the idea of the gods, as 'into that of a fish, 'that it should live in the water; of a bird, that it should 'have wings; or of a chariot, that it should be furnished with 'wheels!' From the dwellings of the gods, there is an easy transition to the furniture and appurtenances of their habitations. The reader will be amused at the solemnity with which Philodemus lays down that the notion which supposes the gods to be supplied with couches, seats, and other furniture such as mortals possess, is entirely inadmissible. The main ground of this assertion is, that such things are not needed by the gods. And 'as they do not stand in need of them, so neither 'can it be supposed that they exhibit them;' whence he concludes that the representations in which the poets indulge of the golden couches, the ivory chairs, the purple tapestry, and other similar decorations of the dwellings of the gods, are but fabulous inventions of the poetic fancy. On the other hand, that the gods should be held to be endowed with speech, he considers to follow from their being capable of the functions of respiration and expansion of the lungs. 'We 'cannot doubt, therefore,' he argues, 'that they are gifted with 'a voice by which they can make themselves audible to one 'another. Nor shall we add to their happiness or their freedom 'from disturbing cares by supposing them to be naturally voice-'less, like persons deprived of speech. As in our own case 'the power of speaking is an evidence that we are not destitute 'of the organs of speech, so, as the gods also naturally possess 'these organs, we must either suppose them to speak, or we 'must believe that their organs of speech are mutilated or im-'peded.' He argues, moreover, that as good men derive pleasure from mutual converse, so it may be presumed that the converse of the gods, the subject of which must be virtue, science, and philosophy, is, for them also, one of the main sources of enjoyment. It need hardly be added, that, in his

opinion, the language of the gods is 'Greek, by Jove, or near 'akin to Greek.'

The place of the celestial habitations was a most disputed point among the ancient philosophers. The Stoics held that the gods dwelt in or around the stars. Philodemus, who holds that the gods dwell 'in the intermundane spaces,' argues strenuously against the Stoic doctrine. He contends that it is unworthy the idea of a god to be bound to matter, and especially to 'small par-'ticles of matter,' such as he evidently supposes the stars to be. Still more does he look on it as beneath the dignity of a god to be carried about through space, in the endless gyrations of the heavenly bodies, to which the Stoics would consign them. 'It 'is impossible,' he says, 'to suppose that the gods have nothing 'else to do but to go to and fro through endless ways and limit-'less spaces, never for a moment stopping to rest.' And he concludes with what was clearly intended as a stroke of humour, — that we must either hold the place of the gods not to be subject to these endless revolutions in space, 'or we must say' that 'happiness consists in being perpetually on the road, 'without ever having time to sit down for a single meal!'

It will be well, however, to contrast with what some may regard as the triflings of a half-sportive discussion a specimen of the serious reasoning, on the same subject, of another Epicurean philosopher,—that Phædrus already referred to, whose treatise first appeared in the 'Herculanensia.' The whole tract is not undeserving of study. It is mainly a defence of the popular religion, which rests on the belief of the personal existence of those gods who were popularly received by the Greeks, against the pantheistic or semi-pantheistic theories, which either identified God with the Πάν (the universe),—and thus, in a certain sense, taught the unity of God,—or which, while admitting a plurality of deities, reduced them to abstract properties or notions, or to symbols of the several elements and powers of nature. The laborious trifling of Phædrus, on these—to us—self-evident theories, is a curious justification of St. Paul's half-indignant, half-pitying judgment upon those who, 'professing 'themselves to be wise, became fools.' We translate from the amended text of Petersen; and, indeed, we have found it necessary to permit ourselves considerable liberty in the rendering of one or two passages, which in the original are still obscure, and probably imperfect:—

'In the first place, all the followers of Zeno either, if they retain the doctrine of the existence of God, explain the nature of God in a sense which is not admissible, or, if they give a correct explanation of his nature, say that there is but one God. Granting to them that

the Universe is God, still they are in error, because they do not admit more than one God, accommodating themselves exclusively to the views of their own sect. Let it be understood of them, then, by the public, that they teach that the Universe is the one only God; that they do not admit more gods than this one; and that they do not confess those gods whom the public voice proclaims; whereas we hold that there are, not merely as many gods as the Pan-Hellenic body receives, but even a greater number. Besides, these philosophers do not acknowledge even those gods whom they admit, to be of that form in which they are worshipped by us, in common with all the world. They do not admit any god of human form, but only the Air, the Winds, and the Æther; so that I do not hesitate to pronounce them more censurable than even Diagoras, since he has, at the most, spoken lightly of the gods, but has not directly assailed them,—as Aristoxenus has observed, in his "Customs of the "Mantineans," as also in his poetry, when he remarks that "Diagoras had adhered to the truth, introducing nothing like impiety "in any of his verses, but always speaking in them reverently of the "Deity, as is shown, among many passages, by one addressed to "Arianthus of Argos:—

'"O God, O God, before all mortal works,
Grant us the loftiest mind!"

'And again, to Nicodorus of Mantinea,—'

'"By God and chance all mortal things are ruled."'

He proceeds to criticise the system in its moral bearings, and especially its implied denial of the action of the gods on the affairs of men.

'It must be evident to every one,' he continues, 'that no man ever abstains, out of fear of the Air, or the Æther, or the Universe, from doing the slightest injustice, much less from those things to which he is incited by the strongest desires, any more than he would regard a heap of sand, or the down on the feather of a thistle, which he clearly perceives to be insensible. It seems to me, therefore, that we may apply to these men what was said by Timocles, in his comedy of "Egypt," respecting the gods of that country:—

'"For if the wretch, unpunished and secure,
Blasphemes the mighty gods, confessed by all,
Who would adore a cat's unhonoured shrine?"

'They object that, if men speak of the gods from conceiving them such as their own arrogance has represented them, each man must consider himself at liberty to do ill at his pleasure, whenever he has an opportunity. But, on the other hand, can we suppose that any one will abstain from any of the greatest crimes for fear of the Air? And even granting that it is so, if this is the principal check for repressing injustice, they may be very fairly reproached with transferring to mankind the habits of wild beasts, especially if they dis-

regard, as they profess to do, the clamour of the multitude on this account.' (*Petersen's Phædrus*, pp. 22–4.)

This curious fragment of Phædrus cannot but be regarded as an interesting supplement to the knowledge of that Epicurean philosopher which we already possess through Cicero's treatise 'De Natura Deorum.' It fully bears out, and it illustrates not uninterestingly, that principle as to the popular polytheism of the Greeks which Diogenes attributes to Epicurus. His disciple here even uses it as an argument against the Stoics, and other philosophers whom he confutes, that their system only recognised 'one, and not many gods.' It would be remarkable, too, that Phædrus should speak of himself and his fellow Epicureans as not merely agreeing with the rest of the Greeks in admitting many gods, but as holding the number of the gods to be greater than was believed by the other Greeks, were it not clear that in this he is alluding to the well-known Epicurean dictum that the gods exceed in number the mortal inhabitants of the earth.

By far the most extensive work, however, among the various relics which have been restored to the world through the papyri, is Philodemus's treatise on 'Rhetoric,' considerable portions of three books of which, as well as several disconnected fragments, are collected by M. Gros from the different volumes of the original series in which they had appeared. We have already stated that it is not a treatise on Rhetoric in the received sense of the name, but an essay on the question whether the use of rhetoric is laudable and advantageous; on which question the negative is vigorously defended by Philodemus.

It must be said, however, that, in adopting this opinion, Philodemus considers rhetoric, in the very lowest sense of the word, not alone as a purely servile art, tied up by dishonest and unworthy rules, and proposing to itself, not truth, but ostentation, but even as an art, capable of being employed, and habitually employed, for the worst and most corrupt ends. It is true, indeed, that, even on independent grounds, the Epicurean philosophy would lead to the condemnation of one main purpose of the rhetorical art; — viz., the appeals to the passions on which rhetoric often relies for its most effective weapons. Such appeals, and the effects which they are intended to produce, are, of their nature, inconsistent with that enviable *ἀταραξια*, the equable maintenance of which constitutes the 'chief good' of the Epicurean. But in the portions of his argument against rhetoric which have been preserved in the papyri, Philodemus abstracts from this consideration. He dwells almost entirely on the abuses of rhetoric; and, although he admits that certain advantages may be attained by the rhetorician, he contends that

no part of this advantage is in reality to be ascribed to rhetoric; but that, in such a case, all that is good is the work of philosophy, and all the evil by which this good is accompanied is due to rhetoric, which, even in the good which it has effected, has but borrowed for the time the weapons of philosophy.

The treatise, indeed, is mainly directed against the sophists, and is intended to expose their unworthy arts. Perhaps the best idea of the manner in which it deals with the subject will be conveyed by referring the curious reader to the chapter in which Philodemus discusses the well-known rhetorical exercise called by the name of 'Declamations.' (Gros, pp. 67–8.) The nature of these compositions is already familiar, from the description of Quintilian. The highest praise of a 'Declamation,' according to the corrupt standard adopted in the school, was that it made the best of a bad cause, the distinction of the successful declaimer being held to be more signal in proportion to the badness of the cause. This it is that Philodemus chiefly condemns.

There is another chapter in which Philodemus discusses the well-known saying of Demosthenes on Action, which may also be read with interest. But the really interesting remains of the school are the purely ethical treatises, as that on Freedom of Speech, on Death, on Domestic Economy, and on Arrogance. The essay on 'Freedom of Speech' has an amusing section on the persons with whom this plain speaking cannot safely be used, first of whom it ranks women, persons of rank, and old men. On the other hand, we have seldom been so painfully struck by the dark realities of the moral condition of ancient heathendom as in this book 'On Death.' It comes like a voice from the grave of two thousand years to tell us of those whom St. Paul pityingly describes as 'the others who have not hope.' There is something positively appalling in the picture which it presents of the human mind calmly accepting the grave as the limit of its destiny, and acquiescing without an effort in the contented consciousness of annihilation. This is the tone of Philodemus throughout the essay. It is not, as we sometimes see in the Epicurean poets, a passing allusion to the sleep of death. Philodemus coolly discusses all the circumstances of death, and calmly puts aside all the terrors which they involve by the single consideration, that, 'since man, by the enjoyment of life, 'has attained the chief good, he is not to concern himself with 'what may afterwards befal.' The children, therefore, whom we may leave behind us, 'are no more to us than they are to 'those who were born under King Phoroneus'!

It is sufficiently plain, that, as subjects of general reading,

there is hardly any device by which even the least fragmentary of these Herculanean relics could well be rendered available. They are, by their very nature and condition, destined exclusively for the scholar. Even for the most enthusiastic and persevering student they present but few of the ordinary attractions of ancient literature; but we are not without hopes that some of our own countrymen may be induced to continue and complete the work commenced by their learned brethren of Germany and France. It is only by the minute and thorough investigation involved in such a process, that these remains can be made to render up their full value for the illustration of the literature, and still more of the philosophy, of the school to which they belong. Nevertheless, in looking back over what we have written as to the results of the Herculanean discovery, we fear we must not reckon on any very high estimate among our readers of the absolute value, reckoned in the sterling coin of literature, of what has hitherto been won by so many years of toil, and by so vast an expenditure of wealth and of industry. Still even the limited success which has attended the operations on the Herculanean papyri, and especially that of Sir Humphry Davy's experiments, affords almost a certainty that if, in the course of the explorations which yet remain to be made under far more favourable circumstances at Pompeii, any similar deposit of papyri should be there discovered, the rolls, being unaffected by air or moisture, will, like the frescos and other perishable remains, be found in a far higher state of preservation than those of the sister city. This hope is far, we are convinced, from being a visionary one. A very large proportion of the site of Pompeii remains still unexplored; nor has the yet unvisited quarter of that city suffered in any degree, whether from the action of fire, or from the injurious effects of the overflow of boiling mud and water which is supposed to have accompanied the eruption by which Herculaneum was buried. It is hard, therefore, to imagine that, when objects so perishable and colours so delicate as those which we see among the Pompeian remains in the Museo Borbonico, have survived without injury the catastrophe which destroyed that city, the good genius of ancient literature has not even yet in store for us, only awaiting the tardy visit of the excavator, more than one of the lost masterpieces of antiquity, and perhaps in a state of preservation which will leave little to be desired.

ART. III.—*La Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia.* Scritta da MICHELE AMARI. Vols. I. and II. Firenze: 1858.

THIS history of Mussulman dominion in Sicily must undoubtedly rank as the most remarkable historical work in the Italian literature of our own time. Treating a virgin subject of very comprehensive range with great knowledge and acute criticism, it is a book of sterling merit, worthy of the reputation which the author, by birth a Sicilian, established for himself by his first work, a 'History of the Sicilian Vespers,' that has been translated into German, French, and English. Merits that elsewhere won esteem, secured for him at home persecution at the hands of a restlessly suspicious government, which with sensitive consciousness construed his vivid narrative of an oppressive tyranny into a diatribe against itself. With exile therefore as his reward—the indomitable energy of his independent spirit and his excellent talents for his whole fortune—M. Amari came to Paris in the prime of life. There, almost the first publication that met his eye was an Arabic text fresh from the press, having reference to the history of his native island. Such was the irritation he felt at not being able to read it, that it impelled him to apply himself to master the language. The resolution thus taken at a spur he followed up with an unfaltering energy, which has won him a confessedly leading place amongst Arabic scholars of Italy. The conception of this particular history floated before his mind as the capital prize of his labours, and encouraged his enduring exertions with the stimulant of a patriotic purpose. The ordinary difficulties attending Arabic scholarship were, however, far from filling up the measure of what M. Amari had to overcome. The task he had set himself imposed the duty of not merely learning a perplexing tongue and of writing a bulky history, but also of discovering and bringing together by immense research the primary materials for its possible construction—materials which were scattered through manuscripts of obscure existence, and often hidden in the night of forgotten libraries. Without any of those aids which lighten inquiry, his sturdy resolution and critical keenness achieved an undertaking that might have been deemed sufficient to engage the attention of a learned body. During twelve years he ransacked the libraries of all countries for the records which his acuteness enabled him to trace, and thus acquired the amount of matter which he is embodying in a book that throws new and striking

lights upon the very essence of Mahometan societies. With this rare erudition in Arabic writings M. Amari combines a thorough knowledge of Byzantine and early Italian chroniclers. He keenly darts on a hint, whether lurking amidst the trashy biographies of Byzantine saints, or the mysteries of an Arabic text; and as his sober sense resists the seductions of fanciful ingenuity, he offers in an eminent degree that wholesome union of knowledge and instinct which constitutes the true historian.

The conquest of Sicily was the last acquisition in date of the great westward tide of Arab irruption under the impulse of Mahometan fanaticism; for the single waves afterwards still thrown forwards by the devastating flood into remoter parts of Europe, were merely straggling billows, that rolled back as fast as they had run in, without making anywhere a lasting encroachment. Sicily, therefore, is the landmark of the limits attained by the force of Mahomet's impulse, and the history of its Mussulman period reflects consequently in their perfection all the elements which entered into the constitution of Mahometan society and progress within its primitive and Arabian stage. Accordingly, M. Amari has seen fit to precede his narrative of the actual conquest by a sketch of the nature and rise of the conquering force, which is rich in new and profound observation. His scholarship, going hand in hand with a philosophical instinct, has enabled him to recover a thread that can serve as a clue through the mazes of Eastern revolutions, making what hitherto wore the dreary look of wayward recklessness assume the features of settled and eventful antagonism.

The Shemitic population of Arabia falls into two divisions that date from a point of time beyond historical record. The one claiming, and it is generally believed with truth, to be the elder is the tribe of Khattan, by genealogists identified with the Joktan of the Bible. The second is the tribe of Adnan, sprung from Ishmael, an invader and intruder upon the birthright of the other. When the light of history dawns on tradition, we find the tribe of Khattan confined to Arabia Felix and Yemen, while the hardy and intractable children of Ishmael roamed with their herds in nomadic freedom throughout the wide extent of the great Arabian deserts. Thus at the very earliest period within our cognisance, the two branches of the Arabian family were already set against each other in an opposition based on the most lasting passions of human nature; on the one hand, an irrepressible disposition towards lawless rapacity without regard for a neighbour's right; on the other, a rankling resentment at the spoliation of a birthright. The ill feeling thus early begotten was never quenched; it runs through

the whole cycle of Arabian history, breaking out with unabated vehemence on all occasions of contact between the two kindred tribes—be it in the desultory collisions of their primitive life, or under the levelling discipline of Mahomet's new law. Yet on investigation, we can catch but one feature of distinction in the otherwise uniform character of these two members of the great Shemitic family. The men of Khattan were more disposed than their brethren to arts of civilisation. It was not a mere accident which had made them withdraw into Arabia Felix and Yemen. These were the districts of Arabia best adapted to their more especial predispositions, affording sites for towns, a soil that rewarded the toil of the husbandman, and products that could whet the speculative instincts of the merchant. In these men of Khattan, dwellers in towns who worked and dealt in their country's wealth, the refinement of Arabian society was concentrated. With venturesome spirit they plied in frail barks the Eastern seas, and bartering their native spices against the varied articles of rich price to be found in the markets of Rome, Byzantium, and India, they garnished the simple homesteads of their birth with costly products of foreign luxury—trophies of their intelligent enterprise. These also were the men who established two realms of renown—one in Mesopotamia on the confines of Persia, the kingdom of Hira—the other more generally celebrated through its Queen Zenobia, the kingdom of Palmyra, the ruins of whose monuments are still the object of curious pilgrimage.

Very different were the doings of the men of Adnan. Quick-witted, fiery, and utterly impatient of discipline, these wild and impetuous men exactly reflected that conformation of condition where man found himself free to roam where he listed, subject to the constraint of no higher jurisdiction than of such brute strength as might happily prove superior to his own. Restless with passions, wayward like the shifting sands of their native haunts, their nature yet defied all progressive influence, just as their deserts preserved their immemorial monotony through all the convulsions of perpetual storms. What they were the first day that they remained to the last; men possessed of striking and choice qualities that can constitute virtues in the individual, but so disposed as to be quite unsusceptible of social progress. With flocks, dromedaries, steeds, and weapons for their whole property—a camel's skin for a tent, and camel's haircloth for raiment, with the endless waste of the desert for a home, and with none but man's intuitive reverence for his parent, and none but man's indelible affection for his offspring, the children of Ishmael followed their propensities as rovers, broken up into as many communities as there were families; each clustered about its

own patriarch, and crossing at all moments with reckless hostility each other's path — men whose hands were truly turned against every one, and every one's hand against them. It is true that a few Adnanite families — amongst them the illustrious one of Hashem — are found in fixed settlements. This exception was, however, so very rare and partial, that the division into its two tribes may fairly be considered as severing the Shemitic population of Arabia into townsmen and rovers — the only distinction to be detected in its simple and uniform mould.

For the Arab dwelling within walls as for the Arab roaming through the desert, there existed but one form of political constitution, the narrow bond of family in the most stringent sense of the term. This close and unexpansive body comprised the whole essence of Arabian society in all its gradations, which are described with admirable clearness by the author, and deserve especial attention as the ground whereon and the stuff wherewith Mahomet reared his structure.

'The nomadic tribe called Bedouin, which in Arabic signifies "dwellers in the wide," is a tight political body, with no other bond than that of blood, and no other restraint than shame and dread of another's rapacity. The unity constituting society does not rest here in the individual, but in the family, and true authority dwells only in its head. He has absolute command over his children, and their offspring — over slaves, whether taken or bought — over freed men still abiding in a dependence. . . . He provides for their sustenance, defends them against aggression, and, when they commit such acts, he makes good the wrong done, or encounters himself vengeance. The amount and zeal of his followers constitute the force of the chief — their services, chattels, and flocks his wealth; nor is there any want of laws, to keep together a body of this kind. Beyond the family begin the associations, which, though quite voluntary, still follow the order of kinship. Several families form what the Arabs, from their habit of pitching their tents in a round, call a circle, over which a sheikh or elder is set, who is rather pointed out for the office by his personal repute or his family's importance, than chosen by a vote; so that it often becomes hereditary for some generations. He is the emblem of the head of the kindred — a magistrate, with no power over individuals, and with no authority over the ordinary affairs of the circle, in which he has to follow the vote of the fathers of families. Lastly, to use a modern phrase, the sheikh represents his circle in the tribe, which unites various branches of the same line, and is itself disposed, like the circle, under the direction of a chief, acquiring his position partly by consent, partly of necessity, who governs the general matters of the tribe, as a change of encampment, the making war and treaties; but always with the assent of the sheikhs, and also, possibly, of other powerful heads of families. . . . Such is the hierarchy, at once political and military. Civil ordinances, deserving the name, are not in existence.

When family influence proves not sufficient, force preserves property; and force failing, then pelf becomes a rightful acquisition. For personal protection, the pledge is somewhat more effective, as the circle and tribe are in honour bound thereto, and readily take up arms to avenge blood, or from their means contribute towards paying the price of such as has been shed by one of their body.' (Vol. i. p. 34.)

A society so strictly confined in its organisation to the narrowed family bond, constituted an even intenser system of rivalry than prevailed in Celtic clanship, which extended at all events an equal community over all who came, however remotely, within one pedigree. Of the countless petty divisions into which the Arabian world was thus broken, the tribe of Koreish claimed particular eminence in virtue of its lordship over Mecca. That town was endowed with holiness in the eyes of all Arabs, and thus enjoyed as much of the character of a metropolis as was compatible with the rude notions of so primitive a people. Mahomet was born therefore at the very pinnacle of Arabian society, for besides being a townsman of Mecca and a Koreish, he was moreover the heir apparent in that family of Hashem which, from being the guardian of the national shrine, had the chief rank in the tribe, and affected to be the most illustrious blood in the country. By the representative, therefore, of Arab aristocracy in its choicest perfection, the bolt was launched that aimed at the overthrow of its cherished distinctions. This was not, however, the act of Mahomet's deliberate intention, but rather the result of his kin having rejected a scheme which, in the first instance, he had brought forward for direct purposes of family ambition in the true spirit of Arab tradition and feelings. The holy privileges enjoyed by the Koreish were mainly held on no higher tenure than the kind of sufferance customary to Arab polity. The Koreish had laid aside in their walled settlements none of the purely personal susceptibilities which had exclusively seized them while roving about in the desert. Such ordinances as prevailed in Mecca above what was to be found in every Arab encampment, were merely the instinctive expressions of that simple necessity which even the rudest and most lawless population become alive to as soon as they are thrown together within the confined compass of a town. The free recklessness that may be indulged in a state of society removed from neighbours, must at once put on itself some restraint in self-defence when its continued indulgence becomes a permanent cause for murderous collisions. The Koreish in Mecca did therefore no more than tacitly to fall into a simple government offering but the

slightest possible modifications from their nomadic condition, strictly preserving in all essential points the clanship already explained, and consequently for ever at the mercy of jarring passions. The supreme honour of keeping the Caãbe had been delegated to the Hashemites. The dignity was, however, but deferred for the time being by the elders, and the feeling in regard to it was that it would relapse as soon as another family showed itself powerful enough either quietly to supplant theirs, or forcibly to wrest hold of the coveted prize. Mecca was thus virtually a settlement of turbulent oligarchs without any legislative conceptions, starting this moment to arms like one man for the assertion of their common tribe's superiority over the nation at large, and the next as quick in tearing each other to pieces in behalf of individual pretensions — a state of perpetual broil and quarrel, where every one was bursting with private pride, and no one could bring himself ever to admit a fellow-citizen to be possessed of any higher eminence than his own. Such was the condition of society which Mahomet set himself to reform. Ardent in soul, ambitious in temper, instinctively alive to the evils of lawlessness, and yet as an Arab of high degree being influenced by pride of blood, Mahomet in the first instance conceived a plan for securing the boon of orderly government, by endowing his own family with a dignity to be exalted above all disturbing competition, in virtue of a special consecration not to be communicated to others. At a banquet in his own dwelling, to which he had gathered all his kinsmen, Mahomet accordingly revealed the scheme he had meditated, for perpetuating the greatness of their house through an inviolable and hereditary pontificate. But his appeal met with rejection. A few of his nearest kinsmen, perhaps from being as such the most exposed to the fascination of his daily intercourse and impassioned speech, did indeed join him heart and soul. Amongst these were Ali, son of Abu Taleb, then the head of the house of Hashem; but the adhesions were merely individual. As a body the clan utterly declined to entertain Mahomet's suggestions. From this moment two courses alone were left to him — either altogether to throw aside all thoughts of reform, or, by appealing from the narrow association of kinship unto the great family of mankind, to widen a mere plot into revolution. The first probably never presented itself to his daring temper, and thus Mahomet found himself drifted into a position far beyond what at starting he had aimed at taking up. The plotter in behalf of his own, but rejected by them, proclaimed himself an apostle to mankind, and breaking with established customs, because too stubborn for his purpose, he

applied himself to crush them by new ones of his own creation. For the Elect by blood, he conceived to substitute Elect in God, who, constituting a theocratic aristocracy that derived its patent of nobility from a revelation whereof Mahomet was the apostle, must prove irreconcilably hostile to all prior claims to distinction. Shielded against personal outrage by the inviolable protection extended to a kinsman under all circumstances, Mahomet stayed on in Mecca as an indefatigable preacher, addressing himself alike to all who visited the shrine, without making any distinction of tribe or race; until his zeal became so openly aggressive, as at last to make it necessary for him to seek safety in flight. On the eve, therefore, of his throwing off the last link in established associations, and of betaking himself away from all fellowship of kindred unto that of merely voluntary and accidental followers, Mahomet felt the necessity of giving, by a binding and solemn covenant, a constitution to what until then had been but a union of sentiment. On a mountain near Mecca he therefore gathered his disciples — those about to forsake homes in Mecca and those whom he had converted from other quarters — and there, without distinction of birth, blood, or calling, he enrolled them as equal fellows in one community, making them in token thereof swear mutual affection in pairs, a native of Mecca with an individual of foreign origin. Hereupon Mahomet set out for Medina in the midst of his devotees, and on that night, in M. Amari's words, 'there took its rise a 'pontificate, an empire, and an era.'

But the habit of generations cannot be got rid of at a blow, and the Arabs, however inflamed by Mahomet's influence, remained yet at heart in many essential points the same as of old. This was true even of some amongst the Prophet's most cherished disciples, as was seen on his death. Ali, the burning believer, but yet more fiery kinsman, surnamed from his prowess the Lion of God, thought himself as naturally entitled to the succession in the pontificate, as he had been entitled to that of his father's chieftainship over the Hashemites. In him the qualities of an Arab of high degree found a complete expression — an intense sense of what was due to his person combined with the fiercest intrepidity. The possibility of rightful opposition unless it came from the Prophet himself was a thought foreign to Ali's mind. Twice he spurned the caliphate when offered with the condition of his taking counsel with the Elders of Islam, scorning any fetter on his will short of a written injunction in the Koran. The incompatibility of such individual absoluteness with the Prophet's system did not escape the observation of his intimate companions. Depositaries of his confi-

dential instructions, these men were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his doctrine; while the mere fact of having been gathered from all classes and tribes, enlisted their human sympathies strongly against a claim that would introduce in a new shape and confirm in the new society the old spirit of exclusive family tradition, which it had been the founder's intention to destroy. Ali withdrew into sullen retirement; while the successive elevation to the command of the faithful of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman, men not connected with the house of Hashem, distinguished only for zeal in the cause of Islam, and who publicly acknowledged this dignity to be a gift from the elders of the community, were so many triumphs of the theocratic principle.

Of these three reigns the second was of paramount importance. Of all Mahomet's disciples, the only one possessed of legislative talents, Omar strove to secure the fulfilment of the Prophet's political views by the creation of appropriate institutions. Alive to the fact that the shock given to Arab society, although powerful, had still not been strong enough as yet to work a radical change in Arab habits of mind, Omar felt the danger to which Mahomet's complex theocracy was exposed of becoming the prey of such personal influences as easily spring up in periods of revolution and strife. This danger he thought to obviate by conciliating the inveterate tendencies of his countrymen through a device which he hoped would enable him to fashion a rebellious element into piers of support for his polity. In the fifteenth year of the Hegira Omar decreed a muster-roll of all believers, which he meant should become the prescriptive form of standing organisation. In it was trampled under foot everything valued hitherto as a genealogical distinction, while the grouping was yet by a family thread. One existing social division alone was not effaced—the division into men of Adnan and Khattan, as inveterate as Arab life itself. But with this exception every traditional eminence was disregarded, and around Mahomet, as the central sun of the Mussulman universe, each family was ranged in a new order depending upon its degree of connexion with him. Nevertheless what may be called the feudal spirit did succeed in asserting itself by the violent elevation of Ali on the murder of the Caliph Othman, and led to events which lastingly affected the political conformation of Islam. At this time a quarter of a century had already elapsed since the Prophet's death. The generation of his contemporaries had mostly followed him, and was replaced by a set of men much less imbued with a primitive reverence for duty, and strongly animated with the daring recklessness of a soldier's

temper. The opportunities offered by the wonderful career of Mussulman conquests had produced a body of illustrious captains, who, at the head of armies in provinces far away from central authority, exercised to all intents an independent power. Many of these generals had risen from the lowest ranks—Amrou, the mighty conqueror of Egypt, was the homeless son of a harlot at Mecca—and all were so thoroughly identified in their greatness with the political conditions called into existence by Mahomet, that they felt themselves personally threatened by the elevation of Ali. Therefore they combined in an opposition, which came to a head in Syria. M. Amari points out how the Mussulman force in that province, though commanded by an Adnanite—Moawyah, of the house of Ommeya—was almost wholly composed of men of Khattan, whose pride had been deeply wounded at having a secondary place assigned to them by Omar in his great muster-roll. Adored by the men whom he had so often led to splendid victories, Moawyah dexterously turned to his own good the resentment rankling in the hearts of his soldiers. Thus did it come about that the caliphate passed into the house of Ommeya for several generations, virtually as an absolute possession; an event by which was consummated the failure of Mahomet's project to set up a theocratic polity, though the interests at stake in the struggle between the houses of Ali and Ommeya were not yet finally voided. After the lapse of a century the Ommeiades in their turn were dethroned by a conspiracy which again brought to power the representatives of the family of Hashem in the descendant of Mahomet's uncle Abbas; a revolution the true bearing of which M. Amari has first properly illustrated. Plotted in the Persian province of Khorassan, of which the Abassides were governors, it was mainly effected through the agency of Persians. Thus it proved the means of introducing into the simplicity of Arab society that rich stock of flexible wit proper to the Aryan intellect, which alone could carry Islamism beyond that primitive stage in which the unprogressive vehemence of the Shemitic nature would have left it. From this period a new race, in virtue of its conversion to the true faith, invaded and eventually made its own the whole range of Mussulman polity.

'These new comers enlarged the right of their rulers by their experience in public administration—they aided with their learning the compilation of Mussulman jurisprudence—they kindled in the breasts of the Arabs the holy fire of knowledge, and, above all, of such civil and religious freedom as could be understood in those regions. The people of the Sassanide empire were, in truth, the masters of the Arabs, as the Greeks were of the

Romans, with the distinction that the different tempers of the two people, and especially of their religious and civil institutions, won for the Persians preponderating political might, which the Greeks failed to get. . . . The Persians, in a word, made themselves lords of that dominion which the Arabs were at a loss how to keep in their hands. Hence the literary glory that made the Abassides so illustrious; for the Persians, attaining under them office at court and throughout the provinces, disseminated science, cultivated it exclusively, brought it into esteem with the caliphs, and, by their example, attracted Mussulmans of all races, the fewest amongst these being Arabs. But as all wrote in the language of the Koran, these last obtained the reputation of being the guardians of civilisation in the darkest centuries of the Middle Ages.' (Vol. i. pp. 132–42.)

The rapid strides in power made by these intelligent Persians, soon quickened the suspicious dread of their employers, who gladly laid hold of every opportunity for ridding themselves, as much as possible, of their inconvenient presence. Such an opportunity offered itself in Northern Africa, the subjugation of which had defied for more than a century the repeated efforts of Mussulman invaders; and thither accordingly, in A. D. 761, the Abasside caliph despatched four thousand Khorassan warriors with a contingent of Arabs. As the conquest of Sicily proceeded direct from the governors of this African dependency, who for some time continued to assert their suzerainty over the island, M. Amari has devoted much industry to throw light upon the very remarkable vicissitudes and conditions of Mussulman rule in Africa, where for the first time the onward flood of Islam struck on a material which did not give way at a touch. In his pages the tangled incidents of this hitherto neglected portion of history acquire a lively interest. The administration of the colony offers a singular instance of institutions nowhere else to be found in that degree in the Mussulman world, while what seemed before dreary revolutions assume an eventful aspect when connected by M. Amari with a twofold antagonism — the one within the ranks of the conquerors, and arising out of the irrepressible animosity borne to each other by Adnanite and Khattanite, which led in the end to the subversion of all Arab predominance; the second resting in that stubborn tenacity which is the essential characteristic of the native Berbers, and enabled them, after subjugation and compulsory profession of Islam, to make a ladder to power out of the heretical elements lurking in the religious system which they had unwillingly been driven to embrace. Thus in A. D. 740, the Berbers, joining with some Mahometan sectarians, kindled a flame of revolt which spread through the whole province, reducing for a time the conquerors to the strongholds of

Kairewân and Tlemsen. Nor was this the only time when Arab dominion was brought to the very brink of destruction. No less than five distinct invasions were needed to preserve the precarious footing which was all the Arabs ever secured in this quarter. A condition so arduous produced a race of men who tempered the hot impulsiveness of their origin with the sturdiness due to having gone through the ordeal of lengthened trial. It is wonderful how under difficulties painfully aggravated by intestine discord, Arab government did maintain itself, and even acquire a fulness of authority elsewhere to be looked for in vain.

While the presence of an irreconcilably hostile population effectually prevented that assimilation between the conqueror and the conquered, which was elsewhere brought about by the bond of common faith under Mussulman dominion, the idea of encampment was vividly kept alive by the fortified works which were the unfailing and prominent feature of every Arab settlement in Africa. Kairewân, the capital and holy city of the province, in the first instance chosen for a military station from its site, difficult of access on the desolate banks of an unhealthy lake, the noted haunt of reptiles and wild beasts, had acquired its metropolitan importance merely through the strength of its citadel. War, national, civil, or predatory, was the daily condition of life, and the association of an entrenchment, as often defended stoutly against his countryman of rival race as against the rebellious Berber, was probably the one most likely to occur to the African Arab at the thought of his homestead. It is therefore intelligible that the Arabs in Africa should have retained as the mould of their social constitution the military organisation with which they came into the country as an invading army. Instead of assuming the complexion of a population, they continued strictly an armed force enrolled in divisions founded on kindred, and partaking, as M. Amari remarks, in character both of a standing and a feudal army—like the former inured to war, like the latter more devoted to immediate chiefs than to the sovereign. Hence the emirs of Africa, placed between followers of a highly mutinous description, and subjects stubbornly rebellious who never relaxed in their efforts to throw off the foreign yoke, turned for political support to those theocratic elements which despotism, when securely triumphant, had elsewhere discarded. In this troubled corner of the Mussulman world, we are therefore astonished at the contemplation of an assembly, called the Gemâ, exercising in all vital matters of state that right of deliberation which constitutes the precious essence of self-government, and which, resting on a thoroughly Mussulman element, attained a degree of vigour

sufficient on capital occasions to hold in check the absolute authority of the prince. Its shape was that of a senate, based on the qualification of wisdom in what for Mussulmans was the only wisdom — learning in the law revealed through the Prophet. In virtue of their profession its members were *notables in Islam*, and the canonical eminence, not to say holiness, thus belonging to them, explains the pious horror of revolutionary excess which invariably distinguishes their proceedings, and, amidst so much turbulent lawlessness, strikingly points them out as *men of the law*.

'Although it is difficult,' says M. Amari, 'to define the limits set by custom to the powers of the emirs, we see one of great importance, the right of war and peace, exercised by the Prince, in conjunction with the Gemâ, or municipal parliament of Kairewân. The first mention thereof occurs on occasion of a treaty, made in 813 A.D., with the Patrician of Sicily; and we know, from words spoken by one who sat in the *Gemâ*, how the elders and notables of the city being gathered together, the treaty was written and read in their presence. And that they did not act as mere witnesses, but that its provisions were matter for free discussion, is proved by another meeting, some years after, to consider war with Sicily,— which was attended by the Cadis, just as, in England, judges enter the Upper House,—when the Prince was obliged to defer to the preponderating opinion. To understand correctly the balance of powers in the state, it is necessary to weigh the authority which at this time jurists exercised in the Mussulman world. The study of the law having made strides, like every intellectual pursuit, on the elevation of the Abassides, was near creating a new power in the empire, in substitution for that which had belonged to the Prophet's companions — setting an aristocracy of doctors in the room of one of saints. Through the singleness of the law, which produced confusion, these men came to be at once divines without priestly ministration — moralists, publicists, and jurists. Through an antagonism natural to theocracy, these doctors strove to be above the pontiff sovereign. . . In the organisation of the state they preserved a judicial authority, which was independent of the Prince — in some respects, to a greater, but in others to a lesser degree than would suit our modern notions of public right; for the jurists usurped legislative power by their interpretation of points in doctrine, while they failed to define limits between the jurisdictions of magistrates, princes, governors, and ministers.' (Vol. i. pp. 149–50.)

While elsewhere these doctors in Islam had to remain content with the insignificant position of secluded pedants — the condition of the African state admitted them to an exercise of authority which, combined with learning, gave a tone of healthy vigour to their constitution in mind and body. They entered upon the business of life as statesmen and as warriors,

and it is one of their body who pushed the faltering Arabs to the conquest of Sicily.

Ased ibn Forât ibn Sinân, Kadi of Kairewân, is the perfect type of his class and his generation, embodying every element of race, incident, and quality that together constitute their distinctive features. Indeed the analogy goes through even his names, as on one occasion he himself remarked, in the true style of Arab punning: 'Ased is my name,' he exclaimed, 'which means the lion, and what beast does not crouch before 'the lion? The son am I of Forât (the Euphrates), and what 'river has sweeter waters? My grandsire was called Sinân (a 'spear), and this in truth is the stoutest of weapons.' Son of a native of Khorassan, Ased was gifted with his race's subtle wit, steeled into an intellect of superior metal, through the sharp atmosphere of his adopted home. Having been early destined for the law, Ased travelled to the most renowned masters in the high schools of Medina, Irak, and Egypt, and grew versed in all the learning of Islam. On his return to Africa, he himself then opened a school, where he soon won such a name from his teaching, as to attain to the highest civil dignity in the state — that of Kadi in Kairewân. At that time the Emir was Ziadet Allah, a man of singular nature, combining a pedant's tastes with a temper so tyrannical and overbearing as to kindle a fearful revolt in the licentious soldiery of this province. Rising on all sides, with wild fury they bore down everything before them until they found themselves stopped by the stout ramparts of Kairewân. On this occasion Ased showed that the rough intrepidity of his nature did not, however, overstep that respect for legality which so particularly distinguished his cloth. When the rebels were closely pressing the capital,

'Ased and Abu Mohriz, his colleague in the Kadiship, were sent out as negotiators; and having been led before the leader Mansur, surrounded by his chief officers, they were received with the exclamations, "Get up and be with us, if it is true that the tyrant seems to you the scourge of Mussulmans." Abu Mohriz tremblingly answered, "Of a truth is he so, and likewise of Jews and Christians;" but Ased broke out into these words: "Were not ye yourselves a short while ago his partisans and his brethren? How, then, do ye come to ask us to befriend you against him? No, no; if we were enough to keep him in check when he had you about him, the more able shall we be to do so now that he is by himself."' (Vol. i. p. 275.)

The strength of his citadel, and the dissensions that so quickly spring up amongst Orientals, saved Ziadet Allah from what had seemed inevitable destruction. But though broken,

the revolt was not extinguished. A body of mutineers seized the town of Tunis, and making it an impregnable stronghold, defied for years all the Emir's desperate efforts to reduce it. During this period, Ased was without influence. His blunt out-spokenness appears to have made him an object of disfavour to the suspicious Ziadet Allah; and it was an accident which drew him out of obscurity. A Sicilian Greek, high in rank, came over to Africa, and invited the Mussulmans to invade his country — a proposal which Ased's daring instinct burned to see accepted, as the sure means of ridding Africa of those turbulent and seditious elements which had been grievously infesting it for years, by discharging their wild force into a foreign channel.

The likeness at first sight between the treason of the Sicilian Euphemius and the Spanish Julian is heightened by the introduction of the same romantic motive for the action — love for a woman. The author's investigations have gone far, however, towards establishing the existence since several years in Sicily, of a revolt of the kind common in all quarters of the Byzantine empire, and the connexion therewith of Euphemius' application for succours. Ziadet Allah was, however, still so much under the impression of the late terrible contest — not yet put an end to — that he seems to have been by no means disposed to engage in the new enterprise, in spite of Euphemius' professed willingness to hold Sicily as the Emir's vassal. A matter of such gravity had to be referred to the council of doctors; and here it was that Ased exerted all his influence in favour of a thorough-going revolution. Of the debate on this occasion a highly curious account is preserved. The majority of the assembly was not inclined to favour Ased's views. Their legal minds were influenced by several prudent considerations, and amongst other grounds, by the fact of a still binding treaty with the Byzantines, the wording of which seemed to forbid the enterprise.

'To this it was answered that the treaty had been broken by the rulers of Sicily, several Mussulmans having been thrown into prison, according to what Euphemius told Ziadet Allah. The point being submitted to the two Kadis, Abu Mohriz was of opinion that time should be given, to ascertain the truth. Ased, on the contrary, thought that the Sicilian envoys should be at once questioned. "And how," asked Abu Mohriz, "are we to put trust in what they may say, one way or the other?" To which Ased answered, "On the word of envoys peace was made, and their word shall be enough to break it." Then, with vehemence, he went on thus — "Mussulmans, be not stricken with fear; God on high has spoken, Let yourselves not be stricken with fear — call all people unto Islam, and ye

shall have the lordship over them. Therefore, let us bow to God's command, instead of pinning ourselves to this treaty with unbelievers.'"

By such fiery appeals Ased hoped to kindle the warlike fervour of the people, and to overawe the reserve of the counsellors; he so far succeeded that the doctors voted as a compromise for a predatory expedition, which, however, did not satisfy Ased, bent on proselytising conquest. Determined to make matters take the turn he wished, Ased now applied for the command of the expeditionary force, which the Emir of course refused. But the stern old doctor was not to be put off from a purpose. He now set himself to work on popular feeling by his fiery eloquence, until the agitation in favour of his nomination as commander was so great that Ziadet Allah was himself obliged to invest him with it. Ased thus combined the dignities of Captain General, and of Kadi — according to the chronicler Ahmed Ibn Suleiman, an instance unparalleled in Arabian annals. The army over which he was placed was neither large nor easy to direct. It was a gathering of all who sought war for the sake of either adventure or profit, with some few who were impelled by religious fanaticism. There were wild Berbers from the interior; men of daring and indomitable tempers, rendered doubly hard of control from deeply rankling resentment against their Arab lords; there were draughts from the ranks of the lawless Arab soldiery, men of rapine and slaughter, who had lost the rough virtues of desert life without contracting aught beyond the licence of mutinous camps; there were likewise stray adventurers from Spain and other Mussulman settlements in the Mediterranean, men by profession freebooters and rovers, with none but the chance home of the day's luck, and lives spent in hazards which made them the terror of towns and citizens; and finally, there was a sprinkling of men of Persian origin amongst the leaders, as happened in every great Mussulman enterprise after the elevation of the Abassides — men at once venerable, stout-hearted, and vigorous, like the illustrious captain of the host. Before embarking this motley force, Ased reviewed it upon the African strand, and addressed his followers in words which, as they are handed down in the chronicle of an eye-witness, breathe the glowing pride of one who, at the same time that he is animated with a burning piety, also keenly exults in the positive sensation of the authority, which he is conscious of having plucked from the grasp of a grudging and powerful liege lord.

Sicily, from its site and other advantages, was at this period a possession eagerly coveted by the Popes, and jealously cherished

by the decaying emperors of Byzantium. Defended by a belt of water against the easy invasions which had reduced the garden of Italy into a wilderness, Sicily drew on itself the eyes of the Popes when trembling at the successes of the Arian Lombards, as offering the best point of retreat, in the event of extreme adversity, from which to rally the orthodox spirit of the West to a war at once religious and national. But Sicily had a population not merely by origin, but still at that time in language as much Greek as Latin, while its political associations were all connected with the seat of Eastern empire. These ties kept the island in a close union with Byzantium, and filled the Popes with alarm lest it might submit altogether to the primacy of their detested rivals — the Greek Patriarchs. Great and unrelaxing were the efforts they made to avert such a disaster. Six out of the seven monasteries, founded by the private munificence in the service of the Church of Gregory the Great, before his elevation to the Papal See, were in Sicily. These exertions were crowned with success, and the spiritual influence of the Western Primate effectively outweighed in the end that of the Eastern. But the preponderance retained an exclusively religious character. While the Sicilian people and clergy zealously shared the Western feeling against Iconoclasm, they steadily avoided employing it for those purely political purposes to which the Popes turned it in other quarters. To its Greek emperors Sicily therefore continued faithful, though with that degree of listless loyalty to be expected in an age of torpor, and expressive rather of the absence of any more attractive form of government than of fervent affection. The Byzantine emperors, alive to the fact that here was the most precious gem still in their battered diadem, treated Sicily with special distinction. Invested with regal pomp, resplendent with all the gorgeousness of Byzantine state, the Patrician of Sicily, as the Emperor's Vicar, kept alive the tradition of imperial majesty. Syracuse was raised to the metropolitan rank from which Ravenna had fallen. Here alone in the West, did Byzantine dominion still revel in undiminished pageantry, and exhibit the show of unimpaired greatness, while yet at heart all was thoroughly rotten. With large armaments, a splendid court, and a rich exchequer, the patriciate of Sicily, instead of being the reward of worth, was the usual prize reserved for imperial minions. Eunuch after eunuch, adventurer after adventurer, no sooner was borne aloft for a season by the quick revolutions of palace fortune, than he flung himself upon this choice portion, to snatch up as much of its wealth as he could secure before the elevation of

a new favourite in reward of some fresh exploit of profligate servility. Hence, in spite of comparative privileges by the side of other provinces, the evil administration of a government, always extortionate by nature, and rendered doubly rapacious now through the imperious wants of painful distress, blighted with a withering palsy the native fruitfulness of this favoured isle. Slavery, with its unfailing followers, suffering and nakedness, in its wake, appeared on all sides the haggard witness to a decay which the studied gilding of official pomp vainly sought to cloak. In the prostration of the people worn down by grinding imposts and a leaden despotism, is to be found the explanation for the slack resistance made in Sicily against Mussulman dominion, when once the Byzantine legions had been worsted in the field. There was nothing to kindle a national feeling in the breast of the Sicilians. The only principle to inspire them with an impulse was to be found in religion. Accordingly, the desultory struggle carried on during some years against the invaders in the more mountainous districts, were sustained wholly by the fervour of a few Christian devotees, whose consciences would not stoop to bow to the followers of a false Prophet. On both sides, therefore, the stimulating motives to the contest sprang from the same principle. The Mussulmans were pushed on to invasion by the fiery spirit of proselytism embodied in Ased, who looked on war against the unbelievers as a holy duty, while the only earnest resistance offered, came from the strength of a like supreme conviction in a faith, that disdained compromise with the infidel.

On the 16th June, 827, the Mussulman army landed on the west coast of Sicily, at Mazzara, a few miles from Marsala. Euphemius forthwith received an earnest of the kind of reward in store for his treacherous services. He was told that his help was no more wanted, and therefore that he would do best to withdraw with his followers. For a year he dragged on a wretched existence, vainly thinking, as a guerilla chieftain, to win a little booty and power, until he was caught in a trap of his own laying, and killed by two youths whom he believed himself to have bribed into betraying to him the rockbound fastness of Castro Giovanni. The Patrician of Sicily had been fully prepared for what was coming; and but very few days elapsed after the landing, before the Greek and Mussulman armies met each other in decisive conflict. Upon the battle-field, Ased proved his mettle to be of the true temper, which does not flinch at the sight of danger. Bearing aloft in his hand the holy standard, the old man rode slowly down the

serried ranks of his followers, repeating to himself in a low voice, with the grim piety of a proselytising devotee, the chapter of the Koran set apart for the dying, and called the Heart. Having come to the end of his muttered prayer, Ased then drew up his horse, and turned to his troops, exclaiming, 'Here they 'are, those barbarians whom you have already met in Africa as 'bondsmen; fear them not, O Mussulmans!' and with these words he dashed foremost into the fight. The result was a complete victory for the invaders. The Byzantine forces were utterly scattered, and their general fled to Calabria.

Ased pressed on hotly, hoping to make himself thus master of Syracuse, the metropolis and capital stronghold of Byzantine authority in the West — then still one of the stateliest cities in the world, although sadly shrunk from its original greatness, and incomparably the mightiest arsenal of the empire. Such was its importance, that on more than one occasion the Emperor had entertained the idea of removing to its strong harbour from the exposed shores of the Bosphorus, which were every day more infested by the Barbarians; and indeed Constans, the grandson of Heraclius, did continue to rule the world from Syracuse, after he had been obliged to quit his capital. Here the Arabs learnt the difficulty of overcoming, by sheer natural courage, the resistance that dwells in the cunning strength of discipline and ramparts. Vainly did Ased establish himself on the quarries, so sadly known from Athenian history, and assault the city with desperate determination; burning the ships in the harbour, and making every effort that an indomitable resolution could suggest. From behind its long line of battlements, flanked by the open sea, Syracuse could laugh to scorn the frenzied enterprise of men utterly without military engines. Exposed meanwhile upon the bare heights to the reverberating glow of a Sicilian summer sun, and the plague-stricken atmosphere which then hangs around the marshlands along the sedgy Anapus, the little band of invaders became attacked by virulent disease, which quickly thinned its slender ranks. Under the trial of such suffering, the insubordinate temper of the force soon showed itself. The soldiers breaking into mutiny, chose a spokesman, who called upon Ased to raise the siege—the loss of one Mussulman outweighing in worth all the wealth of Christendom. But Ased was not to be diverted from his purpose. 'I am not the man,' he cried, 'to 'let Mussulmans turn back from a holy war, while there is so 'much ground to hope for victory.' He even threatened to set fire to the transports, and in the end so thoroughly overawed the mutineers by his inflexible intrepidity, that they

allowed him to seize their spokesman and have him whipped publicly in the camp. Yet all this stubborn spirit proved unavailing against overwhelming and ever-growing odds. Disease grew in intensity, while success enabled the Byzantines, through mere force of numbers, to press the Mussulmans from all sides in a manner that they could not have accomplished by simple prowess. At last in the summer of 828, Ased himself fell a prey to the distemper; and then his successor, elected by the soldiers, gave up the enterprise and retreated to Mineo, a small town nestled in an almost impregnable position, a day's march from Syracuse.

After a whole year's struggle, the invaders saw themselves therefore confined to this one fastness and to Mazzara, at the opposite end of the island, without communication between the two points, and small likelihood of succour from home. Nothing proves more signally the enervation of the Byzantine authorities than that these two handfuls of destitute men should have been able, during months, to defy their well-appointed and numerically overwhelming armaments. At last in the summer of 830, reinforcements in considerable numbers and from two quarters did land and relieve these forlorn upholders of Islam. During the gallant defence of Mineo, Asbagh, one of those countless rovers who from Spain and other Mahometan countries were for ever scouring the Mediterranean, happened to touch at Sicily, and, struck by its wealth, promised to bring help to his straitened fellow believers, which he accordingly did. At the same time the Emir Ziadet Allah also despatched to Sicily a force estimated at not less than thirty thousand men. His remissness in not coming earlier to the assistance of his countrymen, was the result of serious embarrassment which had befallen him in Africa. The Counts of Tuscany, who had often had much to suffer from African pirates — forerunners of the celebrated Barbary corsairs — thought this a good moment for taking vengeance upon them at home, when so many of their fighting men would be away in Sicily. Accordingly they proceeded to Africa, and all the Emir's forces were called for to repel, in the first instance, the unexpected assault. The original disinclination the Emir had felt against invading Sicily had quite passed away, since he had had practical experience of the benefit he derived from having the more turbulent of his subjects draughted off. Besides, Ziadet Allah was possessed of an Arab's instinctive ambition for his dynasty, and was fired with the idea of making the governorship of Sicily an hereditary appanage of the house of Aghlab. The policy thus inspired had a material influence upon the condition of

the Mussulman establishment in Sicily, resulting in a continued struggle between the Aghlabite emirs of Africa, strenuous in imposing their supremacy, and the colonists impatient of an authority which they put up with only in moments of dire necessity.

Grown wiser by experience, the invaders avoided breaking their strength a second time against Syracuse and the other strong towns, which studded the mountainous tract of Eastern Sicily; but rather overran the open plains in the interior, which they quickly reduced. After a memorable defence of a year, Palermo fell into their hands in September 831 by capitulation, and Abu Fihr, a kinsman of Ziadet Allah, established there the seat of government. The immediate consequence of this success was an alliance with the commonwealth of Naples, then engaged in a desperate struggle against a host of enemies, Byzantine, Lombard, and Papal, and deterred by no scruples of conscience from seeking help at the hands of warlike unbelievers. We must refer the reader to two most interesting chapters, abounding in new and striking matter, for the results of this alliance on Southern Italy by leading to the establishment of Mussulman settlements at Bari, Brindisi, and Taranto, which remained for a considerable time under the rule of sultans, true types of daring rovers. Soon the Neapolitans were called on to pay back the service rendered; and they did not recoil from fighting zealously against their fellow Christians at Messina, with the capture of which city in 843, the progress of the Mussulmans in the island came to a stop for a number of years. The ill-regulated though fiery onset of the Arabs, was defied by the stoutness of the towns, which along the steep slopes of Etna, combined the elaborate defences of art with the natural strength of site. Worn out and decrepid, the Byzantine empire still was resting upon the mighty piers of a civilisation, which even at this stage of decay wanted long and persistent battering, before it could be levelled. Over and over again therefore the eager Arabs were baffled by the solidity of the edifice they were bent on overthrowing. Between the natures of the assailants and the defenders there was however a capital distinction. With the vigour of youth, the Arabs, unchecked in spirit, would leap from repulse to fresh onset; while no success could make up for the state of exhaustion, in which the mere exertion required for victory, left the weakened frame of the Byzantines. The Mussulmans waged therefore a perpetual although a desultory war against the Greeks. Every year, sometimes twice a year, expeditions threaded with daring boldness the wild glens of Etna, and swept down on the plains

of Val di Noto, ravaging in harvest-time the fields up to the gates of Syracuse, mocking the faint-heartedness of the Byzantine captains under their very bastions, and quietly returning home laden with rich booty. But the walls and appliances of military art were not the only obstacles against the spread of Mussulman conquest—it was also imperilled by those elements of intestine discord before alluded to. Mussulman Sicily was a prey to contests between the colonists and the Aghlabite emirs of Africa, to the inveterate jealousy of the rival branches of the Arab race against each other, and finally to the hatred against the latter which pervaded all the Berbers. Upon the whole the Aghlabites contrived to assert their authority, although the degree depended much on the condition of the Byzantine forces. When these were formidable, the colonists turned their eyes for help towards Africa; their thankfulness for what was sent being quickly laid aside when the danger went over. Often the soldiers would elect a governor of their own, whom when too powerful to slight the wily Aghlabites would confirm. Invariably, however, we find him before long removed by fair or by foul means, and some member of the reigning house come over from Africa in his stead.

While Mussulman authority thus remained circumscribed within the limits to which it had quickly attained on the first burst of invasion, the Byzantine throne fell to the lot of one of those men whom at intervals we find starting up like last straggling offshoots from a rich though now dying stem,—men who in the midst of Byzantine corruption still retained as an heirloom somewhat of their forefathers' virtue, although not free from the flaws of their age's peculiar taint. When the vital energy of society is waning, it can yet often be quickened for a season by the stimulant of a strong will, and the breath of Basil the Macedonian's impulse was felt as vividly in Sicily as in the other provinces of the empire. Instilling some of his native daring into the listless discipline of the legions, Basil strove manfully to recover the olden supremacy of the empire in Italy. Thus Sicily became a chief object of his attention, while he was particularly encouraged by the fact, that its Mussulman invaders happened to be torn by continual discord. Indeed so materially did they feel themselves to be weakened, that on hearing of the vast armaments that were being fitted out in the arsenals of Byzantium, they once seriously thought of leaving Sicily. But Ibrahim ibn Ahmed, the emir who then ruled in Africa, was a man yet more remarkable than Basil. His nature combined at once the remorseless craft of Louis XI., the tiger-hearted ferocity of Cæsar Borgia, and the

astute learning of Machiavelli, making him an arch-traitor, a champion, and a philosopher. Conscience was in him but the keenest and clearest consciousness. He entered on the pursuit of wickedness with as thorough insight into its badness as into the reasons why he sought it; and this purpose he would follow out with a nerve that never knew what it meant to quake, confronted danger with the self-possession of a stoic, and in death won the glory of a hero. Only recently raised to the emirship, he already had in his mind the daring scheme he afterwards put into execution, for breaking the fetters set upon absolute authority in Africa by the aristocratic confederation of Arab chieftains. For this he found it imperative to put an end to the uncertain condition of his Sicilian dependency, which otherwise would leave him neither leisure nor means for his meditated revolution at home. On tidings of Basil's preparations, Ibrahim's bold genius at once resolved to be beforehand with him, and despatching to Sicily a man of his own choice to take command of the army, he girt up his whole strength to deal a deadly blow by the taking of Syracuse. Fifty years had just gone round since Ased had pitched his tents before that stately city, which in that period had shared the progressive decay of the Byzantine empire. While in Ased's day Syracuse had still stretched up to the quarries, it now was shrunk within the peninsula of Ortygia. This time the besiegers encamped in the deserted quarter of the town, the Mussulman general making the forsaken cathedral his head-quarters.

Of the siege M. Amari gives a very vivid account; one of his chief authorities being the narrative of an eye-witness, the monk Theodosius. On this occasion the Mussulman force was well provided with all kinds of military engines; and it is especially mentioned that amongst the ordnance there was some of a new and powerful construction, which discharged stones horizontally against the walls instead of pitching them in curves. The city nevertheless persisted in a gallant defence. Its numerous garrison was composed of men from the most warlike populations in the empire, while the Patrician, who was a true soldier, infused his brave spirit into those about him. Moreover, there seemed every reason to reckon upon a vigorous and successful attempt at relief before long. But by some strange spell, the often-tried energy of Basil all at once yielded to the enervating seductions of Byzantine luxuriousness. Abandoning himself to the voluptuous joys of the palace, Basil was content to entrust the armament he had equipped with so much exertion to the care of his admiral, Adrian, a coward of such

shameless degree, that under plea of contrary winds he kept the fleet in the port of Monemvasia until tidings of the fall of Syracuse freed him from the dread of having to engage the enemy. Hunger, therefore, before long began to press sorely on the townspeople. Their sufferings are told by Theodosius in a monkish strain, which raises a smile in spite of the sadness of the story: —

'All the poultry being devoured,' he writes, 'we were driven to eat whatever we could get, without having regard to fasting regulations — for pease, herbs, and oil were exhausted, while fishing was put a stop to the day the enemy became masters of the harbour. A small measure of wheat, if such a thing could at all be found, was worth a hundred and fifty golden byzants (each equal to about ten shillings of our money); of flour, two hundred; two ounces of bread were worth a byzant; a horse's or a donkey's head, from fifteen to twenty; while a whole mare fetched three hundred byzants.'

Both garrison and townspeople bore up against distress with a spirit that smacked of olden virtues. After nine months' siege, a breach was made; still for twenty days and nights the Christians beat back assault on assault, until the heap of corpses crowned the crumbling rampart with a battlement of its own. On the morning of the 21st of May, 878, some Mussulman stragglers, however, contrived to steal unawares upon the watch, when exhausted with fatigue after a night of hard labour. Vainly did the stout-hearted Patrician fly to the spot on the first alarm, and make the most desperate exertions to drive the enemy from those battlements he had been unable to scale in open assault. Quickly supported by comrades, the Mussulmans held their position, and after a few hours were masters of the town, when there occurred a scene of wanton bloodshed and violence such as had not yet been seen in Sicily, and which constitutes indeed a striking exception to the moderation that in general marked the proceedings of the Mussulman conquerors. The Patrician was taken prisoner in a strong tower, to the last behaving himself like a true soldier, while the Archbishop Sofronius, followed by three priests — amongst them Theodosius — hastily throwing aside their robes, hid themselves under the altar in the new cathedral. Here they had not lain long, when some of the enemy burst into the church.

'One of the Mussulmans, flourishing a sword that dripped with blood, came behind the altar, and drew forth those who had hidden themselves there, without, however, doing them any violence, or bearing a threatening look. Steadfastly scanning the archbishop's venerable features, he asked him, in Greek, who he was; and upon

being informed, inquired where the holy vessels were. Having been led to the spot where they were kept,—amounting to five thousand pounds of precious metals, of finest workmanship,—he made the archbishop and his companions go into a room, the door of which he locked on them. Then calling those whom Theodosius terms the Elders of the Nation, under which name he undoubtedly understands the heads of families in the host, he moved them to pity, saving the lives of the prisoners. This instance of noblemindedness in a leader, and of discipline in soldiers, by the side of deeds of execrable intolerance, proves the medley of race, habits, barbarism, and civilisation — knightliness and robberdom — that was to be found in the Mussulman forces that took Syracuse. The least bad in the lot were the Sicilian colonists; and, from the fact of his having spoken Greek, we must set this soldier amongst these.'

The fate of the townspeople and garrison was indeed terrible: all taken with weapons in their hands were doomed to death without mercy, while the others were sold into slavery. A week after the capture all who came within the first category were led outside the city walls and there remorselessly slaughtered in cold blood with revolting barbarity. The first killed was the stout old governor, who met his death with the same equanimity with which he often had sought a soldier's end, 'his 'head proudly erect, his eye unflinching and calm.' The savage thirst for blood thus slaked, the conquerors turned their fury, not without plausible excuse in motives of policy, against those massive walls which had so long withstood their efforts. But such was found to be their solidity and extent, that only after two months of incessant demolition, did they feel themselves able to retire with the conviction of having done the work of devastation thoroughly enough to insure the ruins being never more in a condition to serve purposes of offence against themselves. Nor could they even then have accomplished their task but for their reckless application of fire, which they laid at all corners, until the once magnificent Syracuse was reduced 'into 'a labyrinth of ruins, without a living soul.' At last, in the beginning of August, when unable to find further objects of plunder or vengeance, and fearful of being overtaken by the unwholesome exhalations of the Anapus, this year doubly deadly from the wholesale slaughter on its banks, the Mussulmans began to move away. Driving before them long strings of mules, groaning under the weight of all that was costly and gorgeous in the luxury of Byzantine civilisation, they wended their way across the mountain glens that lead in the direction of Palermo, beaming with the flush of pride and success; while by their side tramped wretched files of captured slaves — footweary and drooping Christians of all ranks, who in the bitter-

ness of their sufferings might have sighed to exchange their lot with the sumpter mules, to whom the heavy burden of their servitude at least ensured the happy repose of an unbroken sleep.

On hearing of this great disaster, Basil started up wildly from his fatal lethargy amidst the voluptuous delights of Byzantine life; and, calling back all his native energy, resolved on yet winning back the pearl of price just plucked out of his diadem. But the wholesale torpor, begotten by the leaden weight of Byzantine rule, had utterly extinguished all active and enduring feeling for freedom. The imperial government was without a single element that could awaken patriotism and courage. Basil therefore, wisely, had recourse to the only lever which still had the force to move anything like a general agitation—the lever of sectarian animosities. He sought to impel the Christians of Sicily to rise in a fanatical rebellion against their unbelieving lords, promising to help them in such an effort with a powerful armament. Thus at the very end of the contest, that principle was first appealed to and proclaimed which alone could have been in a condition to have made it finish successfully for the Christians.

For the purposes he had in view Basil found ready emissaries of skill in a host of friars, who could safely circulate amongst the population, under the protection of the tolerance extended to their body, by the Prophet's express injunctions, and the instinctive reverence felt by Orientals for all holy recluses. Amongst these monastic agents we meet the figure of one man particularly, who, embodying the full extent of the religious element, and the full range of political and social relations compatible with a monastic profession, stands out at the very close of the struggle, as the memorable and exact counterpart of that other warrior-priest, whose equally uncompromising conviction in his own faith had been the means of impelling, in the first instance, his faltering countrymen to the invasion. This man is Giovanni Racchetta, afterwards canonised as St. Elia, a man of truly unflinching zeal and marvellous dauntlessness. Driven as an infant from Castro Giovanni when in 837 it was taken by the Mussulmans, his earliest impressions were of wandering, banishment, privations, and misfortunes. Up to the age of twelve he lived with his parents at Castel St. Maria; but then—

'He fancied that a voice from heaven announced to him captivity and a mission to cheer his fellow-believers in the faith. . . . He appears to have assumed the character of a reformer, reproving the inhabitants for their wicked ways; but he was cut short by the fulfilment of the first part of the vision. Walking outside the city

gate, he fell in with a troop of Mussulman horsemen, who took and sold him to a Christian — probably some slavedealer, by whom he was put on board a vessel, with two hundred slaves. A Greek ship-of-war, from Syracuse, freed them; and Giovanni, who had also foretold this incident, was restored to his parents. . . . Having again become a prisoner, on the occasion of a greater incursion by the enemy, he was again bought by a Christian, and by him sold to another, who dealt in hides with Africa. Struck by his looks, modest bearing, and honesty, this man entrusted him with the management of his house.' (Vol. i. p. 512.)

Here his biography, written in the tone of fulsome exaltation and legendary exaggeration common to the accounts of Byzantine saints, connects him with divers adventures of very doubtful authenticity. It however appears certain that he redeemed himself out of bondage and went to Egypt, where he again played the part of a warning monitor, with so great a disregard of persons, that the Jacobite patriarch had him thrown into prison.

'The governor of the province set him free, and he soon after went to Jerusalem, where the Patriarch received him with honour, clothed him in monastic robes, and gave him the name of Elia. In Jerusalem he stayed three years — visited the Jordan, Mounts Tabor and Sinai — went then to Alexandria, or more probably to Alexandretta, and was about to pass into Persia, when disturbances in that quarter obliged him to stop at Antioch. The divine voice, which, the legend says, was wont to speak to him in dreams, at Antioch addressed to him an exhortation to go back to his country. It was the voice of conscience in a noble soul, probably aware how fortune had set in the West against the Mussulmans, or, perhaps, the suggestion of some Byzantine agent, if not of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who sided with the Court of Rome, then anxious to come to an understanding with Basil. Burning with zeal for his faith, tenderly attached to the memory of his parents, and why not, likewise, to that of his country? Elia, who had spent half his life in Sicily and half in Mussulman lands, was the very man for the political apostleship which was to accompany Basil's arms in Sicily.' (P. 515.)

Accordingly Elia hastened westwards; and we next meet him stealing into the harbour of Palermo on board a merchant-ship, avowedly but for the purpose of again seeing his mother. What is certain is that he stayed but a short time there, and that he left in haste for the Christian stronghold of Taormina, when a Mussulman squadron hove in sight of the offing — a coincidence somewhat suspicious. At Taormina he encouraged the garrison by confident assurance of the immediate approach of Byzantine forces, and then sped across to Reggio; the inhabitants of which wavered between kindred sympathies and

the dread at a conflict that would probably be fought in their close neighbourhood. To enlist their selfish prudence in the cause of Christian independence, Elia set himself to predict, with eager earnestness, the impending destruction of the unbelieving host; so that when a few weeks later events seemed to confirm his assurances, the faint-hearted misgivings of the townspeople of Reggio changed into a rapturous belief in his gift of infallible prophecy. Basil had done what he promised, and sent forth under Nasar, a brave and skilful commander, as powerful an armament as his arsenals could furnish. In spite of inferior numbers, the Mussulman squadron boldly sailed out to meet it. Gallantry was not enough to secure victory against overwhelming odds, and the Byzantine forces, landing triumphantly in Sicily, made such rapid progress as to seem on the point of winning back the island. In all directions the country-people, stimulated by Brother Elia's fiery addresses, rose in insurrection, falling upon the retreating Mussulmans and laying waste their property. But it was above the enervation of a Byzantine population to keep up a continued exertion. In the following spring a new commander came across from Africa, whose skill and energy completely restored the fortunes of Islam. The Christians underwent a defeat, which so thoroughly crushed the spirit of the Byzantine forces, that all who were lucky enough to escape slaughter at once turned their backs on the island, leaving the unhappy Sicilians to their fate, and at the mercy of the conquerors.

From this moment Byzantine rule never more succeeded in asserting its authority to any extent in Sicily; and the desultory struggle against the Mussulmans, which for some years was still kept up, proceeded entirely from the energy of a few unbending spirits, and not from any effective action on the part of the Byzantine Court, which no longer even made a show of exertion. Perched high on an almost perpendicular cliff, on one side overlooking the beautiful plains of Catania, on the other bathed by the sea, Taormina held out till the year 902, the place of shelter for those stubborn souls who, buoyed up by undying conviction in the infallible triumph of the Cross, loved rather a life of perpetual suffering and adventure than peace bought by submission to unbelievers. Of the men who thus could not bring themselves to acquiese in a lasting defeat of their cause, Elia was naturally one. His indefatigable spirit never could forego the hope of being able in the end to bend the iron rod of adversity by sheer strength of will and unrelaxing purpose. For some particular reason not stated, Elia however went from Taormina to Greece for a time,

where his proceedings proved of so mysterious a nature as to make the Byzantine governor fall into the strange mistake, of looking upon this great apostle of Christian warfare as a Mussulman spy, and of actually flinging him into prison. The governor's timely death, however, soon set Elia at liberty again; and turning his steps westward, after some further adventures, he now settled

'In a hermitage in the vale of the Saline, between Capes Dell Armi and Pentedattolo, in Calabria, right over Taormina. These changes of dwelling did not coincide with a merely religious apostleship, and Elia seems, at the same time, to have conducted schemes against the Mussulmans in Sicily, and to have acted with the monks who were opposing the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchal See. In the pontificate of Stephen, Elia carried out his plan to visit Rome; and after his return, foretold to the people of Reggio the sack of their town. Withdrawing himself in time to Patras, he again appeared, when aware of the enemy having gone away, and then returned to his hermitage. According to his biographer, to avoid the buzz of popularity, but, as is more likely, to withdraw from a dangerous residence, just overhanging the Strait of Messina, Elia founded a monastery on a new site, probably the hill called Sant Elia, between Palmi and Seminara, where there is still a church. Wandering about Calabria, he kept exhorting the faithful; . . . and the examples of Epaminondas and Scipio, which he was for ever quoting, show that he contemplated, not merely a theological but likewise a general reform in habits.'

That in these continual flittings, Elia may be assumed to have been impelled quite as much by his old political sympathies, as by purely religious motives, is sufficiently clear from the avowed intercourse which he kept up to the end with the defenders of Taormina. When that last bulwark of Christian heroism was plainly approaching its fall, Elia, who never had lost sight of it, suddenly appeared within the doomed city. Perhaps he may have come with the anxious hope, that by his presence, he might yet stave off the blow impending upon the dying fortunes of Christian power. If so, what he saw on the spot must have rudely dispelled his illusions; for we are told, that with the dread accent of a seer, Elia shrilly warned the townsmen of Taormina that their ruin was at hand; and then, turning his back for ever upon the island of his birth, he sped across the narrow strait, taking up his abode first at Amalfi, but afterwards retiring into the wilds of Calabria. The restless nature of the man could not however remain quiet, and he mixed himself up with a rebellion against the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, which arose out of the troubles that followed on the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchate. The

inquiring Emperor's curiosity was excited by the accounts he heard of the Sicilian friar, and with characteristic fondness for what was strange and peculiar, he promised to spare the forfeited life of the rebel ringleader, if Elia would come to him at Constantinople. This proposal he accepted, although declaring that he felt his end to be close upon him. He set sail however, but before he could reach his destination, death finally put a term to his remarkably chequered, and in many respects mysterious career, on the 17th of July or August, 904, in a convent near Thessalonica. The merely wonder-working saint of Byzantine legend is an object that can have small interest for us; but the Brother Elia, who so actively combines within him elements of a religious and political nature, resulting in efforts so stirring, so resolute, and so self-possessed, is a type characteristic in the highest degree of his time, and well worthy of our attention.

Thus was the Mussulman sovereignty established in Sicily. On the whole, it proved a milder and more generous government than any which existed in Italy under Lombards or Franks. We are too apt to conceive the nature of Mussulman rule under the influence of impressions drawn from the barbarous roughness of the Turks, and from a traditional reverence for the fervour of the crusading spirit. The Mussulman retained the impetuousness of an Arab, and contracted the imperious haughtiness of a privileged conqueror, but except when irritated he was disposed to gentleness and humanity. The principle of political and religious equality, of course, did not enter his head any more than the duty of admitting liberty of contradiction; but he never on system resorted to the tyrannical Inquisition which the Roman Catholic hierarchy employed, dooming peaceful families to extirpation merely with the view of establishing absolute domination. Within such limitations as are inseparable from the political inequality connected with a ruling and a ruled race, the Arab Mussulman conceded the exercise of religions different from his own. The construction of new churches and convents was prohibited; but those already in existence could be kept in repair, and there was no bar to prevent pious bequests. Indeed the religious disabilities seem to have amounted merely to this; that the cross could not be carried about abroad, the gospels were not to be read so loud as to annoy good Mussulmans, and the church bells were to be rung with moderation. Slavery certainly existed, but it was of a milder kind than that of the serfs in Christian states, who were bound to the soil without any prospect of the peculiar relief often extended through the kindliness of Mussulman masters. Accustomed

himself to unconstraint and freedom, the Arab freely indulged his subjects with liberty in their private concerns, provided they yielded what he considered to be his due as lord, and which he inflexibly exacted. Fostered by such wise dispositions, Mussulman authority in Sicily soon grew into an effective power. Nowhere indeed did it ever attain greater vigour. It seems as if on being transported to the soil of Europe, Arab spirit had gained an infusion of that higher energy which is decidedly peculiar to its races. The slight and ill-defined allegiance originally professed to the emirs of Africa was soon renounced under the impulse of that vehement ambition which ever predominated in Eastern society, and broke up the extent of Mussulman dominion into an assemblage of principalities. The court of the Sicilian princes was preeminently brilliant. Intellectual and political activity was fostered into intensity, and Mussulman Sicily shone as much for literary glory as for adventurous enterprise, in every corner of the Mediterranean Sea—in Italy as in Africa—against the Emperor of the West or against the Emperor of the East; against the Pope or against the aspiring commonwealths of Southern Italy; and last, though not least, in continued conflict with rival Mussulman states. Amongst these, the intricate and shifting relations kept up with Northern Africa are of primary interest, for they exercised a permanent influence upon the condition of Sicily. We would also invite particular attention to the fifth chapter of the third book, where, with great lucidity, he has investigated the Persian origin, and shown the stealthy spread westwards of the secret societies, whose action resulted in the political revolution that raised the Fatimite dynasty to the throne of Egypt.

We thus take leave of a book of rare and sterling merit, the completion of which we hope soon to see. At present M. Amari's second volume comprises the History of the Mussulman power in Sicily during its most flourishing epochs, and brings it down to the period when at last undermined by a spirit of reckless turbulence that broke all bounds, it sank beneath the action of criminal conspiracies, that blindly brought into the island a new Christian element in the shape of the Normans. It is the author's intention, in a third volume, to tell the growth in power and establishment of this new force, and to bring his work down to the moment of the complete extinction of the Mussulman race in Sicily in any distinct shape whatever.

ART. IV.—1. *L'Eglise et la Société Chrétienne en* 1861. Par M. GUIZOT (Paris, 1861). Chap. IV. *Du Surnaturel.*

2. *The Supernatural in relation to the Natural.* By the Rev. JAS. M'COSH, LL.D. Cambridge: 1861.

3. *Nature and the Supernatural as together constituting the One System of God.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. Edinburgh: 1860.

4. *Beginning Life. Chapters for Young Men on Religion, Study, and Business.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's, St. Andrews. Chap. III. *The Supernatural.* Edinburgh.

5. *Essay on Miracles as Evidences of Christianity.* By H. L. MANSEL, B.D. *Aids to Faith.* Edited by W. THOMSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: 1861.

6. *On the Various Contrivances by which British and Foreign Orchids are Fertilized by Insects.* By CH. DARWIN, F.R.S. London: 1862.

THE Supernatural—what is it? What do we mean by it? How do we define it? M. Guizot* tells us that belief in it is the special difficulty of our time—that denial of it is the form taken by all modern assaults on Christian faith; and again, that acceptance of it lies at the root, not only of Christian, but of all positive religion whatever. The questions then which we have now asked are of first importance. Yet we find them seldom distinctly put, and still more seldom distinctly answered. This is a capital error in dealing with any question of philosophy. Half the perplexities of men are traceable to obscurity of thought hiding and breeding under obscurity of language. In the treatises which we have placed at the head of this article, 'the Supernatural' is a term employed often in different, and sometimes in contradictory, senses. It is difficult to make out whether M. Guizot himself means to identify belief in the supernatural with belief in the existence of a God, or with belief in a particular mode of Divine action. But these are ideas quite separable and distinct. There may be some men who disbelieve in the supernatural only because they are absolute atheists; but it is certain that there are others who have great difficulty in believing in the supernatural who are not atheists. What they doubt

* L'Eglise, &c., ch. iv. p. 19.

or deny is, not that God exists, but that He ever acts, or perhaps can act, unless in and through what they call the 'Laws 'of Nature.' M. Guizot, indeed, tells us that 'God is the Super-'natural in a Person.' But this is a rhetorical figure rather than a definition. He may, indeed, contend that it is inconsistent to believe in a God, and yet to disbelieve in the supernatural; but he must admit, and indeed does admit, that such inconsistency is found in fact.

As for Dr. M'Cosh, generally a most clear and able writer, we arrive at the 146th page of a treatise on the 'Supernatural 'in relations to the Natural,' before we come to the announcement that 'this is the proper place for a statement as to 'the phrases employed in such discussions.' We must add, that the statement which follows is by no means clear or definite. Dr. M'Cosh frequently uses 'the supernatural' as synonymous with the 'superhuman.' But of course this is not the sense in which anyone can have any difficulty in believing in it. The powers and works of nature are all superhuman — more than man can account for in their origin — more than he can resist in their energy — more than he can understand in their effects. This, then, cannot be the sense in which so many minds find it hard to accept the supernatural; nor can it be the sense in which others cling to it as of the very essence of their religious faith. What then is that other sense in which the difficulty arises? Perhaps we shall best find it by seeking the idea which is competing with it, and by which it has been displaced. It is the 'natural' which has been casting out the supernatural — the idea of natural law, the universal reign of a fixed order of things. This idea is a product of that immense development of the physical sciences which is characteristic of our time. We cannot read a periodical, or go into a lecture-room, without hearing it expressed. Sometimes, though perhaps not in the majority of cases, it is stated with accuracy, and with due recognition of the limits within which 'law' can be said to comprehend the phenomena of the world. More often it is expressed in language vague and ambitious, as if the ticketing and orderly assortment of external facts were in the nature of explanations, or were the highest truths which we have power to reach. And herein we see both the result for which Bacon laboured, and the danger against which Bacon prayed. It has been a glorious result of a right method in the study of nature, that with the increase of knowledge the 'human family has been endowed with new mercies.' But every now and then, for a time at least, from 'the unlocking 'of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural

'light, incredulity and intellectual night *have* arisen in our 'minds.'

But let us observe exactly where and how the difficulty arises. The reign of law in nature is, indeed, so far as we can observe it, universal. But the common idea of the 'super-'natural' is that which is at variance with natural law, above it, or in violation of it. Nothing, however wonderful, which happens according to natural law, would be considered by any one as 'supernatural.' The law in obedience to which a wonderful thing happens may not be known; but this would not give it a supernatural character, so long as we assuredly believe that it did happen according to *some* law. Hence it would appear to follow that to a man thoroughly possessed of the idea of natural law as universal, nothing ever could be admitted as supernatural; because on seeing any fact, however new, marvellous, or incomprehensible, he might escape into the conclusion that it was the result of some natural law of which he had before been ignorant. No one will deny that, in respect to the vast majority of all new and marvellous phenomena, this would be the true and reasonable conclusion. It is not the conclusion of pride, but of humility of mind. Seeing the boundless extent of our ignorance of the natural laws which regulate so many of the phenomena around us, and still more so many of the phenomena within us, nothing can be more reasonable than to conclude, when we see something which is to us a wonder, that somehow, if we only knew how, it is 'all right'—all according to the constitution and course of nature. But then, to justify this conclusion, we must understand 'nature' in the largest sense,—as including all that is

> 'In the round world, and in the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.'

We must understand it as including every agency which we see entering, or can conceive from analogy as capable of entering, into the causation of the world. First and foremost among these is the agency of our own mind and will. Yet strange to say, all reference to this agency is often tacitly excluded when we speak of the laws of nature. One of our most distinguished living teachers of physical science began, the other day, a course of lectures on the phenomena of Heat by a rapid statement of the modern doctrine of the correlation of forces—how the one was convertible into the other—how one arose out of the other—how none could be evolved except from some other as a preexisting source. 'Thus,' said the lecturer, 'we see there is no such thing as spontaneousness in nature.'

What!—not in the lecturer himself? Was there no 'spontaneousness' in his choice of words—in his selection of materials—in his orderly arrangement of experiments with a view to the exhibition of particular results? It was not, we believe, that the lecturer was denying this, but simply that he did not think of it as within his field of view. His own mind and will dealt with the 'laws of nature,' but it did not occur to him as forming part of those laws, or, in the same sense, as subject to them. Does man, then, not belong to 'Nature'? Is he above it—or merely separate from it, or a violation of it? Is he super-natural? If so, has he any difficulty in believing in himself? Of course not. Self-consciousness is the one truth, in the light of which all other truths are known. 'Cogito, ergo 'sum,' or 'volo, ergo sum'—this is the one conclusion which we cannot doubt, unless reason disbelieves herself. Why, then, is their action not habitually included among the 'laws of 'nature'? Because a fallacy is getting hold upon us from a want of definition in the use of terms. 'Nature' is being used in the narrow sense of physical nature; and the whole world in which we ourselves live, and move, and have our being is excluded from it. But these selves of ours do belong to 'Nature.' If we are ever to understand the difficulties in the way of believing in the supernatural, we must first keep clearly in view what we are to understand as included in the 'natural.' Let us never forget, then, that the agency of man is of all others the most natural—the one with which we are most familiar—the only one, in fact, which we can be said, even in any measure, to understand. When any wonderful event can be referred to the contrivance or ingenuity of man, it is thereby at once removed from the sphere of the 'supernatural,' as ordinarily understood.

It must be remembered, however, that we are now only seeking a clear definition of terms; and that provided this other meaning be clearly agreed upon, the mind and will of man may be considered as separate from 'nature,' and belonging to the supernatural. We have placed among the works to be noticed in this article the treatise on 'Nature and the Supernatural,' by Dr. Bushnell, an American clergyman. Though its effectiveness is impaired, in our opinion, by some speculations of a very fanciful kind, it is a work of great ability, full of thought which is at once true and ingenious. Dr. Bushnell says:—'That 'is supernatural, whatever it be, that is either not in the 'chain of natural cause and effect, or which acts on the chain 'of cause and effect in nature, from without the chain.' Again:—'If the processes, combinations, and results of our

'system of nature are interrupted or varied by the action, 'whether of God, or angels, or men, so as to bring to pass what 'would not come to pass in it by its own internal action, under 'the laws of mere cause and effect, such variations are in like 'manner supernatural.' We have no objection to this definition of the supernatural, except that it rests upon a limitation of the terms 'nature' and 'natural,' which is very much at variance with the sense in which they are commonly understood. There is indeed a distinction which finds its expression in common language between the works of man and the works of nature. A honeycomb, for example, would be called a work of nature, but not a steam-engine. This distinction is founded on a true perception of the fact that the mind and will of man belong to an order of existence very different from physical laws, and very different also from the fixed and narrow instincts of the lower animals. It is a distinction bearing witness to the universal consciousness that the mind of man has within it something of a truly creative energy and force — that we are 'fellow-workers 'with God,' and have been in a measure 'made partakers of the 'Divine nature.' But in that larger and wider sense in which we are here speaking of the natural, it contains within it the whole phenomena of man's intellectual and spiritual nature, as part, and the most familiar of all parts, of the visible system of things. In all ordinary senses of the term, man and his doings belong to the natural, as distinguished from the supernatural.

We are thus coming nearer to some precise understanding of what the 'supernatural' may be supposed to mean. But before we proceed, there is another question which must be answered — What is the relation in which the agency of man stands to the physical laws of nature? The answer, in part at least, is plain. His power in respect to those laws extends only first to their discovery and ascertainment, and then to their use. He can establish none: he can suspend none. All he can do is to guide, in a limited degree, the mutual action and reaction of the laws amongst each other. They are the tools with which he works — they are the instruments of his will. In all he does or can do he must employ them. His ability to use them is limited both by his want of knowledge and by his want of power. The more he knows of them, the more largely he can employ them, and make them ministers of his purposes. This, as a general rule, is true; but it is subject to the second limitation we have pointed out. Man already knows far more than he has power to convert to use. It is a true observation of Sir George Lewis that astronomy, for example, in its higher branches, has an interest almost purely scientific. It reveals to our knowledge

perhaps the grandest and most sublime of the physical laws of nature. But a much smaller amount of knowledge would suffice for the only practical applications which we have yet been able to make of these laws to our own use. Still, that knowledge has a reflex influence on our knowledge of ourselves, of our powers, and of the relations which subsist between the constitution of our own minds and the constitution of the universe. And in other spheres of inquiry, advancing knowledge of physical laws has been constantly accompanied with advancing power over the physical world. It has enabled us to do a thousand things, any one of which, a few generations ago, would have been considered supernatural. The same lecturer who told his audience that there was nothing spontaneous 'in 'nature' proceeded, by virtue of his own knowledge of natural laws, and by his selecting and combining power, to present an endless series of wonderful phenomena — such as ice frozen in contact with red-hot crucibles — not belonging to the ordinary course of nature, and which, if exhibited a few centuries ago, would, beyond all doubt, have subjected the lecturer on Heat to painful experience of that condition of matter. If the progress of discovery is as rapid during the next 400 years as it has been during the last 400 years, men will be able to do many things which, in like manner, would now appear to be 'super-'natural.' There is no difficulty in conceiving how a complete knowledge of all natural laws would give, if not complete power, at least degrees of power immensely greater than those which we now possess. Power of this kind then, however great in degree, clearly does not answer that idea of the 'supernatural' which so many reject as inconceivable. What, then, is that idea? Have we not traced it to its den at last? By 'supernatural' power, do we not mean power independent of the use of means, as distinguished from power depending on knowledge — even infinite knowledge — of the means proper to be employed?

This is the sense — probably the only sense — in which the supernatural is, to many minds, so difficult of belief. No man can have any difficulty in believing there are natural laws of which he is ignorant; nor in conceiving that there may be Beings who do know them, and can use them, even as he himself now uses the few laws with which he is acquainted. The real difficulty lies in the idea of will exercised without the use of means — not in the exercise of will through means which are beyond our knowledge.

But have we any right to say that belief in this is essential to all religion? If we have not, then it is only putting, as so

many other hasty sayings do put, additional difficulties in the way of religion. The relation in which God stands to those rules of His government which are called 'laws,' is, of course, an inscrutable mystery to us. But those who believe that His will does govern the world, must believe that ordinarily at least, He does govern it by the choice and use of means. Nor have we any certain reason to believe that He ever acts otherwise. Extraordinary manifestations of His will — signs and wonders — may be wrought, for ought we know, by similar instrumentality — only by the selection and use of laws of which man knows and can know nothing, and which, if he did know, he could not employ.

Here, then, we come upon the question of miracles — how we understand them? what we would define them to be? The common idea of a miracle is, a suspension or violation of the laws of nature. This is a definition which places the essence of a miracle in a particular method of operation. Dr. M'Cosh's definition passes this by altogether, and dwells only on the agency by which, and the purpose for which, a wonderful work is wrought. 'We would confine the word miracle,' he says, 'to 'those events which were wrought in our world as a sign or proof 'of God making a supernatural interposition, or a revelation to 'man.' This definition is defective in so far as it uses the word 'supernatural,' which, as we have seen, itself requires definition as much as miracle. But from the general context and many individual passages in his treatise it is sufficiently clear that the two conditions essential in Dr. M'Cosh's view of a miracle, are that they are wrought by a Divine power for a Divine purpose, and are of a nature such as could not be wrought by merely human contrivance. In this sense a miracle means a superhuman work. But we have already shown that 'super-'human' must not be confounded with 'supernatural.' This definition of a miracle does not exclude the idea of God working by the use of means, provided they are such means as are out of human reach. Indeed in an important note (p. 149.), Dr. M'Cosh seems to admit that miracles are not to be considered 'as against nature' in any other sense than that in which 'one 'natural agent may be against another — as water may counteract 'fire.' Mr. Mansel, in his able 'Essay on Miracles,' adopts the word 'superhuman' as the most accurate expression of his meaning. He says, 'A superhuman authority needs to be sub-'stantiated by superhuman evidence; *and what is superhuman is* '*miraculous.*'* Imperfect as we have seen this definition to be,

* 'Aids to Faith,' p. 35. In another passage (p. 21.) Mr. Mansel says that in respect to the great majority of the miracles recorded in

it is most important to observe that it does not necessarily involve the idea of a 'violation of the laws of nature.' It does not involve the idea of the exercise of will apart from the use of means. It does not involve, therefore, that idea which appears to many so difficult of conception. It simply supposes, without any attempt to fathom the relation in which God stands to His own 'laws,' that out of His infinite knowledge of these laws, or of His infinite power of making them the instruments of His will, He may and He does use them for extraordinary indications of His presence.

The reluctance to admit as belonging to the domain of nature any special exertion of Divine power for special purposes, stands really in very close relationship to the converse notion, that where the operation of natural causes can be clearly traced, there the exertion of Divine power and will is rendered less certain and less convincing. This is the idea which lies at the root of Gibbon's famous chapters on the spread of Christianity. He labours to prove that it was due to natural causes. In proving this he evidently thinks he is disposing of the notion that Christianity spread by Divine power; whereas he only succeeds in pointing out some of the means which were employed to effect a Divine purpose. In like manner, the preservation of the Jews as a distinct people during so many centuries of complete dispersion, is a fact standing absolutely by itself in the history of the world. It is at variance with all other experience of the laws which govern the amalgamation with each other of different families of the human race. It is the result, nevertheless, of special laws, overruling those in ordinary operation. It has been effected by the use of means. Those means have been superhuman—they have been beyond human contrivance and arrangement. But they belong to the region of the 'natural.' They belong to it not the less, but all the more, because in their concatenation and arrangement they indicate the purpose of a living Will seeking and effecting the fulfilment of its designs. This is the manner after which our own living wills in their little sphere effect their little objects. Is it difficult to believe that after the same manner also the Divine Will, of which ours is the image only, works and effects its purpose?

Our own experience shows that the universal reign of law is perfectly consistent with a power of making those laws subservient to design—even when the knowledge of them is but

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Scripture, 'the supernatural element appears . . . in the exercise of 'a personal power transcending the limits of man's will. They are 'not so much *supermaterial*, as *superhuman*.'

slight, and the power over them slighter still. How much more easy, how much more natural, to conceive that the same universality is compatible with the exercise of that Supreme Will before which all are known, and to which all are servants! What difficulty in this view remains in the idea of the supernatural? Is it any other than the difficulty in believing in the existence of a Supreme Will—in a living God? If this be the belief of which M. Guizot speaks when he says that it is essential to religion, then his proposition is true enough. In this sense the difficulty of believing in the 'supernatural,' and the difficulty of believing in pure Theism, is one and the same. But if he means that it is necessary to religion to believe in even the occasional 'violation of law,'—if he means that without such belief, signs and wonders cease to be evidences of Divine power,—then he announces a proposition which we conceive to be unsound. There is nothing in religion incompatible with the belief that all exercises of God's power, whether ordinary or extraordinary, are effected through the instrumentality of means —that is to say, by the instrumentality of natural laws brought out, as it were, and used for a Divine purpose. To believe in the existence of miracles we must indeed believe in the 'super-'human' and in the 'supermaterial.' But both these are familiar facts in nature. We must believe also in a Supreme Will and a Supreme Intelligence; but this our own wills and our own intelligence not only enable us to conceive of, but compel to recognise in the whole laws and economy of nature. Her whole aspect, as Dr. Tulloch says, 'answers intelligently to our intelli-'gence—mind responding to mind as in a glass.'* Once admit that there is a Being who—irrespective of any theory as to the relation in which the laws of nature stand to His own will—has at least an infinite knowledge of those laws, and an infinite power of putting them to use—then miracles lose every element of inconceivability. In respect to the greatest and highest of all—that restoration of the breath of life which is not more mysterious than its original gift—there is no answer to the question which Paul asks, 'Why should it be thought a 'thing incredible by you that God should raise the dead?'

This view of miracles is well expressed in the excellent little work of Principal Tulloch, from which we have just quoted.

'The stoutest advocate of interference can mean nothing more than that the Supreme Will has so moved the *hidden springs of nature* that a new issue arises on given circumstances. The ordinary issue is supplanted by a higher issue. The essential facts before us are a

* Tulloch, 'Beginning Life,' p. 29.

certain set of phenomena, and a Higher Will moving them. How moving them? is a question for human definition; but the answer to which does not and cannot affect the Divine meaning of the change. Yet when we reflect that this Higher Will is everywhere reason and wisdom, it seems a juster as well as a more comprehensive view to regard it as operating by subordination and evolution rather than by "interference" or "violation." According to this view the idea of law is so far from being contravened by the Christian miracles, that it is taken up by them and made their very basis. They are the expression of a Higher Law, working out its wise ends among the lower and ordinary sequences of life and history. These ordinary sequences represent nature—nature, however, not as an immutable fate, but a plastic medium through which a Higher Voice and Will are ever addressing us, and which, therefore, may be wrought into new issues when the Voice has a new message, and the Will a special purpose for us.' (*Tulloch, Beginning Life*, p. 85–6.)

Yet so deeply ingrained in the popular theology is the idea that miracles, to be miracles at all, must be performed by some violation of the laws of nature, that the opposite idea of miracles being performed by the use of means is regarded by many with jealousy and suspicion. Strange that it should be thought the safest course to separate as sharply and as widely as we can between what we are called upon to believe in religion, and what we are able to trace or understand in nature! With what heart can those who cherish this frame of mind follow the great argument of Butler? All the steps of that argument—by far the greatest in the whole range of Christian philosophy—are founded on the opposite belief, that all the truths, and not less all the difficulties of religion, have their type and likeness in the 'constitution and course of nature.' As we follow that reasoning, so simple and so profound, we find our eyes ever opening to some new interpretation of familiar facts, and recognising among the curious things of earth, one after another of the laws which, when told us of the spiritual world, seem so perplexing and so hard to accept or understand. To ask how much farther this argument of the Analogy is capable of illustration and development, is to ask how much more we shall know of 'nature.' Like all central truths its ramifications are infinite—as infinite as the appearance of variety, and as pervading as the sense of oneness in the universe of God.

But what of Revelation? Are its history and doctrines incompatible with the belief that God uniformly acts through the use of means? The narrative of creation is given to us in abstract only, and is told in two different forms, both having for their special object the presenting to our conception the personal agency of a living God. Yet this narrative indicates,

however slightly, that room is left for the idea of a material process. 'Out of the dust of the ground;' that is, out of the ordinary elements of nature, was that body formed which is still upheld and perpetuated by organic forces acting under the rules of law. Nothing which science has discovered, or can discover, is capable of traversing that simple narrative. On this subject M. Guizot lays great stress, as many others do, on what he calls the 'supernatural' in creation, as distinguished from the operations now visible in nature. 'De quelle façon et par 'quelle puissance le genre humain a-t-il commencé sur la terre?' In reply to this question, he proceeds to argue that man must have been the result either of mere material forces, or of a supernatural power exterior to, and superior to matter. Spontaneous generation, he argues, supposing it to exist at all, can give birth only to infant beings—to the first hours, and feeblest forms, of nascent life. But man — the human pair — must evidently have been complete from the first; created in the full possession of their powers and faculties. 'C'est à cette condition seulement qu'en 'apparaissant pour la première fois sur la terre l'homme aurait 'pu y vivre — s'y perpétuer, et y fonder le genre humain. 'Evidemment l'autre origine du genre humain est seul admis-'sible, seul possible. Le fait surnaturel de la création explique 'seul la première apparition de l'homme ici-bas.' This is a common, but, as it seems to us, not a very safe argument. If the 'supernatural'—that is to say, the superhuman and the superphysical — cannot be found nearer to us than this, we fear it will not be found at all. It is very difficult to free ourselves from this notion that by going far enough back, we can 'find out God' in some sense in which we cannot find Him now. To accept the primeval narrative of the Jewish Scriptures as coming from authority, and as bringing before us the personal agency of the Creator,— this is one thing. To argue that no other origin for the first parents of the human race is conceivable than that they were moulded perfect, without the instrumentality of any means,— this is quite another thing. The various hypotheses of development, of which Darwin's theory is only a new and special version, are at least a method of escape from the logical puzzle which M. Guizot puts. These hypotheses are indeed utterly destitute of proof; and in the form which they have as yet assumed, it may justly be said that they involve such violations of, or departures from, all that we know of the existing order of things, as to deprive them absolutely of all scientific basis. But the close and mysterious relations between the mere animal frame of man, and that of the lower animals, does render the idea of a

common relationship by descent at least conceivable. Indeed, in proportion as it seems to approach nearer to processes of which we have some knowledge, it is, in a degree, more conceivable than creation without any process,—of which we have no knowledge and can have no conception.

But whatever may have been the method or process of creation, it is creation still. If it were proved to-morrow that the first man was 'born' from some preexisting form of life, it would still be true that such a birth must have been, in every sense of the word, a new creation. It would still be as true that God formed him 'out of the dust of the earth,' as it is true that He has so formed every child who is now called to answer the first question of all theologies. And we must remember that the language of Scripture nowhere draws, or seems even conscious of, the distinction which modern philosophy draws so sharply between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural.' All the operations of nature are spoken of as operations of the Divine Mind. Creation is the outward embodiment of a Divine Idea. It is in this sense, apparently, that the narrative of Genesis speaks of every plant being formed 'before it grew.' But the same language is held, not less decidedly, of every ordinary birth. 'Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect. In 'Thy book all my members were written which in continuance 'were fashioned, when as yet there were none of them.' And these words, spoken of the individual birth, have been applied not less truly to the modern idea of the Genesis of all organic life. Whatever may have been the physical or material relation between its successive forms, the ideal relation has been now clearly recognised, and reduced to scientific definition. All the members of that frame which has received its highest interpretation in man, had existed, with lower offices assigned to them, in the animals which flourished before man was born. All theories of development have been simply attempts to suggest the manner in which, or the physical process by means of which, this ideal continuity of type and pattern has been preserved. But whilst all these suggestions have been in the highest degree uncertain, some of them violently absurd, the one thing which is certain is the fact for which they endeavour to account. But what is that fact? It is one which belongs to the world of mind, not to the world of matter. When Professor Owen tells us, for example, that certain jointed bones in the whale's paddle are the same bones which in the mole enable it to burrow, which in the bat enable it to fly, and in man constitute his hand with all its wealth of functions, he does not mean that physically and actually they are the same

bones, nor that they have the same uses, nor that they ever have been, or ever can be, transferable from one kind of animal to another. He means that in a purely ideal or mental conception of the plan of all vertebrate skeletons, these bones occupy the same relative place—relative, that is, not to origin or use, but to the plan or conception of that skeleton as a whole.

Here the 'supermaterial,' and in this sense the supernatural, element,—that is to say, the ideal conformity and unity of conception, is the one unquestionable fact, in which we recognise directly the working of a mind with which our own has very near relations. Here, as elsewhere, we see the natural, in the largest sense, including and embodying the supernatural; the material, including the supermaterial. No possible theory, whether true or false, in respect to the physical means employed to preserve the correspondence of parts which runs through all creation can affect the certainty of that mental plan and purpose which alone makes such correspondence intelligible to us, and in which alone it may be said to exist. The two ideas,—that of a physical cause and that of a mental purpose,—are not antagonist; but the one is larger and more comprehensive than the other. Let us take a case. In many animal frames there are what have been called 'silent members'—members which have no reference to the life or use of the animal, but only to the general pattern on which all vertebrate skeletons have been formed. Mr. Darwin, when he sees such a member in any animal, concludes with certainty that this animal is the lineal descendant by ordinary generation of some other animal in which that member was not silent but turned to use. Professor Owen, taking a larger and wider view, would say, without pretending to explain *how* its presence is to be accounted for physically, that the silent member has relation to a general purpose or plan which can be traced from the dawn of life, but which did not receive its full accomplishment until man was born. This is certain: the other is a theory. The assumed physical cause may be true or false. It is much more probably false than true; but in any case the mental purpose and design — the conformity to an abstract idea — this is certain. The relation in which created forms stand to our own mind, and to our understanding of their purpose, is the one thing which we can surely know, because it belongs to our own consciousness. It is entirely independent of any belief we may entertain, or any knowledge we may acquire, of the processes employed for the fulfilment of that purpose.

And yet we are often told, as if it were a profound philosophy, that 'we must be very cautious how we ascribe intention to

'nature. Things do fit into each other, no doubt, as if they 'were designed; but all we know about them is that these corre- 'spondences exist, and that they seem to be the result of physical 'laws of development and growth.' No matter—we reply—how these correspondences have arisen, and are daily arising. The perception of them by our mind is as much a fact as the sight or touch of the things in which they appear. They may have been produced by growth — they may have been the result of a process of development,— but it is not the less the development of a mental purpose. It is the end subserved that we absolutely know. What alone is doubtful and obscure is precisely that which alone we are told is the legitimate object of our research,— viz. the means by which that end has been attained. Take one instance out of millions. The poison of a deadly snake — let us for a moment consider what this is. It is a secretion of definite chemical properties which have reference, not to the organism of the animal in which it is developed, but to the organism of another animal which it is intended to destroy. Some naturalists have a vague sort of notion that, as regards merely mechanical weapons, or organs of attack, they may be developed by use, — that legs may become longer by fast running, teeth sharper and longer by biting. Be it so: this law of growth, if it exist, is but itself an instrument whereby purpose is fulfilled. But how will this law of growth adjust a poison in one animal with such subtle knowledge of the organisation of another that the deadly virus shall in a few minutes curdle the blood, benumb the nerves, and rush in upon the citadel of life? There is but one explanation — a Mind, having minute and perfect knowledge of the structure of both, has designed the one to be capable of inflicting death upon the other. This mental purpose and resolve is the one thing which our intelligence perceives with direct and intuitive recognition. The method of creation, by means of which this purpose has been carried into effect, is utterly unknown.

Perhaps no illustration so striking of this principle was ever presented as in the astonishing volume just published by Mr. Darwin on the 'Fertilisation of Orchids.' It appears that the fertilisation of almost all orchids is dependent on the transport of the pollen from one flower to another by means of insects. It appears, further, that the structure of these flowers is elaborately contrived, so as to secure the certainty and effectiveness of this operation. Mr. Darwin's work is devoted to tracing in detail what these contrivances are. To a large extent they are purely mechanical, and can be traced with as much clearness and certainty as the different parts of which a steam-engine is

composed. The complication and ingenuity of these contrivances almost exceed belief. 'Moth-traps and spring-guns set 'on these grounds,' might be the motto of the orchids. There are baits to tempt the nectar-loving lepidoptera, with rich odours exhaled at night, and lustrous colours to shine by day; there are channels of approach along which they are surely guided, so as to compel them to pass by certain spots; there are adhesive plasters nicely adjusted to fit their probosces, or to catch their brows; there are hair-triggers carefully set in their necessary path, communicating with explosive shells, which project the pollen-stalks with unerring aim upon their bodies. There are, in short, an infinitude of adjustments, for an idea of which we must refer our readers to Mr. Darwin's inimitable powers of observation and description — adjustments all contrived so as to secure the accurate conveyance of the pollen of the one flower to its precise destination in the structure of another.

Now there are two questions which present themselves when we examine such a mechanism as this. The first is, What is the use of the various parts, or their relation to each other with reference to the purpose of the whole? The second question is, How were those parts made, and out of what materials? It is the first of these questions — that is to say, the use, object, intention, or purpose of the different parts of the plant,—which Darwin sets himself instinctively to answer first; and it is this which he does answer with precision and success. The second question,—that is to say, how those parts came to be developed, and out of what 'primordial elements' they have been derived in their present shapes, and converted to their present uses?— this is a question which Darwin does also attempt to solve, but the solution of which is in the highest degree difficult and uncertain. It is curious to observe the language which this most advanced disciple of pure naturalism instinctively uses when he has to describe the complicated structure of this curious order of plants. 'Caution in ascribing intentions to nature' does not seem to occur to him as possible. Intention is the one thing which he does see, and which, when he does not see, he seeks for diligently until he finds it. He exhausts every form of words and of illustration by which intention or mental purpose can be described. 'Contrivance,' — 'curious contrivance' — 'beau-'tiful contrivance'—these are expressions which recur over and over again. We quote one sentence describing the parts of a particular species. 'The labellum is developed into a long 'nectary, *in order* to attract lepidoptera, and we shall presently 'give reasons for suspecting that the nectar is *purposely* so 'lodged that it can be sucked only slowly, *in order* to give time

'for the curious chemical quality of the viscid matter setting 'hard and dry.'* Nor are the words we have here quoted used in any sense different from that in which they are applicable to the works of man's contrivance — to the instruments we use or invent for carrying into effect our own preconceived designs. On the contrary, human instruments are often selected as the aptest illustrations both of the object in view, and of the means taken to effect it. Of one particular structure Mr. Darwin says:—'This contrivance of the guiding ridges may be compared 'to the little instrument sometimes used for guiding a thread 'into the eye of a needle.' Again, referring to the precautions taken to compel the insects to come to the proper spot, in order to have the 'pollinia' attached to their bodies, Mr. Darwin says:—'Thus we have the rostellum partially closing the mouth 'of the nectary, *like a trap placed in a run for game,*— and the 'trap so complex and perfect!'† But this is not all. The idea of special use, as the final end and controlling principle of construction, is so impressed on Mr. Darwin's mind, that, in every detail of structure, however singular or obscure, he has absolute faith that in this lies the ultimate explanation. If an organ is largely developed, it is because some special purpose is to be fulfilled. If it is aborted or rudimentary, it is because that purpose is no longer to be subserved. In the case of another species whose structure is very singular, Mr. Darwin had great difficulty in discovering how the mechanism was meant to work, so as to effect the purpose. At last he made it out, and of the clue which led to the discovery he says:—'The strange position 'of the labellum perched on the summit of the column, ought to 'have shown me that here was the place for experiment. I 'ought to have scorned the notion that the labellum was thus 'placed *for no good purpose.* I neglected this plain guide, and 'for a long time completely failed to understand the flower.'‡

When we come to the second part of Mr. Darwin's work, viz. the Homology of the Orchids, we find that the inquiry divides itself into two separate questions — first, the question what all these complicated organs are in their primitive relation to each other; and secondly, how these successive modifications have arisen, so as to fit them for new and changing uses. Now it is very remarkable that of these two questions, that which may be called the most abstract and transcendental — the most nearly related to the supernatural and supermaterial — is again precisely the one which Darwin solves best and most clearly. We have already seen how well he solves the first

* P. 29. † P. 30. ‡ P. 262.

question — What is the use and intention of these various parts? The next question is, What are these parts in their primal order and conception? The answer is, that they are members of a numerical group, having a definite and still traceable order of symmetrical arrangement. They are expressions of a numerical idea, as so many other things — perhaps as all things — of beauty are. Mr. Darwin gives a diagram, showing the primordial or archetypal arrangement of Threes within Threes, out of which all the strange and marvellous forms of the orchids have been developed, and to which, by careful counting and dissection, they can still be ideally reduced. But when we come to the last question — By what process of natural consequence have these elementary organs of Three within Three been developed into so many various forms of beauty, and made to subserve so many curious and ingenious designs? — we find nothing but the vaguest and most unsatisfactory conjectures. We can only give one instance, as an example. There is a Madagascar orchis — the 'Angræcum sesquipedale' — with an immensely long and deep nectary. How did such an extraordinary organ come to be developed? Mr. Darwin's explanation is this. The pollen of this flower can only be removed by the proboscis of some very large moths trying to get at the nectar at the bottom of the vessel. The moths with the longest probosces would do this most effectually; they would be rewarded for their long noses by getting the most nectar; whilst, on the other hand, the flowers with the deepest nectaries would be the best fertilised by the largest moths preferring them. Consequently, the deepest-nectaryed orchids, and the longest-nosed moths, would each confer on the other a great advantage in the 'battle of life.' This would tend to their respective perpetuation, and to the constant lengthening of nectaries and of noses. But the passage is so curious and characteristic, that we give Mr. Darwin's own words: —

'As certain moths of Madagascar became larger, through natural selection in relation to their general conditions of life, either in the larval or mature state, or as the proboscis alone was lengthened to obtain honey from the Angræcum, those individual plants of the Angræcum which had the longest nectaries (and the nectary varies much in length in some orchids), and which, consequently, compelled the moths to insert their probosces up to the very base, would be best fertilised. These plants would yield most seed, and the seedlings would generally inherit longer nectaries; and so it would be in successive generations of the plant and moth. Thus it would appear that there has been a race in gaining length between the nectary of the Angræcum and the proboscis of certain moths; but the Angræcum has triumphed, for it flourishes and abounds in the forests of Mada-

gascar, and still troubles each moth to insert its proboscis as far as possible in order to drain the last drop of nectar. . . . We can thus,' says Mr. Darwin, '*partially* understand how the astonishing length of the nectary may have been acquired by successive modifications.'

It is indeed but a 'partial' understanding. How different from the clearness and the certainty with which Mr. Darwin is able to explain to us the use and intention of the various organs! or the primal idea of numerical order and arrangement which governs the whole structure of the flower! It is the same through all nature. Purpose and intention, or ideas of order based on numerical relations, are what meet us at every turn, and are more or less readily recognised by our own intelligence as corresponding to conceptions familiar to our own minds. We know, too, that these purposes and ideas are not our own, but the ideas and purposes of Another — of One whose manifestations are indeed superhuman and supermaterial, but are not 'supernatural,' in the sense of being strange to nature, or in violation of it.

The truth is, that there is no such distinction between what we find in nature, and what we are called upon to believe in religion, as that which men pretend to draw between the natural and the supernatural. It is a distinction purely artificial, arbitrary, unreal. Nature presents to our intelligence, the more clearly the more we search her, the designs, ideas, and intentions of some

> 'Living Will that shall endure,
> When all that seems shall suffer shock.'

Religion presents to us that same Will, not only working equally through the use of means, but using means which are strictly analogous — referable to the same general principles — and which are constantly appealed to as of a sort which we ought to be able to appreciate, because we ourselves are already familiar with the like. Religion makes no call on us to reject that idea, which is the only idea some men can see in nature — the idea of the universal reign of Law — the necessity of conforming to it — the limitations which in one aspect it seems to place on the exercise of Will,— the essential basis, in another aspect, which it supplies for that exercise. On the contrary, the high regions into which this idea is found extending, and the matters over which it is found prevailing, is one of the deepest mysteries both of religion and of nature. We feel sometimes as if we should like to get above this rule — into some secret Presence where its bonds are broken. But no glimpse is ever given us of

anything, but 'Freedom within the bounds of Law.' The Will revealed to us in religion is not — any more than the Will revealed to us in nature — an arbitrary Will, but one with which, in this respect, 'there is no variableness, neither shadow 'of turning.'

We return, then, to the point from which we started. M. Guizot's affirmation that belief in the supernatural is essential to all religion is true only when it is understood in a special sense. Belief in the existence of a Living Will — of a Personal God — is indeed a requisite condition. Conviction 'that 'He is' must precede the conviction that 'He is the rewarder 'of those that diligently seek Him.' But the intellectual yoke involved in the common idea of the supernatural is a yoke which men impose upon themselves. Obscure thought and confused language are the main source of difficulty.

Assuredly, whatever may be the difficulties of Christianity, *this* is not one of them,— that it calls on us to believe in any exception to the universal prevalence and power of Law. Its leading facts and doctrines are directly connected with this belief, and directly suggestive of it. The Divine mission of Christ on earth — does not this imply not only the use of means to an end, but some inscrutable necessity that certain means, and these only, should be employed in resisting and overcoming evil? What else is the import of so many passages of Scripture implying that certain conditions were required to bring the Saviour of Man into a given relation with the race He was sent to save? 'It behoved Him . . . to 'make the Captain of our Salvation perfect through suffering.' 'It behoved Him in all things to be made like unto His 'brethren, *that He might be*,' &c.— with the reason added: 'for '*in that* He himself hath suffered being tempted, *He is able* to 'succour them that are tempted.' Whatever *more* there may be in such passages, they all imply the universal reign of law in the moral and spiritual, as well as in the material world: that those laws had to be — behoved to be — obeyed; and that the results to be obtained are brought about by the adaptation of means to an end, or, as it were, by way of natural consequence from the instrumentality employed. This, however, is an idea which systematic theology is very apt to regard with intense suspicion, though, in fact, all theologies involve it, and build upon it. But then they are very apt to give explanations of that instrumentality which have no counterpart in the material or in the moral world. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the manifest decay which so many creeds and confessions are now suffering, arises mainly from the degree in which at least the

popular expositions of them dissociate the doctrines of Christianity from the analogy and course of nature. There is no such severance in Scripture — no shyness of illustrating Divine things by reference to the 'natural.' On the contrary, we are perpetually reminded that the laws of the spiritual world are in the highest sense laws of nature, whose obligation, operation, and effect are all in the constitution and course of things. Hence it is that so much was capable of being conveyed in the form of parable — the common actions and occurrences of daily life being chosen as the best vehicle and illustration of the highest spiritual truths. It is not merely, as Jeremy Taylor says, that 'all things are full of such resemblances,'— it is more than this — more than resemblance. It is the perpetual recurrence, under infinite varieties of application, of the same rules and principles of Divine government, — of the same Divine thoughts, Divine purposes, Divine affections. Hence it is that no verbal definitions or logical forms can convey religious truth with the fullness or the accuracy which belong to narratives taken from nature — man's nature and life being, of course, included in the term:

> 'And so, the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the Creed of creeds.'

The same idea is expressed in the passionate exclamation of Edward Irving:—'We must speak in parables, or we must 'present a wry and deceptive form of truth; of which 'choice the first is to be preferred, and our Lord adopted 'it. Because parable is truth veiled, not truth dismembered; 'and as the eye of the understanding grows more piercing, 'the veil is seen through, and the truth stands revealed.' Nature is the great Parable; and the truths which she holds within her are veiled, but not dismembered. The pretended separation between what lies within nature and what lies beyond her is a dismemberment of the truth. Let those who find it difficult to believe in anything which is above the natural, first determine how much the natural includes. When they have finished this search, they will find nothing in the so-called 'supernatural' which is hard of acceptance or belief—nothing which is not rather essential to our understanding of this otherwise 'unintelligible world.'

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ART. V.— *Life in the Forests of the Far East.* By SPENSER ST. JOHN, F.R.G.S., F.E.S., formerly H.M.'s Consul-General in the Great Island of Borneo, &c. 1862.

WHEN the subject of the burning of ships at sea arises in conversation, some sexagenarian present is pretty sure to speak of the burning of 'the Fame,' in 1824, as the most impressive case in the memory of the existing generation. The ship 'Fame' was bringing home from the Eastern Archipelago Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles and their one remaining child, and the treasures in natural history collected by them in Java and Sumatra, and a mass of papers by which that bright and rich part of the world was to be laid open to us. On the very first night of the voyage, the steward set fire to the ship by shameful carelessness: Lady Raffles and her family escaped with difficulty in their night-dresses; and everything they had was burnt. We still remember vividly the sensation excited by the news, and the keen and universal sympathy felt by educated persons with the indefatigable Eastern Governor, whose health had been sacrificed to toil and anxiety, and who saw all the records of that toil destroyed in one night, just when he was coming home. The sense of public loss was also very strong. The curtain was rising upon a brilliant tropical scene, full of promise of wealth to England; but suddenly it fell again, and we were obliged to be satisfied with what the travellers could tell us out of their memory and judgment. Perhaps they produced almost as strong an impression of what they wished to convey by their testimony as they could have done by any written evidence: but Sir Stamford Raffles did not long survive the shock of his various bereavements; and if his convictions were successfully communicated to certain minds, they did not influence society at large, as they would probably have done if his treasures had arrived safely in England, and his journals and other records had been delivered over to the intelligent curiosity of the nation.

Sir Stamford Raffles opened to us glimpses of an ancient civilisation in the Malay countries which was certainly that of the Malay people; and he held that those people could certainly rise again to the elevation from which they had sunk. He showed us what their actual depression was under the malign influence of the Dutch, to whom they have long borne much the same relation that the African race bear to their masters in America. He told us what reason there was to suppose that the treasure countries of the Eastern Archipelago were as rich

as those of the Western continent which drew over the Europeans since established there. He believed that the most enviable power yet to be acquired in the world was reserved for the nation which should act the wisest part with regard to the Eastern races, and especially the Malays: and he warned us, the more earnestly as his time grew visibly shorter, that the opportunity was brief, as the encroachments of the Dutch were doing mischief which could scarcely be repaired. As for what the wise part was, his explanations were very clear. Commercial settlements would not suffice: missionary settlements would not suffice: much less would the strong hand develope the soil and the people. There must be territorial possession, for the sake of creating and expanding common interests between the natives and the Europeans: but the social system should be that which was found on the spot; the administrators should be, as far as possible, the natives themselves; and the power of the European element should be coextensive with its natural influence, through the superior intelligence and experience of the Western race. The nation which should plant itself down most naturally on any island of that Archipelago, should arrive at the best understanding with the people, and by superior wisdom obtain the lead of society, would be the supreme power in the East, would command its wealth, would guide and elevate its people, and would enjoy all the advantages of empire without incurring the fearful risks and damning responsibilities of conquest. Such were the views which have been discussed in the nooks and corners of English society, where Sir Stamford Raffles was remembered or simply appreciated, for five and thirty years past. A new generation has now before its eyes illustrations of the opposite methods of rule, — the one which Sir Stamford Raffles reprobated and the one which he recommended. At the same time, our interests in the Far East are in a state which renders a just view and a right course more important than ever before.

We need not spend many words on the unfavourable specimen. Mr. Money's work on Java caused such a sensation last year that we may assume our readers to be in a general way aware of its purport. Appearing when we were looking about in all directions for guidance in our task of governing India, and assuming, as it did, that our aims in India were, or ought to be, those of the Dutch in Java, the book was not only eagerly read, and much talked about, but adopted in its main argument with a docility which we trust many of our neighbours are now heartily ashamed of. The first question was 'Why cannot we 'make India pay as the Dutch make Java pay?' But this was

soon succeeded by the other question, 'Would it be wise to make 'India pay in the same way that the Dutch make Java pay?' We now see that a system which is based upon the virtual slavery of the indigenous population, and the main condition of which is that the people shall never learn anything new, nor become anything better, is no system for us. Whatever mistakes we have made about India, we do sincerely intend to administer it for the people of India; and we do strongly desire that the inhabitants should grow wiser and better and happier under our rule, and through our rule. Mr. Money's book has at least served to illustrate the truth of the doctrine that commercial settlements, however successful, will not fulfil the higher conditions of empire in the Eastern Archipelago.

The other illustration affords a pleasanter topic. The children of England have been taught, for two or three generations, that Borneo is the largest island in the world. Which of us forgets saying that in class? and which of us failed to see in Borneo and the neighbouring islands the paradise of our globe? Does not the shiver of delight come over us again now when we call up that early imagery; — the calm, translucent seas; the palmy islets studding the shining waters; the villages standing out on piles above the tide; the darting fish below, the gaudy birds and flashing butterflies and glittering reptiles above: the amethyst mountains rising from plains of dazzling green; the reedy lakes with their flamingoes; the deep woods more noisy than the towns with the jabber of monkeys, and the cry of the deer, and the clatter of bamboos and palms, and the trumpet of the elephant, and the roar of the tiger; and everywhere the dark, supple Malay catching fish, or smoking bees, or snaring deer, or hunting buffalo, or waylaying enemies to steal their heads? Such was the scenery, appearing through the morning mists, or under the flood of noon sunshine, or the lustrous midnight sky, which was called up, and is still called up, before the mind's eye by the name of Borneo, the largest island in the world.

It has so happened that these associations met in one mind, as doubtless in many more, the ideas suggested by Sir Stamford Raffles. Many, no doubt, contemplated, as James Brooke did, the actual scenery of those regions in combination with the moral scenery of the future which Sir Stamford Raffles sketched on behalf of the Eastern races; but not one youth in a million can act upon his early conceptions as James Brooke has done. The idea having once become clear in his mind that the Malays were a race worth cultivating, he was bent on ascertaining for himself what they were like, and on offering the wisdom of the Western world to them for their guidance, if they were disposed to

appeal to it. He went to Borneo, not to conquer tribes or territories, — not to buy up and sell again the industry and products of any country, — not to introduce missionaries, and impose a new faith on people who did not ask for it; but to live among the inhabitants, make their acquaintance, — make friends of them, give them counsel when asked, and guidance exactly as far as they desired it, and no further. He proposed to found their new civilisation on an indigenous and not a foreign basis — on the great laws of human nature as they appeared to the native mind, and by methods which the people themselves should choose. To civilise and elevate some portion of the Malay races by a course opposite to that which commercial, military, and missionary effort had hitherto taken, was the object to which James Brooke devoted his life. He did not overlook the considerations of the importance to England of a firm footing in the Eastern Archipelago, and of the benefits of a thriving commerce with those rich regions: nor did he ever deny his own inclination to the exercise of power, any more than his love of adventure: but the presiding idea and engrossing aim was that of raising some Malay race by means of companionship with them, instead of command over them.

The evidence is now before us of what has been done. Mr. St. John, whose work is the fruit of many years' residence in and about Borneo, says of Sir James Brooke's territory: —

'The most remarkable thing connected with Sarāwak is the change which has come over the aborigines. From all the accounts I could gather, they were twenty-five years ago in a much more miserable condition than the Meeruts and Bisayas, in the neighbourhood of the capital. The country was in a state of complete anarchy, and Malays were fighting against Malays, and Dayaks against Dayaks. Even before the civil war broke out, the condition of the latter was miserable in the extreme: they were exposed to every exaction, their children were taken from them, their villages attacked, and often sacked by the Seribas and Sakarang; and hunger approaching to famine added to their troubles.' (Vol. ii. p. 292.)

Such was their state when their English friend settled among them, and led them against the pirates who rendered their industry fruitless, and kept them in perpetual panic. He taught them to use their rich soil and waters, opened markets for their products, instituted justice sure and cheap, led them up to such morals as their religion and customs admitted, and made them feel themselves a people. He never interfered with their notions or their habits, while he was always open to their inquiries about his own. By day, he worked in their affairs, and at night he walked with them for hours by the river bank, or sat with them

under the stars, receiving their confidence, listening to their family histories, discussing points of religion and philosophy, or exchanging stories of life in the West and the East, and in the wide realms of fiction. At night, the Malay opens his heart, and gives voice to his imagination; and these nocturnal conferences gave Brooke almost the influence of a prophet or a god. There is a passage in a letter of the wife of the Bishop of Labuan which discloses to us something of the nature and extent of his influence:—

'Pa Jenna paid me a visit,' wrote Mrs. McDougall to her son, 'at Sarāwak, soon after this. The Rajah was in England; but Pa Jenna coming into my sitting-room, immediately espied his picture hanging against the wall. I was much struck with the expression of involuntary respect which both the face and attitude of this untutored savage assumed, as he stood before the Rajah's picture. He raised the handkerchief from his head, and saluting the picture with a bow, such as a Roman Catholic would make to his patron saint's altar, he whispered to himself, "Our great Rajah!" This is not the only time, Charley, that I have seen how deep in the hearts of the natives lie love and reverence for Sir James Brooke. The least occasion calls it out.'

We have, happily, Sir James Brooke's own account, in a family letter, of his purpose and his mood in his great enterprise. He wrote to his mother as follows, three years and a half after he first set his foot on the shore at Sarāwak:—

'You know I am not very boastful, but I will say that I conceive what I have already done with my means is almost wonderful; the people are obedient, and all allow themselves happy. The Dyaks are coming down to the river, and building residences, which for many years they have not had; and they show a degree of confidence which is surprising, and which is only limited by the apprehension that my abode here will be temporary. The Chinese are working, and I hope will succeed in making themselves comfortable in another year; and when once they are established, the country cannot be otherwise than prosperous, for, with many vices, they are an industrious and thrifty race. I do not, however, look to their success as the best criterion of mine; for if I sought *only to enrich myself*, the readiest way to do it would be by encouraging these Chinese, and giving them power over the Malays and Dyaks; and, by winking at their oppressions, I might, like the Sultan of Pambas, share largely in their profits. It shall never be said of me that I have entered on this enterprise for the sake of gain; and whatever the pecuniary temptation may hereafter be, and whatever the superior ease of pursuing a bad instead of a good cause, I believe I am strong enough to hold the latter and reject the former. I am not by nature greedy of money, my own mere personal expenses have ever been moderate, and as I grow older, I am less ambitious than I was; but those far away, living in ease and

safety, cannot imagine the ties which bind me to these people. To the strong desire I have to confer a lasting benefit on them by the introduction of *some* government approaching to good, the deep feeling of commiseration for the virtuous and unhappy Dyaks, and my indignation at the atrocities to which their ruin and the rapid decline of the race towards extinction, my course may be attributed. At a distance, you, my mother, cannot form a full idea of these feelings — of the stern resolution they inspire to prosecute my designs — to urge my relatives to appeal to every person of humanity to aid the cause — to lay aside all selfish and mean considerations — to exhaust all my means, and, if all fail, and I receive no help from without, to fight out the battle and to *die*, as I have latterly lived, for the good of this people.' (*Private Letters of Sir Jas. Brooke*, vol. i. p. 198.)

By Mr. St. John's work we learn what the change was at Sarāwak in sixteen years,— years during which all Borneans living under native rule and the government of the Dutch had been declining in all ways: —

'When Sir James Brooke first reached the spot, there were few inhabitants except the Malay rajahs and their followers, who subsequently for the most part removed to Brunei, the residence of the sultan. I saw Kuching in the year 1848, when it was but a small place, with few Chinese or Kling shops, and perhaps not over 6,000 Malay inhabitants; there was little trade, the native prahus were small, and I saw some few of them. The jungle surrounded the town and hemmed in the houses, and the Chinese gardeners had scarcely made an impression on the place. As confidence was inspired, so the town increased, and now, including the outlying parishes, its population numbers not less than 15,000.

'The commerce of the place has kept pace with it, and from a rare schooner finding its way over to return with a paltry cargo, the trade has risen till an examination of the books convinced me that it was in 1860 above 250,000*l.* of exports and imports.' (Vol. ii. p. 289.)

After testifying to the remarkable commercial honesty of the Malays, Mr. St. John explains how it has been developed by their confidence in the justice of the government under which they live. He continues: —

'This confidence, however, was the growth of some years, and the result of the system of government which I shall now describe. In treating of the capital, I have shown the practice established there. In all the former dependencies of Brunei, there were local chiefs, who administered the internal affairs of their own districts. In Sarāwak, there were originally three, and that number Sir James Brooke continued in their employment, and permitted and encouraged them to take part in everything connected with the government of the country; obtaining their consent to the imposition of any new tax or change in the system of levying the old; consulting them on all occasions, and allowing their local knowledge to guide him in those

things with which they were necessarily better acquainted than he could possibly be.

'It was not to be expected that his teaching and influence should suddenly change these men, accustomed to almost uncontrolled, sway into just and beneficent rulers, and he failed in moulding the datu patiñggi, the principal chief. As long as Sir James Brooke was himself present in Sarāwak, he could keep him tolerably straight; but no amount of liberality could prevent him oppressing the Dayaks on every possible occasion. His rapacity increasing, he took bribes in his administration of justice, and it was at last found necessary to remove him. The third chief behaved much better, and the second, patiñggi Ali, was killed during one of Captain Keppel's expeditions.

'The last named left many sons, two of whom would have adorned any situation in life: the eldest, the late bandhar of Sarāwak, was a kind, just, and good man, respected in his public capacity, and beloved in all social intercourse; his only fault was a certain want of decision, partly caused by a rapid consumption that carried him off about two years since. His next brother succeeded him, and appears to have all his brother's good qualities, with remarkable firmness of character. In fact, a generation is springing up, with new ideas and more enlarged views, who appear to appreciate the working of their present government, and have a pride in being connected with it.

'By associating these men in the administration, and thus educating them in political life, and by setting the example of a great equality in social intercourse, Sir James Brooke laid the foundation of a government which stood a shock that many of his best friends expected would prove fatal — I mean the Chinese insurrection. None of the predicted results have followed. Trade and revenue have both actually increased, and a much better system of management has been introduced.

'The example set in the capital is followed in all the dependent districts, and the local rulers are always associated with the European in the government. The effect has been to prevent any jealousy arising; and the contempt of all natives, which appears a part of our creed in many portions of our empire, is not felt in Sarāwak. Nothing appears more striking to those who have resided long in Sarāwak than the extraordinary change which appears to have been effected in the character of the people, and also in that of individuals. There is no doubt that Sir James Brooke was working in soil naturally good, or these results could not have taken place; but yet, when we know the previous history of men, how lawless and savage they were, and yet find they have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner for twenty years, the whole circumstances appear surprising.

'I have watched the gradual development of Sarāwāk with the greatest interest. I have seen districts, once devoted to anarchy, restored to prosperity and peace, by the simple support of the orderly part of the population by a government acting with justice; and it is not surprising that all its neighbours appeal to it, when their own countrymen are seen to exercise so great an influence in its councils.' (Vol. ii. pp. 295–9.)

Never was an enterprise of this character less indebted to external support than Sir James Brooke's. We do not pretend to understand why he has met with such persistent discouragement from the British Government, when all that he has asked has been the presence of the British flag in those seas, as a terror to pirates, and a support to peaceful trade. The fact of his isolation amidst this new realm is a sufficient answer to all that part of the world which believes that England is rapacious in regard to territory, and inclined to meddle wherever interference may lead to conquest: but this is small comfort to the people who live in daily dread of coming under the power of the Dutch, and in incessant doubt which way to turn for protection from the piratical tribes which are the scourge of the Archipelago. Again and again the time has seemed at hand when it would be necessary to permit the Dutch, the French, the Spanish, or the Americans to obtain a footing in the country, that the people might have the protection of one or the other flag. And the danger is not at an end, nor will be till the small boon of a single steamer in those seas is at length granted. We have made a settlement in Labuan; but it has not succeeded like Sir J. Brooke's enterprises. There has been a Christian Mission established at Sarāwak; but it has failed, nearly as completely as the Catholic Mission attempted by Spain. The causes of these failures are plain; and the counsel of the man best qualified to advise would have precluded the mischief, and secured a much greater good.

For many years there was a persistent effort made, by the self-interest of one party and the prejudices of another, to discredit Brooke's enterprise altogether. Because adventurers among the heathen and the savage have often been unworthy of the professions they put forward, it was assumed that Brooke must be seeking wealth under philanthropic pretences. He was a hypocrite: he was a tyrant: he was a buccaneer: he was everything bad that adventurers had ever been. We heard much of this for many years; but it is all over now. Such speculations were extinguished by the Chinese rising in 1857, which threatened the very existence of the government, and the independence of the native community at Sarāwak. That peril brought out as nothing else could have done the real feelings of the people towards their Rajah; and the manifestation was such as to silence all enemies and cavillers, and to cause all generous men, who before held their judgment in suspense, to avow themselves satisfied that the relation between the ruler and the people of Sarāwak was, in fact, what it professed to be.

For many years it had been considered a settled matter that

a certain proportion of Chinese were necessary to the development of the resources of the country. 'My Dayaks are gentlemen,' Sir J. Brooke delights to say. Without being idle they take things easily, prefer the lightest occupations, and will not surrender their evening leisure for the sake of increasing their gains. To make production and commerce what they may be, a plodding and money-getting race like the Chinese must have a place in the community; and wherever they can find toleration, there are accordingly Chinese to be found. It is observable that they are not, in Borneo and the neighbourhood, pure Chinese who have arrived direct from their own country, but a mixed race, the offspring of former immigrations. In fact, it seems to be difficult to draw the line between those who are loosely called Borneans and Chinese; for it is contended that the people of Borneo are themselves descended from ancient Chinese cultivators of the pepper and rice grounds, the traces of which are very common. However this may be, there are people called Chinese, prone to industry and money-getting by the celestial side of their constitution, and to raids and rebellion by the Malay element now intermixed with it. The Dutch are oppressive rulers and hard taskmasters of these people; and they have naturally flocked to the Sarāwak territory, where they have been to a certain extent welcome, and would have been entirely so if the rural labourers among them had stuck to their proper business. Every encouragement was given to their agricultural efforts; but the gold-seekers overwhelmed the rice-growers, and carried them off to the mines. As their force increased, they made difficulties by encroaching on the lands of the Dayaks in search of gold; and in 1853 it was necessary to control them by force of arms. The cultivators used their opportunity to get back to their rice-grounds and gardens, and Mr. St. John saw, in 1856, about 500 of them 'engaged in a war against the jungle.' About 800 were living in the capital and its environs; and up the country, in the mineral district, there had been a clandestine immigration, persistently denied on the spot, which brought the number of gold-seekers and their dependents up to 3,000.

The immigration was not much to be wondered at, nor the secrecy: for the Dutch authorities over the frontier exact a payment of 6*l.* from every Chinese who leaves their territory; and the punishment for leaving without paying is very severe. To get into Rajah Brooke's territory, and to get there unnoticed, was therefore the Chinaman's natural ambition. Yet Sir J. Brooke was vigilant, and suspicious of some design against his proper subjects. The perpetual ground of suspicion of the

Chinese, asserted by all who have made acquaintance with them in the Eastern Archipelago, is their fondness for secret societies. By such organisations they carry on smuggling, communicate with such centres of power as Singapore, learn what is going on abroad, and overawe their own weaker members at home. Mr. St. John was dosed with opium by his own servant, a Chinese boy, under the control of the officers of a secret society, who stole the consul's property while he was sunk in his thirteen hours' sleep. The Sarāwak revenue was cheated, through the same instrumentality, by the smuggling of opium from Singapore. The society was fined 150*l.*, after having made many thousands; and the illicit trade was stopped.

This happened just after the Chinese had heard that the English had retired from Canton. Their information was that the English had been beaten back; and the British power was supposed to be humbled. Humble as it was, Brooke and his colleagues in the government were supposed to have no benefit of it. There was no evidence of the English Government feeling any concern about Sarāwak; and the persuasion among the Chinese was that if Brooke and his aids could be got rid of, no inquiry would ever be made, so long as the other European residents were not meddled with. Such were the suggestions of an emissary sent from Singapore and Malacca, encouraged by certain native parties in the Dutch territory adjoining. Mr. St. John's Chinese servants were told, in the Consulate at Brunei, four days before the rising, that all the white men at Sarāwak were going to be killed immediately, and Mr. St. John soon after, so that his servants had better join the society which was thus about to come into power. There was no time to send warning to Sarāwak, even if Mr. St. John had believed the tidings which his butler revealed to him in great trouble of mind. He put the government at Brunei on its guard; and that government made it clearly understood that every Chinese should be destroyed if any outrage were offered to its European ally. In Sarāwak, however, the only warning given was by a swift Malay rower, who pulled down to Kuching, the capital, and told that a Chinese expedition was just behind him. As the Rajah was ill, it was resolved to wait till morning before troubling him with the news. What happened in the night of that Feb. 18. 1857, we all remember — how the Rajah escaped through his bath-house, and by swimming the river; how his guest, Mr. Nicholets, was slain in one of the garden-houses; how Mr. and Mrs. Crookshanks were wounded, and how the constable's two children and lodger were killed. As long as the belief prevailed that Brooke was dead, all was forlorn and

hopeless. The Chinese sat in the Rajah's seat in the court-house, and aped his authority. This was the drop too much. One of the native citizens protested — somewhat prematurely.

'He was a sturdy man,' Mr. St. John tells us, 'with a pleasant cheerful countenance, and a warm friend to English rule; and his first words were, "Are we going to submit to be governed by Chi-"nese chiefs, or are we to remain faithful to our Rajah? I am a "man of few words, and I say I will never be governed by any "but him; and to-night I commence war to the knife against his "enemies." This was the unanimous determination of the assembly; but they were divided as to the course to be pursued.' (Vol. ii. p. 350.)

The Chinese had all the arms from the arsenal; the Malays were burnt out of their homes, scattered and pillaged: but they attacked the Chinese boats, and fought when, where, and as they could. They were apparently of the same mind with their fellow-citizen, who, dying in the struggle, said that he would rather be in hell with the English, than in heaven with his Mohammedan countrymen. When Brooke was known to be alive, and yet more when he appeared, they did wonders in defence of their persons and property. Yet all seemed to be over, as the town was burning, when the Borneo Company's steamer arrived to furnish a base of operations for the defence of the settlement. The details may be read in Mr. St. John's book: the point that concerns us now is the proof afforded by this insurrection, of the nature and temper of the connexion between Rajah Brooke and his Dayak subjects. From hour to hour it became clearer that the Chinese could never have had a chance of success in their attempt to usurp the government. Dayaks were thronging from all parts to avenge their ruler, when he led his people to victory over the aggressors; and the whole country was resolved to sacrifice everything, rather than the beneficent rule which they need never have submitted to again but by their own choice. Since that date we have heard no more charges or insinuations against Sir James Brooke as Rajah of Sarāwak.

Mr. St. John's sketch of the aspect of the seat of government after the disturbance was over, will interest our readers. The wretched insurgents had for the most part perished, and the survivors were dispersed. Many were found hanging in the woods, or dead by other methods of suicide; and most of them with their booty on their persons — money from 5*l.* to 20*l.*, silver spoons, forks, and other portable treasure. Meantime, while these victims of their secret society authorities were proving their essential harmlessness as rebels, the capital was rising from its ashes.

'The news of the insurrection reached me,' says Mr. St. John, 'after a very long delay, as the first intimation I had of it was through a letter from Mr. Ruppell, dated Singapore, as he had left Sarāwak after the failure of the Sunday attack: and I was kept in suspense for above a week, when a more rapid sailing-vessel brought me the news that Sir James Brooke had triumphed.

'I went down to Sarāwak by the first opportunity, and reached it in July, to find everything proceeding apparently as if no insurrection had occurred. Though the Malay town had been burnt down, yet the inhabitants had soon recovered their energy, and had built their houses again, which, though not so substantial as the former ones, still looked very neat. Some things were missed in the landscape, and the handsome government-house, with its magnificent library, had disappeared; Mr. Crookshank's and Mr. Middleton's houses were also gone, and, with the exception of the Rajah, they were the principal sufferers, as the Chinese had had no time to destroy either the church or the mission-house, or the Borneo Company's premises; and, although they all suffered losses from pilferers, yet they were comparatively trivial, when placed in comparison to that noble library, which was once the pride of Sarāwak.

'I found, as I had expected, that the loss of worldly goods had had little effect on the ruler of the country, who was as cheerful and contented in his little comfortless cottage, as he had ever been in the government house. His health, which before was not strong, had been wonderfully improved by his great exertions to endeavour to restore the country to its former state; and I never saw him more full of bodily energy and mental vigour than during the two months I spent at Sarāwak in 1857. Everybody took their tone from their leader, and there were no useless regrets over losses; and it was amusing to hear the congratulations of the Malay chiefs: "Ah, Mr. "St. John, you were born under a fortunate star to leave Sarāwak "just before the evil days came upon us." Then they would laughingly recount the personal incidents which had occurred to themselves; and tell with great amusement the shifts they were put to for want of every household necessary. There was a cheerfulness and a hope in the future, which promised well for the country.' (Vol. ii. p. 361.)

It would seem that Rajah Brooke has solved the problem which Sir Stamford Raffles and many other good men have taken to heart—that of winning the mind and heart of races with which measures of conquest, of commerce, and of missionary enterprise have always failed. The evidence seems to have turned up everywhere, as well as within sight of the Rajah's dwelling, and the influence of his personal conduct. Mr. St. John tells us how his ear was caught by the name of Brooke when he was in the wilds, attempting the exploration of the interior mountains. There, among his hungry followers, and suspicious strangers, beyond the Limbang River, exhausted

by bleeding from the leeches which fastened upon him in his daily walk, encompassed with perils, and, as it were, lost in the furthest wilderness of the world, he heard, as he sat by the night-fire, the sound of 'Tuan Brooke' often repeated. On inquiry, he learned that the natives were proud and delighted to see in him, with their own eyes, the adopted son (as they had been told) of the great Rajah, the friend of the aborigines. 'Their only surprise was, that he who had given peace and 'happiness to the Southern Dayaks should neglect to extend 'his benefits to the Northern.' On investigating the origin of their notions of the great Rajah, Mr. St. John found that, among the natives, the mightiest event in human history was the humiliation of the Bornean Sultan, when his government was driven to hide in the jungle, and to apologise for its oppressions at the bidding of the British. With this piece of history was linked the story of the justice with which Britons rule; and especially of the blessings which one Briton had brought to that part of the country which he was pleased to inhabit. 'What dwelt in their minds was, that there were some of 'their countrymen who were happy under the rule of Tuan 'Brooke.' (Vol. ii. p. 107.)

The question arises whether this influence is to expire with the life of a peculiarly-gifted man. It is a question of the highest importance. By the delays and impediments which have been interposed for twenty years, we must conclude that the difficulties are also great; but we never have been able to see, and we do not now see, how they can be conceived to bear any proportion to the benefits to everybody concerned of confirming and perpetuating the work prescribed by Raffles, and begun with singular success by Brooke. Nobody wants to enter on a course of enterprise which can lead us into a policy of annexation like that which has made us the conquerors and owners of India. Nobody wants that we should involve ourselves in such a scheme as that of the French in Cochin China, nor in responsibilities at all resembling those which we are beginning to find embarrassing at Shanghae. What we have done thus far has not been what was asked, nor what was desirable. We have mismanaged the Labuan settlement and the Sarāwak Mission; and we seem to have been unable to apprehend the principle and aim proposed by the one great English friend of the Malay races, and carried out by the other. We seem to have been thus far unable to perceive that our call is to be the guardian and friend of these Eastern people, exactly as far as they desire us to be so; and by no means their masters by the strong hand, nor their priests by self-appointment. Speaking

practically, the thing needed is the presence of our flag in their seas, as a terror to pirates, and a tranquillising assurance to the orderly and industrious. Wherever there is a social system presided over by rulers of English birth, or of English training; wherever there is a fair institution of an English habit of mind and manners, there should be means of appeal to English protection or countenance. If there is always such a resource plentifully provided where we have established ourselves at our own pleasure and by our own power, why not when we are present by invitation, and by the free choice of the inhabitants? If there is protection for us by sea and land when we impose the institutions, and order the industry, and control the affairs of the people we would civilise, why not when the institutions and the industry and the interests of native society grow up from indigenous roots? This is the point which seems never to have been explained; and all that can be conjectured from the confused and vacillating resistance made by successive administrations to the demand of the friends of those Eastern races is that Government dreads being involved in rash schemes of colonisation or annexation, rendering England responsible for the destinies of obscure races, which spread over a great part of the Eastern Archipelago, and expose us to collision with any ambitious or mercenary Power which may be jealous of our entrance upon that scene.

There should have been no confusion of ideas, or vacillation of purpose about this matter for a long time past, because there has been no choice about our appearance on the scene. A glance at the map makes this very clear. A quarter of a century ago, the eminent hydrographer of a foreign government put his finger on Singapore, then recently risen from being a sordid fishing hamlet, frightful to all observers from the roaring of tigers, and the scorching of fevers, and said that the holders and improvers of Singapore would prove to be the possessors of the key of the whole wealth of the East. We now see that much of the value of Singapore will, sooner or later, lie in its being the avenue to Borneo, and the groups of islands amidst which it holds its place as a very centre of wealth. Borneo has fine harbours, fit to be not only the refuge of our ships in the storms of the tropical seas, but the rendezvous of our naval and merchant service, when either assumes the proportions indicated by the growth of our colonial empire. Borneo is the proper station for telegraphic communication, when we shall have carried our wires from London into the Southern seas. Borneo contains coal along its whole western coast, by which we may keep our steam fleets going very cheaply, at that vast

distance from home. Mr. St. John's volume will satisfy all readers of the abundance of natural wealth by which the prosperity of the inhabitants may be ensured, and great privileges obtained for our own colonies. In short, here lies a great island, between our own India, Australia, and New Zealand, and our Chinese settlements, and, we may add, British Columbia, which will some day be reached by this route by traders. This great island teems with the raw materials of commerce: it offers us harbours and coal, and every convenience of a central station: its native polity is sinking into ruin; the Dutch rule is injurious and abhorred, as far as it extends; and it threatens to extend wherever it is not guarded against. The inhabitants of one region are a rising, prosperous, happy and grateful people under English influence and training. The same training and influence are desired wherever they have been heard of; and if we do not grant them, some other Power will step into our place, and snatch the opportunity we are throwing away. This seems a strong and plain case. It only remains to consider what it is that constitutes an acceptance of the opportunity. It is simply granting so much countenance as consists in floating our flag permanently in those seas, for the purpose of enabling private enterprise to pursue its course, without fear of insult or impediment.

No part of Mr. St. John's work is more impressive than those passages of his second volume which describe the decline of Borneo Proper, under the rule of the Sultans of Brunei. From his long residence in the district, our author is the best living authority on that point; and nothing can be clearer than his exposition of the facts and the causes. Amidst all the disadvantages of Sarāwak and of Labuan they were advancing, while Brunei, whose Sultan is regarded almost as a god from sea to sea, was declining, in spite of its ancient prestige.

'The trade of our colony is small,' Mr. St. John says, 'though it is increasing; while that of Brunei is rapidly decreasing, and recent arrangements will tend to accelerate its fall.' . . . . .
'Full of faults as the Bornean rajahs doubtless are, oppressors of their subjects, and totally unfitted to rule, yet they are, in my opinion, the most agreeable natives I have ever met. As a companion, few Europeans could be more interesting than was the shabandar, the Makota of Keppel's book, and "The Serpent," as he was popularly called. I never wearied of his society, and always enjoyed the little pic-nics to which he invited me. His death, which I have related in my "Limbang Journal," was tragic, though he deserved his fate. They all display, in the most exciting discussions, a propriety of behaviour and gentleness of manner that wins those who

have dealings with them. Procrastination is their greatest fault, and sometimes trying to the temper. . . . .

'The Sultan and nobles deplore the decay of their country, but cannot, or rather will not, understand that it is their own unreflecting rapacity which destroys the springs of industry.

'There are no fixed impositions, but the aborigines suffer from the exactions of all, until they have told me that, in despair, they are planting yearly less and less, and trusting to the jungle for a subsistence.' (Vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.)

We hear a good deal of the disappointment about our colony of Labuan, when Borneo is spoken of at all; but the settlement has done some good, and has opened the way for more. About a thousand of the hillmen from Borneo Proper have settled there, and are felling the timber of the finest forest imaginable. The clearing and timber trade are proceeding apace. The coal will make the wealth of a station which is 350 miles from Singapore, 400 from Sarāwak, and 600 from Manilla, whence it is 600 more to Hong-Kong. Already the character of slavery in Borneo is totally changed, through our presence in Labuan; and piracy must decline from the hour when the news spreads that England, planting her foot on Labuan, wills that piracy should stop. As for the material of commerce, there is variety and abundance enough to occupy British speculation and capital till the capacities of the country are fully developed. We have seen how busy the Chinese are about gold: and they find silver and copper in the Dutch territory. The ore of antimony abounds in the Sarāwak territory, and yields the substance of the state revenue. There is, as we have said, plenty of coal. In the north-east of Borneo elephants abound, and there is a considerable ivory trade. The forests yield a variety of fine timber; and from the jungle the traders bring gutta percha, india-rubber, camphor, wax, and the best rattans in the world. Wherever the Chinese have left their traces in the open country, the crops are large; the sugar canes are of enormous girth; the rice stalks are taller than men; the pepper vines form a splendid growth; and, as for the orchards, Mr. St. John tells us 'The groves of 'fruit trees are immense; and no idea can be formed of them, 'unless we imagine our pear and apple trees of the size of the 'most gigantic elms. They are generally planted on the gentle 'slopes of low hills; and the cool and well-shaded paths among 'them are dry and pleasant to tread.' (Vol. ii. p. 269.) These orchards are in the neighbourhood of Brunei. In places far distant from each other we hear of cotton crops, past or present. There was a large growth of cotton in the northern districts till the pirates—the scourge of all industry — extinguished the pro-

duction. Elsewhere there are beginnings made from the seed sent by our Cotton Supply Association; and there is no reason why any quantity, of the best kinds, should not be obtained wherever there are Chinese enough to grow it. There is already a large trade in sago, and in edible birds' nests. The sandy shores of the bright islets round the coast swarm with turtle; and sea-slugs, many kinds of fish, and pearls are yielded up by the waters. The country is full of life; the woods abound in game, — wild swine, deer, wild cattle, bears, and a fair proportion of the fowls of the air; the rivers swarm with fish; the trees and the rocks are infested with wild bees. In short, anybody may live there; and any merchant may there find a commerce worthy of his capital and his care, if only he can hope to see piracy put down, as it might easily be by the constant and well-recognised presence of the British flag in those seas. The people already demand large supplies of 'gray shirtings' and chintzes; and of brass wire, and any sort of common metal in any form. The old barbaric commodities of red cloth and beads are in request; but arms and implements, dress and utensils that can in any way be accommodated to their modes of life, will be eagerly bought as civilisation advances. The pride and indolence of the Dayaks, who take life easily, are seen to give way sensibly before the facilities for obtaining conveniences and adornments. In short, the people of Borneo, of all tribes and diversities, are very like the people everywhere else. The saddest part of the whole story of Borneo, in which many things have gone wrong, is the ruin wrought to industry, peace, and progress by the liability to the attacks of pirates. Nothing could be done at Sarāwak till the people were protected from the piracy to which they were before liable; and the way to raise other parts of the country to the condition of Sarāwak is to put down piracy with the strong hand, at the same time giving profitable commerce with the open hand.

Mr. St. John's pictures of 'Life in the Forests of the Far 'East' are bewitching to readers acquainted with many latitudes, because their truthful touches revive impressions very vividly. Judging by what we see, the book is also very welcome to readers whose travels are all by the fireside. This may arise, not only from the beauty of the author's descriptions, but from the freshness of his disclosures of the actual life of the people. We can hardly expect ever to see again an intensity of curiosity to equal that with which we all, old and young, seized upon the revelations of African life, when Mungo Park and his successors opened that wild scene to us: but next in degree, we could easily imagine, might be the interest of reading of explorations

of limestone mountains, within which caves beyond caves are lined with the hollow balls of gelatine, — the edible birds' nests, of which so much soup is made in many countries; the interest of climbing the mighty peaks and table-lands which stand dressed in such lovely hues in Mr. St. John's frontispieces; the interest of following him in his courageous voyagings up dangerous rivers, among unknown tribes, in search of mountains sacred to demons, and approachable only through defences of omens which no faint-hearted stranger could break through; the interest, finally, of entering the long village houses, raised on piles, where dozens of families live under one roof, and where everybody's ways, from the great chief's to the spoiled child's, may be observed. But, besides all these disclosures, Mr. St. John gives us innumerable narratives illustrative of the life of the people, political, social, and domestic; and these are so strange, so new, so wild, and yet so easily conceivable, that we are not surprised that the book is eagerly read, notwithstanding its faults of construction.

Those faults are very great, the work being in fact a mass of raw material which the reader must shape for himself, if he desires more from it than the amusement of the moment. Thus the work is as provoking as a book of its order can be which has the prime quality of evident and perfect truthfulness. There can be no more doubt of the simple honesty of the writer in copying his notes than of his courage among a head-hunting banditti, or his zeal in climbing Kina Balu, or his essentially good manners, as a representative Englishman, among the wild pagans, and no less wild Mohammedans, of the Malay tribes: but the artlessness of the book is carried much too far. It is confused to the last degree, as a whole, and in almost every paragraph. This makes it difficult to exhibit by specimens; as it is scarcely possible to present any point otherwise than by picking sentences from various parts, and putting them together, as the author should have done with their meaning. The portion least affected by this fault is the exposition of superstitions and manners by narratives and anecdotes. The travels and the accounts of the various tribes of inhabitants are hopelessly confused; and not one reader in a hundred will probably bring away any clear notion of the distinctive histories of the Bornean tribes, or of the order and bearings of Mr. St. John's travels among them. Yet will some passages leave as vivid an impression as the whole might have done. As this: —

'I do enjoy the exploration of new countries: I especially enjoy an evening such as this. It is a fine starlight night. We have pitched our tents on a broad pebbly flat, and the men have collected

a great pile of wood, with which to keep up a cheerful fire. Most of us are sitting round it, and that everlasting subject of discussion arises — how far are the Kayans off. The hut to-day appeared as if very lately used; but if we are to be attacked, I hope it will be in the day-time. The conversation was beginning to flag, when suddenly we heard a bird utter three cries to our right. "Ah!" cried Japer, "that is a good sign," and instantly reverted to head-hunting and omens. I will here introduce a story illustrative of the practice. Its cool atrocity always makes my heart sick. Japer told it in illustration of various omens. I will try and relate it in his own words, whilst they are still ringing in my ears.' (Vol. ii. p. 61.)

The story, too long for extract, deserves to be called atrocious. But the decline of head-hunting is very marked. By degrees it appeared that any human heads could do as well as those of warriors; then it was only the heads of *bonâ fide* foes, which were sought alive; and then it came to taking them from the graves where the European practice of sepulture exists; and Mr. St. John tells us that during his journeys up the Limbang River, and in all his wanderings near Kina Balu, he only once saw the dried heads of enemies hung up. 'Yet when falling in with parties 'of head-hunters on the track of their enemies, I have always, says our author, 'avoided spending a night in their immediate' 'neighbourhood, and have kept our arms ready for service.' This precaution was not remitted after he overheard, from a Bornean hareem, a remark which tended to reassure him against the head-hunters of that country of flashing eyes. While he was thinking how yellow and smoke-dried the young ladies looked, he heard one of them observe, 'How very dull his eyes are!' Thus there was hope that his head was not very attractive. 'Profitable agricultural industry' is the prescription for the cure of this social disease.

Wherever he went, our author bore in his mind the conception of the future establishment of our civilisation there. At the end of his description of the view obtained from a lofty ridge of a wide extent of coast and plain, he tells us that the rice tillage extended almost to the top—the jungle having been cleared away for the purpose; and, by natural association of ideas, proceeds thus: —

'We carefully examined the noble buttress on which we were encamped, and were convinced that if ever the north of Borneo fall into the hands of a European Power, no spot could be better suited for barracks than Marei Parei. The climate is delightful: at sunrise the average was 56°, mid-day 75°, sunset 63°; and this temperature would keep European soldiers in good health. There is water at hand; and up the western spur a road could be easily made, suited to

cattle and horses: in fact, buffaloes are now occasionally driven from Labang Labang to Sayap.' (Vol. i. p. 330.)

In the concluding chapter may be found Mr. St. John's reasons for warning us that the redemption of Borneo will not be wrought by the Sarāwak Mission, unless the management of it is totally changed. It has created a painful sensation in England lately, that a Christian bishop should have boasted of the number of pirates he had killed with his breech-loading weapon. Necessary as it is to put down piracy, we should not think of commissioning our first bishop in that region to perform an office for which the sacred book he carries affords no warrant. A not less unfavourable impression exists in Sarāwak, evidently from our neglect of the pregnant hint of Sir Stamford Raffles, so well acted upon by Sir James Brooke,—that the growth of these people must proceed from indigenous roots of civilisation, and that it will never answer to impose upon them new thoughts and manners, foreign to their minds and customs. In a single sentence of our author's we find the results of the neglect and of the observance of this hint, in the religious and civil life of the Sarāwak people. After telling us how the chief operation of the Mission has been to fill the Mohammedan temples, Mr. St. John says: —

'That the present management is decidedly faulty, may be gathered from this, that, of all the officers in the Sarāwak government service who have been employed there during the last fourteen years, I only know of one who has abandoned his position, and that one under peculiar circumstances; while, as I have said, five-sevenths of the missionaries have left their posts, though their work is not harder — certainly not nearly so dangerous as that of the officers — and is as well paid.' (Vol. ii. p. 375.)

It is success and non-success that makes the difference in the conduct of the civil and religious officials; and these depend, as we were warned long ago, on whether we watch for the native guidance, for the native good, or impose our own, for the satisfaction of our own preconceptions.

ART. VI. — *Gloucester Fragments.* — I. *Facsimile of some Leaves in Saxon Handwriting on St. Swidhun, copied by Photozincography, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton; and published with Elucidations and an Essay.* By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Rector of Swanswicke; late Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, and Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford.—II. *Leaves from an Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Life of S. Maria Ægyptiaca, with a Translation and Notes.* 4to. London: 1861.

ABOUT five and thirty years ago, a few leaves of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, found in the Chapter Library at Gloucester, were marked by the librarian as discovered in 'Abbats' Braunche and Newton's Register,' laid aside, and forgotten. On these leaves Mr. Earle was requested to prepare a memoir for the meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1860; and from the interest expressed in the subject, he was led to publish facsimiles of the fragments, taken by the process of photozincography. The first MS., thus reproduced, belongs to a narrative of the translation of St. Swithun, and was written, in Mr. Earle's opinion, about the year 985. The condition of the language in the reign of Æthelred, and the familiarity of English readers with the name, if not with the history of Swithun, suggested the idea of making its publication serviceable as an introduction to English literature. The second fragment from a life of St. Mary of Egypt, exhibits the language in a state much like that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the beginning of the twelfth century, and may serve to give a good idea of the devotional reading of the age. To the facsimiles of these fragments Mr. Earle appends the text in Roman letters, with a literal translation and some notes, neither too many nor too long, for the benefit of Anglo-Saxon students. Unfortunately, with regard to the first fragment, the good fortune of having made a discovery cannot be added to Mr. Earle's merits as an editor. A manuscript in the British Museum * contains the homily of which the leaves found in the Chapter Library at Gloucester form a portion. If we regret that Mr. Earle had not acquainted himself with the existence of this MS. before publishing his volume, it by no means follows that the value of his work is seriously impaired. For the purposes of philology, the comparison of the two fragments remains not less useful, while the chief interest of the work for ordinary

* Ælfric's Liber Festivalis. Cotton MS. Julius, E. 7.

readers lies in the 'Essay on the Life and Times of Swithun,' which follows the text of the fragments. Mr. Earle's materials may be somewhat less original than he appears to have thought them, but he makes up for this disappointment by the originality and quaintness of his own remarks.

The facts of St. Swithun's life, so far as they are known to us, may be told in a few words. Yet his history, as Mr. Earle rightly insists, is not necessarily apocryphal because we cannot adduce much of contemporary evidence for it. The nearest approach to such testimony is that of Asser, the biographer of Alfred. From him and from some incidental statements elsewhere, we learn that Swithun was a monk, prior, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester,—that he built a bridge,—that he was appointed by Egbert tutor to his son Æthelwolf, who looked on him always as his most faithful counsellor and friend, and that after his death he was buried on the north side of his cathedral church. Yet although to later generations his name was linked with a mere prognostication of weather, there are some important events of his own time with which the historian may be naturally led to associate his memory. It may seem no strained inference to conclude that he compiled the early history of Wessex, — that he accompanied Alfred in his pilgrimage to Rome, — that he suggested the donation of Æthelwolf, and brought about the compromise which guaranteed to Æthelbald the more important kingdom of Wessex. But while Mr. Earle rejects such a reconstruction of history, he thinks that a middle course yet remains, which, by a fair examination of the time, may enable him 'to appreciate the 'relative position of the morsels which concern Swithun' (p. 23.). The Saint of the Summer Rains is as unquestionably historical as Alfred. In the absence of authentic incidents, his life might in a ruder age be embellished by fictions: in our own day it is clear that 'its chances of rehabilitation are 'over, and the only way of investing the relic with a meaning 'is to recover its antiquarian history' (p. 22.).

The connexion of Swithun with Æthelwolf cannot be called into question. Yet, in spite of arguments which may be drawn from his sanctity and authority, a strict historical criticism will hesitate to maintain that 'under such a tutor the 'personal character of the prince would be well cultivated, 'and his tastes would be well regulated. Swithun would 'never have forgotten to direct his attention to business, to 'the art of governing, to the importance of industry, as well 'as to the value of a pure creed and Scriptural learning' (p. 26.). From the presence of Ealchstan and Swithun at

the court of Æthelwolf, it is fair to infer that their example may have influenced Alfred, but less judicious perhaps to conclude, from Alfred's ignorance of letters at the age of twelve, as well as from his subsequent military career, that the instruction of Ealchstan was more acceptable than that of Swithun. The inference is plausible which makes Swithun the companion of the young prince in his journey to Rome. That pilgrimage, Mr. Earle believes, was made immediately after Swithun's promotion to the see of Winchester; and the bishop may well have gone to Rome to seek a benediction, as Metropolitans were already accustomed to journey thither for their pall. It is scarcely so safe, to connect Swithun directly with that donation of Æthelwolf which has been the subject of so much controversy.

On this point Mr. Earle fully admits the absence of strictly contemporary evidence, while at the same time he rejects the idea that the donation consisted in the legal establishment of tithe, to which, however, he thinks that it eventually led. It was with this very object that Swithun led the king to set the example of devoting a portion of his land to religious uses, and so of making a provision for the clergy, which was the more needed in times of war and trouble. Mr. Earle is thus at once carried to the conclusion that the donation of Æthelwolf was absolutely necessary for the spreading and establishment of Christianity, and that it consisted in setting aside the tenth part of every manor in his possession for the purpose of building a *minster*. This minster was not to be itself a parish church, although it might become the parent of many such. It might expand hereafter into a great monastic house: but in itself it was an outpost of the Christian Church, with a body of priests living under rule in some of those isolated stations which have ever since retained the 'maternal title' of Minster (p. 41.).

These conclusions, even if they lay open to no antecedent objections, assume a less plausible character when compared with the conflicting accounts which seem almost to call the bare fact of the donation into question. Shortly before the close of a long and not untroubled reign, Æthelwolf, in the words of Asser, freed the tenth part of his whole kingdom from all royal service and tribute, and devoted it to the Holy Trinity for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his forefathers. No one, probably, will hesitate to admit with Hallam, that from such a passage 'it seems impossible to strain his words into a grant 'of tithes.'* Nor does it seem irrelevant to remark that Æthel-

* Middle Ages, chapter vii. note 1.

wolf is said to have made two dispositions, — the one establishing something like a secular provision for the poor — the other doing away with obligations hitherto imposed on certain lands. It is not unreasonable therefore to conclude that his act left a tenth part probably of all hereditary lands free of those imposts and duties of which the monastic bodies so earnestly complained, even if we may not further believe with Hallam that the king granted to the Church certain actual possessions, together with immunity from the *trinoda necessitas*. Of itself, a privilege extending apparently to laymen not less than to the clergy, could have conferred no special and exclusive right on the latter. Their claim to tithe, if not legalised in this country till the reign of Æthelstan, dates, whether in England or on the Continent, from an earlier day than that of Egbert and Charles the Great. It was part of the old inheritance of the Christian priesthood, handed down from that Levitical law, of which, in this as in other such matters, they had never admitted the abrogation.

The condition of monachism in this country from the days of Augustine to those of Dunstan and Æthelwold is one of the most momentous questions in all English history before the Conquest. It is by no means one of the easiest; and the very anxiety to do full justice to men so differing from each other as Swithun, Dunstan, Edward the Confessor, and Harold, seems likely to involve the subject in some confusion. The warfare between the secular and regular clergy was carried on in England not less fiercely than in Milan or at Rome. But was it a battle between the soldiers of a sacerdotal army, who (whether consciously or unconsciously) were establishing the great Papal empire, and the weaker upholders of a Christian liberty which seemed to their adversaries more favourable to the growth of national churches than of their vast spiritual empire? Or was it simply, as Mr. Earle supposes, the struggle of men who, seeking to do all things decently and in order, employed that organisation which in a barbarous age was indispensable, against others who desired, at all costs, to secure a life of worthless and disorderly self-indulgence?

In truth, the history of monachism in England down to the reign of the second Harold has as a whole no parallel elsewhere. In the conversion of England Augustine employed the same machinery which Boniface afterwards found so effectual in Friesland and Bavaria; and hence the Benedictine monasticism of this country acquired a distinctively missionary character. The houses founded by Benedict and his disciples in Italy or Gaul all furthered, more or less, this work of conversion; but

they existed in the first place for the spiritual discipline of their inmates. In the foundation of the English monasteries, the first thought was for the heathen; and the monastic rule was chosen chiefly as furnishing the best means for effecting their conversion. Thus every station, in the advance made by the Roman missionaries, received the name of monastery or minster, and retained it long after the place of the monks had been filled up by secular priests. The storms of Danish invasion swept away the monastic communities, and, with these, most of the monastic buildings; nor were the labours of Alfred directed towards restoring the system by which Augustine had carried on his warfare against English heathenism. Secular priests worked alone, or were established in colleges throughout the land, without the restraints of a monastic rule. But, in some cases, the old buildings remained; and the preservation of a few charters gave the impulse to monastic restoration, while it seemed to justify the efforts of the reformers. They were sorely needed, if such a restoration was a thing to be wished for, or if it was ever to be accomplished. Even at Glastonbury the sacred fire had well-nigh gone out. There was nothing of monastic religion there, according to one in whose judgment that profession involved the abandonment of all free-will in submission to a spiritual ruler. In the estimation of such men, Dunstan would indeed be the first abbot of the English nation.*

On this view, the work of Dunstan becomes at once clear and intelligible. He had no battle to fight against secular chapters, His task was to build up the waste places, and to people them with true followers of the Nursian Benedict. With Hildebrand, the desire to impose celibacy was prompted by a political instinct; with Dunstan, as with Peter Damiani, it was the one mode of escape from the intense corruption of the world. His effort was, not to expel a secular clergy who had intruded their chapters into monastic houses, but to introduce monks into places which had not originally belonged to them. The cathedrals were, in their institution, secular. In spite of Dunstan's crusade many of them remained so, till the fall of Harold prepared the way for the more complete ascendancy of Rome. Dunstan's first object was to restore monachism in its strictest form, as exhibited in the rule of Benedict — a monachism not only more severe than the degenerate form which had been crushed by the Danish invasions, but more stringent even than that of Saint Augustine. To reach this

* Anglia Sacra, ii. 91–101.

end, the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy in general was no unimportant step; but this victory, if gained, was chiefly to serve for the further extension and the permanent supremacy of his order.

The projects of Dunstan involved the exaltation of Swithun. That Swithun would have promoted his schemes, is an inference which we can neither affirm nor deny. That Dunstan, with Æthelwold, took advantage of a 'foregone opinion of 'his sanctity' to bring about his translation, we cannot hesitate to believe. The light which these Gloucester fragments throws on the process constitutes their chief interest.

'The initiative,' says Mr. Earle, 'was with the people, though it rested with their leaders to ignore it or give effect to it. It was some broken-down smith, or some poor peasant body; or, again, three blind women from the Isle of Wight, who, or whose friends, are the deponents, either in their own persons or through the priest, in the drawing up the case for the translation of Bishop Swithun. The case prepared, it is brought by the bishop under the notice of the king, who thereupon notifies the bishop of his will, that the remains of the holy man be "translated;" and so the movement, having begun with the people, and having, through the priest and bishop, ascended to the throne, is next repeated inversely — the order for the "translation" issues from the king, and, through the bishop and clergy, descends to the people. . . . Regular as the transaction is, and void of any tumultuary feature, yet, at the same time, Swithun is no *canonised* saint, but a saint by popular conviction and popular enthusiasm — *vox populi vox Dei* — a saint by acclamation.

'Whatever be the measure of esteem which we accord to the titles of ecclesiastical "Saints," we may find room for gradations of respect, and prefer the home-made "saint" to the "saint" canonised at Rome. It was nearly 200 years after the translation of Swithun, when, popular enthusiasm running high after saint-making, the chiefs of the hierarchy at Rome assumed the direction of this passion, founded a committee to sit on the merits of saints, and commenced the chapter of "canonisation." And it was this cold-blooded, evidence-weighing institution that, entering into things which it had not seen, pretended to dispense crowns of celestial merit, while waiting nations were impatient to honour their departed worthies,— it was this that brought the very name of "Saint" into contempt, and imparted to it a jarring, incredulous, and ironical sound. The earlier and simpler doings of the national Church must not be confused with a later system. Swithun was called a saint, much in the same way as, now-a-days, in many a Protestant family, one whose life has exhibited a consistent profession, witnessed of many witnesses, is unhesitatingly and unmisgivingly pronounced "a saint in glory."' (P. 40.)

As the idea of a translation gained ground among the people, an ample array of signs and wonders announced the favour of the saint, and justified the design. The vigorous

growth of the mythopœic faculty is not limited to times and countries strictly pagan. Until by long practice the human mind has acquired the historical sense, it craves for mythological food with a greediness which admits of no denial. In this condition it does not dispense with a standard of credibility, but that standard is one which utterly ignores all historical evidence. It requires conformity not with actual events, but with its ideal of chivalry or saintliness. The faculty may exist with great force in men who are not dishonest or false; yet it has a direct tendency to run into the very worst falsehood and dishonesty. The different versions given of almost every wonder are at once a proof that all versions would be equally acceptable, as long as they harmonised with the ideal which they were designed to illustrate. In the instance of Swithun, the wonders which preceded his translation were not indeed consistent with all that he had said or done; but the inconsistency did not extend too far. A despised, if not an unknown, grave had been his ambition while he lived; and he was buried at his own desire on the north side of his church, where the water from the eaves might drop upon his tomb. But the visions and marvels which occur when his translation is first thought of (or, as Mr. Earle hints, when Dunstan and Æthelwold had intimated that such wonders would be acceptable), represent the saint as disinclined to lie any longer in the humble restingplace which he had chosen. The movement originates in the people, not without the sanction of the archbishop and his colleague; but Swithun has again and again to urge by his messengers his claim to a more exalted sepulchre. In the first instance he gives to the *man* or *villain* of Eadsige (a priest who had been suspended by Æthelwold) a charge ordering Eadsige to make known his wishes to the bishop. But Eadsige has no liking for his spiritual superior, and he ungratefully refuses to obey the command, 'although the saint 'was related to him in worldly kindred.' Nothing abashed by this remissness, the saint appears to an 'awfully humpbacked 'ceorl,' whose obedience wins for him the blessing of becoming outwardly like to other men; and the preparations for the translation are at once set on foot. The popular tradition is that the ceremony was interrupted by torrents of rain; but Mr. Earle leaves us at liberty to imagine that it was a fair summer's day, because we have no record to the contrary, while 'it agrees ill with what else we know of our sturdy forefathers, 'that when they had set their minds on a national celebration, 'and had met together from all parts for the purpose, they 'should have been deterred even by the most violent thunder-

'storm.' The feast itself was no mere religious celebration. The rites of the Church were accompanied by banquets in which there was no stinting of food or drink.

'The sturdy worshippers were recruited by an abundant festival, and day after day the solemn chant was heard alternating with the merriment of festivity. A sad countenance was nowhere seen, for every heart was glad. Food was abundant and various. The wine-drawers skipped to and fro — crowning the vessels with wine — pressing the guests to drink; and then, with their empty cans, to the cellar they hasten again. But the national drink prevailed, and mead was preferred to wine. Many an honest face, eclipsed by the roomy tankard, emerged to view betimes, in fuller orbèd glow. A drop from the brimming bowl had bedewed the shaggy beard; a jerk of the chin dislodged it, and the beard was itself again. As a shower from a summer cloud, so Saxon converse broke. At first in single drops, widespread, full, weighty, express, monosyllabic — then a pause. But soon it burst anew in a rattling shower of words, and soon it flowed in streams, for all were talking at once.' (P. 49.)

If the grand ovation almost kindles with a poetic fire the prosaic hexameters of Wolstan, Mr. Earle's prose, under the same influence, becomes curiously anapæstic in reproducing the elegiac couplets which tell the story of the feast to Bishop Elfeg.

The saint had done some wonders in his life. He performed more, when he had grown tired of his resting-place on the north side of the church. But these were a mere prelude to wholesale benefits which the saint lavished on his worshippers at and after his translation. They who were healed were counted not by tens or hundreds, but by thousands. The sick and diseased crowded the churchyard, so that it was hard to pass through them to the minster; within a few days not five remained infirm. The walls of the church were loaded with the tokens of the saint's holiness and power. Crutches and cripples' stools were conclusive evidence of the truth that 'Christ is Almighty 'God, who his saint demonstrated through such benefits.' The means may appear strange, but they were intended to enforce a lesson which cannot be questioned,— the duty, namely, of earning God's kingdom with good works, 'just as Swithun did 'who now shineth through wonders.'

The fancy which associates the name of Swithun with rain in summer does not derogate from the idea of his goodness; and Mr. Earle has remarked that other countries have their raining saints not less than England. The popular notions attached to the name of Dunstan have possibly some better foundation in historical truth; it is significant that they do not extend to him the holiness of St. Swithun.

ART. VII.—1. *The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London.* Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. 2 vols. London: 1862.

2. *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story.* By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, Minister of Rosneath. Cambridge: 1862.

A GOOD deal has been said as to the uniformity of belief characteristic of the Scotch Church. The common idea of Presbyterianism north of the border is that it has been always, and is even now, everywhere marked by the same stern rigidity of feature, and the same stiff adherence to a hard, abstruse, and somewhat morose creed. However it may differ as to certain questions of ecclesiastical polity, it is supposed to be closely united in theological opinion — to be free from those divergencies of doctrine and extremes of religious sentiment and feeling which characterise other and larger sections of the Christian Church.

There is some truth, but there is also some ignorance and exaggeration, in this view. There is less breadth of Christian thought, and, consequently, less diversity of theological opinion, on the north than on the south of Tweed. Puritanism *prevails* on the one side — although in modified forms to that in which it excited the vituperative eloquence of Mr. Buckle — while on the other side, Puritanism is only one among various elements of religious influence and culture. It is far from the truth, however, to suppose that this prevalence has at any time amounted to uniformity, or that the stream of Calvinistic and Puritan thought in the Scotch Church has not been frequently crossed by varying currents, some of them intellectual and sceptical, and some of them rich, catholic, and warm as any that have entered into the more composite religion of the south.

The two religious biographies at the head of this article are sufficient evidence of our assertion. They are both directly associated with one of the most novel, original, and singular paroxysms of religion which have anywhere occurred within the present century, and which had its origin in the very heart of that Scotch faith notorious for its devotion to the letter of the Covenant and the narrowest form of Puritanism. Nay, Edward Irving, of whom we are particularly to speak, remained to the last something of a Covenanter in his heart; the ring of the old Puritan watchwords awoke echoes in him,

and thrilled him to patriotic music after the Church of his fathers had cast him off, and he had placed himself at the head of a movement which, whether we regard it on its intellectual, its spiritual, or its professedly miraculous side, was infinitely removed from the old Presbyterianism in which he had been bred. He is a striking and picturesque figure, whom our age, in the multiplicity of its distractions, had well nigh forgotten, but whom it is worth while on many accounts to recall.

We have placed the life of the late Mr. Story of Rosneath along with that of Edward Irving at the head of these pages, because the men were at the most interesting periods of their lives closely associated, and especially because the spiritual movement with which Irving became identified, and which gave birth to the 'Catholic Apostolic Church,' sometimes known by his name, began in the quiet parish by the Gairloch, of which Mr. Story was minister.

The memoir of Mr. Story's life by his son is a graphic and extremely interesting volume. The life of a Scotch minister in a sequestered parish — well known to the tourist now, but during a great part of Mr. Story's ministry lying far away from the busy world — is set forth in a series of picturesque and effective sketches, which serve to bring before the reader with remarkable vividness a saintly, elevated, character, and a career at once singular in its spiritual contrasts and external circumstances. There is an ever-graceful tenderness and heroic gentleness in the minister of Rosneath, scarcely less rare in character than the soft and peaceful loveliness of his parish is rare amidst the ruder or grander scenery of Scotland. Such a man must have had in all his activities a Christian influence in the district where he dwelt. The angularities of his native creed melt into harmonious and attractive proportions in his life of faithful earnestness and watchful love for his parishioners and friends. His face, like his character, is one of peculiar elevation; gleams of poetic depth blending in it with a wrapt spiritual simplicity and grace. His son has done well, in these days of religious biography, in which so much that is one-sided in zeal and doctrine is admiringly set before the public, to present us with a memoir of such a life and character — so free from all sectarianism; especially as he has performed his task with taste (if also with some tartness here and there where the Free Church is his theme), and with reflective discernment as well as literary skill.

Mrs. Oliphant's 'Life of Edward Irving' supplies a long-felt desideratum. It is copious, earnest, and eloquent, carrying the reader along with something of the same excited

admiration and pathetic sensibility with which it is written. On every page there is the impress of a large and masterly comprehension, and of a bold, fluent, and poetic skill of portraiture. Irving as a man and as a pastor is not only fully sketched, but exhibited with many broad, powerful, and life-like touches which leave a strong and even exaggerated impression. Exaggeration is in fact the fault of the book—exaggeration of admiration for the hero, and of censure or contempt for others who either unhappily crossed his path, or were brought into conflict with him. Mrs. Oliphant seldom balances her judgments with a scrupulous caution, or pauses to analyse the complex motives and influences which are felt at every step of Irving's later history. The result is that while she draws so full and vivid a picture, she leaves many parts of it under a strange bewildering haze which the reader tries in vain to penetrate. The sort of 'nimbus' which enwrapped Irving from the time that he came upon the stage of public life—which many of his contemporaries, not without sympathy to appreciate and welcome such a man, found infinitely puzzling—still surrounds him everywhere in Mrs. Oliphant's 'Life.' He moves through her pages in a cloud of admiring incense, which exalts but at the same time shrouds his figure. You wish to understand him, and trace some thread of intelligible if not rational connexion through all the strange phases of his career; but Mrs. Oliphant's applauding rhetoric fails to supply it. She is ingenious, ardent, and brilliant, but seldom expository. And you are not much nearer at the last than at the first from comprehending how a man of Irving's extraordinary powers and elevation of character should have made such a wreck as he did. For that he made a wreck of his fame and influence, we hold to be indisputable. It is impossible to read the deeply-touching narrative of his closing years, and not feel that he had sunk from the leadership which was his natural right even in the small sect which had gathered around him. It is difficult to see what there remained for him to do but to die disappointed and broken-hearted—as he did die in Glasgow.

Mrs. Oliphant has formed an entirely different idea of Irving's life. In her view it was a great martyr-tragedy—a heroic self-sacrifice from beginning to end. Its very failures were only the culmination of his mission to render up everything 'in conflict with the shows of things, and vehement protestation for the reality.' Her whole book is constructed upon this idea. Even when she finds it necessary to apologise, she does so as for an inspired prophet—'a passionate, splendid, 'human soul,' obeying its own law of action, and justifying

its own conduct, however abnormal and extraordinary. We do not think that anywhere in the course of her two volumes she judges Irving to be in the wrong, or even dubiously in the right, in the various oppositions which he encounters. The world misunderstands him; the press defames him; Chalmers, Coleridge, Carlyle, alike fail to comprehend him, and how he must prove, amid 'agony and passion,' 'the 'devotion of a loyal heart to his Master's name and person.' The Scotch Church, the London Presbytery, even his own session, who accompanied him with a touching loyalty to the very verge of his last extravagances, all fail to appreciate him, and even treat him with cruel misapprehension and severity. Mrs. Oliphant has worked out this conception of her hero with great resource and fluency of style. But she has nowhere vindicated it; she has nowhere rendered reasons for the ideal which she draws. She has had a dream of Edward Irving, and she paints her dream with fitting accessories, and (less excusably) with bold, scornful dashes in the face of those who might otherwise mar the harmony of her composition. There is no abatement to the strain of hero-worship throughout. The tone never falls. The glory around her hero never dies down. His very personal peculiarities, even to his squint, are exalted and touched with a certain vague magnificence. This, we are bound to say, is rather the art of the novelist than the skill of the biographer.

Edward Irving was born on the 4th of August, 1792, 'in a 'little house near the old town-cross of Annan.' The times were exciting; but no excitement had penetrated to the rural capital of Annandale, lying insignificant and unforgotten at the head of the Solway and under the shadow of Criffel. The political and ecclesiastical atmosphere alike stagnated in Irving's native parish. *Moderatism*, reputable and dignified in Edinburgh, and even capable of a gentle spiritual excitement in those sermons of Blair's which were once found in every drawing-room, had sunk in many rural parishes into a half-decent, half-profane observance of religious rites. It is a curious picture, if we had time to dwell upon it. In Annandale, however, there were also the remnants of a more vigorous faith. The spirit of the Covenanters survived in a small community of seceders from the National Church, who met for worship at the little village of Ecclefechan, about six miles from Irving's native town. His lofty spirit was caught by the stories of heroic endurance and conquering principle that were still told round many a fireside. He felt as a boy

all the nobleness of the martyr-traditions that lived in the villages, and clung to many a sacred spot in the country round. This could be told from his after-writings, if from nothing else. One of those richly poetic passages which gem his sermons, celebrates the 'blood of martyrs' which 'mingled 'with our brooks; and whose hallowed bones, mouldering in 'peace within their silent tombs, were dressed by the reve-'rential hands of a pious and patriotic people.' Mrs. Oliphant has shown his connexion with the little band of seceders who professed to inherit the covenanting spirit, and to keep alive the genuine power of Presbytery. It was his occasional habit to accompany these worthies to their place of worship at the neighbouring village, and to hold grave and high converse with them as he went. The charm of these youthful associations never died out of his agitated life. They left their ineffaceable impress on his manners and character. 'The whig elders, no 'doubt, unconsciously prepared the germ of that old-world 'stateliness of speech and dignity of manner which afterwards 'distinguished their pupil; and they, and the traditions to 'which they had served themselves heirs, made all the higher 'element and poetry of life which was to be found in Annan.'

Amid such influences Irving grew up one of a family of eight stalwart sons and daughters. There is no particular information as to his school progress. He does not appear to have taken any remarkable position at the Annan Academy. 'He does not seem even to have attained the 'distinction of one of those dunces of genius who are not 'unknown to literature.' He had his share of the hard discipline characteristic of the time, and which, as subsequent events prove, was not without its effect upon his own temper and ideas of scholastic discipline. He came home at times with his ears 'pinched until they bled;' and, while other things were forgotten about him, it was clearly remembered that he had been 'kept in,' and 'comforted in the 'ignominious solitude of the school-room by having his "piece" 'hoisted up to him by a cord through a broken window.'

His parents were remarkable for sound sense and energy of character; his mother also for a certain sweet attractiveness and beauty of person inherited by her son. He had a great love and regard for her, as one of his most striking sayings shows. 'Evangelicalism,' he said, 'has spoiled both the minds 'and bodies of the women of Scotland; there are no women 'now like my mother.' His father was a tanner, respectable, sagacious, and prosperous. He became one of the magistrates of the little burgh, and went to church in state with his brother-

magistrates, and 'set an official example of well-doing.' When his son got whipped or pinched at school, he had no solaces or coaxing for him, but rightly took the teacher's part, and trained the boy in all due hardness, as became a Scotch father in the beginning of the century. It has been stated that Irving's manners, even thus early, had a touch of stateliness and undue solemnity,—a tradition which Mrs. Oliphant is inclined to discredit. 'I can find no traces of any such precocity,' she says; 'nor is it easy to fancy how a natural boy in such a 'shrewd and humorous community, where pomp of any kind 'would have been speedily laughed out of him, could have 'shown any such singularity.' It is not easy to fancy such a thing, but it may be true nevertheless. For there was, as we shall have more occasion to show, a strange depth of eccentricity in Irving's nature, and a total absence of humour. Whatever may be the touch of comedy in the 'kept-in' schoolboy having his 'piece' hoisted to him in at the school-room window, there is no evidence that Irving himself felt the fun of the business, or that he could feel it. He had a deep affinity for the lofty and tragic — for all mystery and magnificence — but no perception of the ridiculous, no faculty, apparently, which could perceive it.

In 1805, when he was only thirteen, Irving entered the University of Edinburgh. Chalmers entered St. Andrews at an equally early age. The habit was nearly universal at the time, and was not of course conducive to the acquirement of accurate learning, or those more scholastic habits associated with the English Universities. Edinburgh College, in the beginning of the century, presented even fewer traces of academic life, as it is known in the south, than the other Scottish Universities. As Mrs. Oliphant truly says, 'it was 'a mere abstract mass of class-rooms, museums, and libraries, 'and the youths or boys who sought instruction there were 'left in absolute freedom to their own devices.' They lived, all untended, in lodgings throughout the city, and were expected to make their appearance at the class-rooms with such preparation of their daily tasks as they best could. They supported themselves often on very small pittances, now and then receiving a box from home 'full of oatmeal, cheese, and 'other homely necessities.' Thus lived Irving and an elder brother, and passed from stage to stage of his academic course, taking his degree, after four years' study, when he was only seventeen years of age. There is the same lack of minute information about his university as about his school career, save the fact of his taking his degree with apparent ease,—a circumstance which

marks the facility of the process at the time as much as the extent of his acquirements. There is nothing to show what sort of a student he was. The library records, consulted by his biographer, do not tell any tale of studious research. 'The *Arabian Nights*, 'and sundry books with forgotten but suspicious titles,' indicate a very natural course of reading for a boy, but scarcely for a graduate in arts. One trait recorded of him by a surviving college companion is very significant. 'He used to carry con-'tinually in his waistcoat pocket a miniature copy of Ossian; 'passages from which he read or recited in his walks in the 'country, or delivered with sonorous elocution and vehement 'gesticulations.' There is also a story told of his having found about this time a copy of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in a farm-house in the neighbourhood of Annan, which powerfully attracted him, and gave an impulse to his thoughts. There can be no doubt of his early acquaintance with Hooker, nor of the remarkable influence which his lofty argument and grand periods exercised upon his mental development.

Sir John Leslie was his Mathematical Professor, and along with Dr. Christison, the Professor of Humanity, took a friendly interest in him. These teachers had, no doubt, already discovered his peculiar aptitude for mathematical study; and this with other circumstances served to fix their choice upon him when asked to recommend a teacher for a new mathematical school at Haddington. In the spring of 1810 Irving entered upon the duties of the school, having in the meantime, after taking his degree, pursued his studies for a session in divinity. He never received any further theological training. According to a singularly absurd system, which still prevails in Scotland, he was enabled to complete his theological studies by a series of *partial* sessions, as they are called; that is to say, by merely matriculating and delivering certain prescribed discourses. Yet, strangely, Irving afterwards describes, with the enthusiasm characteristic of him, the elaborate courses of study which his Church demanded of her members.

Irving's career as a schoolmaster, first at Haddington and then at Kirkcaldy, fills the next eight years of his life. It was a period upon the whole of happy and earnest activity; it must have been a period of varied study, theological and literary, as his subsequent writings prove. Yet we have no clear intimations of his intellectual progress — the kind of books that interested him, the kind of questions that he pondered. His intellectual life, as it appears in these volumes, is a singularly abstracted life; rich, fertile, exuberant, and for a time at least strong and healthy, but nowhere clearly showing its sources and

affinities. There is a want of intelligible connexion between his successive theological speculations — those openings in the field of Christian thought which captivate his mind, and in which he triumphs as higher discoveries — and any advancing course of theological study. Was he much of a student at any period of his career? We are unable to answer this from any direct evidence. But, judging from his earlier writings, we can have little doubt that during his Kirkcaldy, and probably his Haddington residence, he was a close student of the older English literature, both theological and secular. It is to this time that his own statement must refer — the statement which he flung with such a grand defiance in the face of the critics of his 'Orations' — 'I fear not to confess that Hooker, and Taylor, 'and Baxter in theology, Bacon, and Newton, and Locke in 'philosophy, have been my companions, as Shakespeare, and 'Spenser, and Milton have been in poetry. . . . These books 'were to me like a concert of every sweet instrument of the 'soul, and heart, and strength, and mind.' It is remarkable that there is so little trace of his study of these writers at the time — of those intellectual sympathies and antipathies and confident criticisms that generally characterise the progress of youthful genius. The only scrap of his correspondence that survives during these years is not only devoid of any such trace, but a singularly crude and unintellectual production; yet with a strange anticipation of the man too. It is a letter to his friend Mr. Story, in which he communicates, in absurdly magniloquent language, his despair in reference to a young lady with whom he was disappointed in having a solitary walk. This want of literary association with the formative period of Irving's life serves to mar its interest, and moreover increases the perplexity of his later character and career. Here, when, if ever, broader and more natural and varied elements must have entered into his life and made up its activity, we get a very bare, uncertain, and shadowy glimpse of him.

The general impression is that of a tall and somewhat magnificent youth, of very lofty and honest purpose, carrying his pretensions, physical and otherwise, very high, and cherishing proud dreams of future greatness amid all the disadvantages and toils of his ecclesiastical position, and the unpopularity of his first efforts as a preacher. There is a species of sublimity about the youth, even as there was afterwards about the man. There is also a want of nature — of simple, youthful carelessness. There are few or none of those light touches that not only reveal the heart, but reveal an unconscious as well as honest heart, thinking of itself little if at all, rather merely giving

vent to its own impulses of feeling or taste. There is, if we must say it, a kind of *attitudinising* about the young schoolmaster at Haddington and Kirkcaldy — a self-importance which breaks out at many points. The air of grandeur is at times ridiculous — a subject for laughter and not for admiration. The stories which are meant to be most pleasantly characteristic of him show this significantly. We are told, for example, of an interesting girl-pupil that he had at Haddington, the daughter of Dr. Welsh, since united to a man whose literary fame is in every mouth, and whose relations with Irving are well known. In superintending the lessons of his pupil, it was a rule that the young teacher should give a daily report of her progress, and when the report was *pessima*, punishment was the consequence. 'One day he paused long before putting his 'sentence upon paper. The culprit sat on the table, small, 'downcast, and conscious of failure. The preceptor lingered 'remorsefully over his verdict, wavering between justice and 'mercy. At last he looked up at her with pitiful looks, "Jane, 'my heart is broken!" cried the sympathetic tutor, "but I must 'tell the truth;" and, with reluctant pen, he wrote the dread 'deliverance *pessima!*' One cannot help smiling at the misplaced solemnity of the language, and the self-exaltation that it betrays. In the very same way, when he addresses the astonished door-keeper who was guarding the entrance to St. George's Church, where Chalmers was preaching, and he wished to get in with some of his pupils whom he had taken to hear the great orator, 'Remove your arm, or I will shatter it in 'pieces!'— the suggestion is one of grotesque pretension and brutal violence rather than of impressive loftiness. There was evidently a dangerous element of demonstrative egotism in this young theological hero.

One point in the scholastic career of Irving has been touched very slightly by Mrs. Oliphant, but still survives so strongly as a tradition, and suits so little with our common conceptions of him, that it might have deserved more inquiry, — we mean his alleged severity and even cruelty as a disciplinarian. The story told * of the joiner appearing at the door of the schoolroom in Kirkcaldy with an axe on his shoulder one morning, asking, 'Do ye want a hand (some assistance) the day, Mr. 'Irving?' is still gravely repeated, although the scene of the incident is sometimes transferred to Haddington. And there are living men in Fife who are said to recall Irving's punitive performances with something of a shudder. All this is probably

* P. 53, vol. i.

to be accounted for by some wrong theory of scholastic training, such as that under which he himself had suffered at Annan, or perhaps by the impatient and semi-unconscious vehemence with which he carried through any action to which he was once aroused.

Having accomplished his due number of *partial* sessions at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, Irving was 'licensed' to preach. This process of license he has himself also described, clothing it with a kind of solemn and judicial severity, borrowed no doubt from his own imaginative retrospect.* He soon began to preach at his native place, at Kirkcaldy, and elsewhere. A humorous accident is related regarding his first sermon at Annan: —

'The "haill town," profoundly critical and much interested, turned out to hear him; even his ancient teachers, with solemn brows, came out to sit in judgment on Edward's sermon. A certain excitement of interest, unusual to that humdrum atmosphere, fluttered through the building. When the sermon was in full current, some incautious movement of the young preacher tilted aside the great bible, and the sermon itself—that direful "paper" which Scotch congregations hold in high despite—dropped out bodily, and fluttered down upon the precentor's desk underneath. A perfect rustle of excitement ran through the church; here was an unhoped-for crisis. What would the neophyte do now? The young preacher carelessly stooped his great figure over the pulpit, grasped the manuscript as it lay broadways, crushed it up in his great hand, thrust it into a pocket, and went on as fluently as before.'

This, as may be imagined, proved a great success for the young preacher. His triumph was unbounded in his native parish. It was so far from being general, however, that he remained for some years altogether unknown, and in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere very unpopular, when he appeared in the pulpit. A certain Kirkcaldy baker is remembered to have kicked his pew-door open with characteristic 'Scotch irreverence,' and to have bounced out of church when he saw Irving was to be

* The passage is contained in his sermon preached previously to the laying of the foundation of the 'National Scotch Church' in Regent Square, which was built for him after he had been a few years in London. The sermon was printed, with others, some of the best that Irving ever preached, from 'the accurate notes of Mr. T. Oxford, short-hand writer,' and bear internal evidence of being very close transcripts of Irving's language. A singular error, however, has crept into the passage in question quoted by Mrs. Oliphant, p. 65, vol. i. 'Ecce Jesum' is printed instead of *Exegesis*, as the name of the Latin discourse prescribed to students in divinity.

the preacher. He had 'ower muckle gran'ner,' the people said, — a shrewd people, we are inclined to add, amid all their irreverence. They might appreciate and admire the 'grandeur' by and by, but in its first crude and inharmonious shapes they did not care for it, and are not much to be wondered at.

Irving remained at Kirkcaldy as a schoolmaster for seven years; he then gave up his scholastic position, probably wearied with it, and betook himself again to Edinburgh, where he settled in lodgings, waiting for whatever employment in the clerical profession might open to him. This was evidently a period of uncertainty and perplexity. What was he to do? He was tired of teaching; he had no prospect of success as a preacher; no patron took him by the hand, and the people did not seem to value his peculiar oratory. His future was not very bright at twenty-six years of age.

But whatever may have been Irving's perplexities, and however much he may have felt his unpopularity as a preacher, there is no evidence that he ever doubted his own powers. He had no misgivings and no scepticism to contend with. There was a lofty confidence in him now and at all times, and his vision of the work to which he was called only grew larger and more significant as his immediate prospects seemed less hopeful. He had pondered over the ideal of a preacher of the Gospel, and he determined to rise to that ideal. He burned at his solitary Edinburgh lodgings all the sermons he had already written, and began anew to write on a grander and more worthy scale. The thought of a missionary life, simple, sublime, and self-denying as when the apostles went forth preaching 'the kingdom of 'heaven is at hand,' without gold or silver in their purses, or scrip, or coat, or staves in their hands, rose before him, and he resolved that this should be his life unless he speedily received some call to work at home. He had actually packed up his books and boxes, and was waiting for an opportunity to carry out his purpose, when he was arrested by a letter from Dr. Chalmers, inviting him to Glasgow to be his assistant. This was in the autumn of 1819. He went and preached to the congregation of St. John's with an unwonted feeling of distrust. 'I will 'preach, if you think fit,' he is reported to have said; 'but 'if they bear with my preaching, they will be the first people 'who have borne with it.' The verdict was favourable, and he now quietly settled to missionary labours and preaching.

This may be said to be the commencement of Irving's public career, although during the three years of his stay in Glasgow it seems admitted on all hands that he attracted little regard, and certainly no enthusiasm, as a preacher. 'He was generally

'well liked,' says one witness, 'but some people thought him 'rather flowery.' It was no uncommon incident, as he went into church, to find the people coming out, as they learned that it was not Dr. Chalmers himself, but only the assistant, that was to preach. There is some difficulty in accounting for this, making all allowance for the full bloom of oratorical fame in which Chalmers then was, and the as yet unknown character of his assistant. For Irving evidently, in the course of his Glasgow career, largely developed his powers as an orator. He was no longer the mere Kirkcaldy probationer, labouring but crudely to express his great thoughts, and encumbered with the trappings of an ambitious and unformed style. He had risen into a higher region; he was capable of far higher achievements,—achievements but little inferior to his subsequent London efforts, as his farewell discourse shows. His mind, if not fully ripened, was fresh and unspent. He remained, however, unappreciated. His highest sermons called forth merely a puzzled amazement in the hearers who welcomed every Sunday the eloquence of Chalmers with excited enthusiasm — a remarkable instance of the effect of the preoccupation of the popular mind with a favourite preacher.

It is not our intention to institute any comparison between Irving and Chalmers. Both may be admired, though both present many points for criticism. The biographer of Irving is continually repeating that Chalmers failed to understand her hero. To some extent this is true. The mystery of grandeur and of priestly pretension which enwrapt his assistant greatly puzzled the shrewd and practical mind of the minister of St. John's, who in his highest flights of imagination and broadest generalisations of philanthropy never forgot the common working-day world around him. Chalmers' mind fitted closely to fact, and clung to the intelligible even when it soared; it was broad and open-visioned rather than intense and deep-thoughted; it was inductive, not intuitive; it had no special gift of poetic or even of spiritual insight; but it was humorously observant of life and manners, with that sensitive horror of the ridiculous which always characterises a keen, rapid, and broadly sympathetic intelligence. To these characteristics Irving was directly contrasted, — his intellectual life dwelling in a more etherial but far narrower region, and swaying to impulses of mere poetry, and excitements of the mere spirit, incomprehensible, or nearly so, to a mind like Chalmers'. Yet there is no reason to doubt that as Irving cherished towards the great preacher under whom he served a confiding attachment touched with reverence, and was honestly

proud to say of him, 'Never again shall I find another man 'of transcendent genius whom I can love as much as I admire, 'into whose house I can go in and out like a son, whom I can 'revere as a father, and serve with the devotion of a child,' so Chalmers repaid the affection with warmth and sincerity, and if he mingled distrust with his friendship, the distrust was the expression of intellectual uncertainty, and not of any want of regard. He did not know whither Irving might turn; he had taken sharp scrutiny of his peculiarities and tendencies; and if he had misgivings as to the explosive nature of the machine — from its very size and magnificence — who can blame him?

'How much of this want of sympathy discovered itself in Glasgow it would be difficult to say. Apparently Irving, after the first delights of clerical employment, congenial to him, began to weary of his unappreciated labours and subordinate position. The impulses of an undying ambition kept stirring in him — an ambition which could not be satisfied with his present work — heartily and nobly as he gave himself to that work. A nobler missionary certainly never laboured in its closes and wynds. It would be wrong not to advert to the devotedness with which he did his duty as a parochial visitor, the apostolic grandeur with which he invested his office here as everywhere, and the genuine pleasure that he seems to have felt in it. His heart rejoiced, he said, in taking leave of Glasgow, to recur to the hours that he 'had sitten under the 'roofs of the people, and been made a partaker of their con-'fidence and a witness of the hardships they had to endure.' With a strangely solemn, yet homely, kindly manner, he moved about among the poor, blessing each house that he entered. 'Peace be to this house' was his invariable salutation. He knew the key to the hearts of the poor with all his solemnity, and by the magic of his personal ministry could produce results astonishing to the 'agency' with whom he served. But all this could not satisfy either the mind or heart of Irving. He longed for a higher field of action, and it is no wonder that he did so. Again the idea of expatriation occurred to him; he received an invitation to go to Kingston, in Jamaica, to a Presbyterian congregation there, and is said to have taken it into serious consideration. His old plans of missionary labour once more arose before his mind; but as he pondered dubiously over the future, a way of usefulness suddenly opened to him, more inviting than he could have anticipated. The Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London, had been for some time without a stated pastor, and had consequently fallen into great

weakness. Some worthy and intelligent Scotchmen, however, still clung to it, and having heard of Dr. Chalmers' assistant in Glasgow, they resolved to offer the pulpit to him. Nothing could have more suited with Irving's inclination; he went to London 'to make trial and proof' of his 'gifts' 'before the rem-'nant of the congregation which still held together.' The result was highly satisfactory: difficulties that seemed to lie in the way were smoothed over, and Irving prepared to commence his ministry in London.

It was impossible for him to conceal his extraordinary elation of mind at this prospect. He was quite carried away at the impending realisation of his dreams of a true preacher's career, and it is touching to read some of his expressions — so genuine, simple, and from the heart — yet with that suspicious taint of high-flown egotism in them that meets us so often. He writes to his *dear and lovely pupil*, to whom we have already referred:—

'My head is almost turned with the approbation I received,—certainly my head is turned; for from being a poor desolate creature, melancholy of success, yet steel against misfortune, I have become all at once full of hope and activity. My hours of study have doubled themselves; my intellect, long unused to expand itself, is now awakening again, and truth is revealing itself to my mind. The thanks of all the directors I have received formally; the gift of all the congregation of the Bible used by Her Royal Highness. The elders paid my expences in a most princely style; my countrymen of the first celebrity, especially in art, welcomed me to their society; and the first artist in the city drew a most admirable half-length miniature of me in action. And so you see I have reason to be vain. But these things, my dear Jane, delight me not, save as vouchsafements of my Maker's bounty. Were I established in the love and obedience of Him, I should rise toweringly aloft, into the regions of a very noble and sublime character.'

These are not the casual expressions of temporary excitement. The same flash of elated pride everywhere breaks out. We have heard one say, who remembers his visit to Paisley at the time of which Mrs. Oliphant speaks, that he was in transports of enthusiasm with his prospects. And to his friend, the minister of Rosneath, who had expressed astonishment at some of his feats, he broke out, 'Now you shall see what great 'things I will do yet. You are content to go back and 'forward on the same route, like this boat; but as for me, I 'hope yet to go deep into the ocean of truth.' There is a strange pathos in these exulting expressions as we look onward across the broken arch of his career. In his own mind, even, the pathos was not far separate from the exultation, as we see from one of his most characteristic outbursts in a letter to

Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy. 'There are a few things which bind 'me to the world, and but a very few: one is to make a 'demonstration for a higher style of Christianity — something 'more magnanimous, more heroical than this age affects — God 'knows with what success.'

We quote these expressions, not only because they possess interest in reference to Irving's character, but because they give the key to the tone of his ministry in London, and the oratorical career, long sighed after, upon which he now entered, with a free field for the exercise of his powers. He had for many years conceived himself to have a special mission as a Christian instructor. 'Some preachers,' he himself had said as he left Glasgow, 'are traders from port to port, following 'the customary and approved course; others adventure over 'the whole ocean of human concern. There are ministers 'enow to hold the flock in pasture and in safety. But where 'are they to make inroad after the alien, to bring in the 'votaries of fashion, of literature, of sentiment, of policy and of 'rank, who are content in their several idolatries to do without 'piety to God, and love to Him whom He hath sent?' There could be no question to which of these classes of preachers he considered himself to belong; and his profound consciousness of a peculiar mission, and of peculiar powers in the pulpit, gives the colour to all his early ministry in London. It is the key-note of his first and most striking volume of discourses.

To a mind like Irving's, cherishing such lofty aspirations, his reception in the metropolis must have been exciting in a high degree. Never, perhaps, was there such a rapid rise into fame. Popularity would but ill describe the sensation that he made, and the reputation that he acquired. Within a few months of his settlement, — he himself has spoken of 'a year or 'nearly so, of happy obscurity,' but there is abundant evidence that he had burst from his obscurity long before the end of his first year's ministry, — the little church of Hatton Garden was not only crowded (this might have happened with many other preachers), but it was filled with the very audience after which he had longed, — with 'imaginative men, and political men, and 'legal men, and scientific men, who bear the world in hand.' The Duke of York had been already interested in him at his first outset; Wilkie soon found him out and appreciated his powers; Brougham is reported as one of his early auditors, and to have taken Mackintosh, who repeated to Canning an expression which he had heard Irving use in prayer of a bereaved family being 'thrown on the fatherhood of God,' — an expression which so struck the imagination of the statesman,

that he too was drawn to hear him, and to allude to his marvellous eloquence in the House of Commons. It is even said that the Tory Premier, Lord Liverpool, was let in at a window when no other access was possible. Whatever truth there may be in some of these stories, there can be no doubt that Irving saw himself, within a short period, surrounded by the most astonishing audience perhaps that ever gathered around a preacher—an audience representative of all that was highest and most intellectual in the world of London. Here was a field in which to take his 'natural 'liberty to expatiate over all the applications of the word of 'God to the wants of men.' At length he had found his right position. The choice of his heart had been granted, and he entered with a triumphant and joyful heartiness into the work which had been given him to do.

This period of Irving's early ministry is the golden period of his life. The flush of success, as high as ever his dreams could have reached, had come after weary disappointment. The hero rises with the opportunity. The triumph draws forth all his powers, and warms them into an exuberant life, energy, and fertility. Beyond question, if his published discourses are to be the criterion, this was the time not only of Irving's highest success as a preacher, but when he most deserved his success. His 'Orations,' published in 1823, the second year of his ministry, and still more a volume of his early sermons, published after his death, show an intellectual vigour and freshness, a terseness, moral healthiness and literary finish, found in few of his subsequent writings, and in none of his subsequent volumes. The causes of this may appear by and by. The fact itself is to us as indubitable as remarkable.

When we peruse these early discourses, we can understand the extraordinary impression which Irving produced as a preacher. There is in them a swelling grandeur both of thought and language, a richness of conception, a grasp of imagination, and at times a wondrous poetry of spiritual feeling which still captivate the reader. The mind moves at a lofty range in communion with sentiments which, if sometimes exaggerated, are never unworthy. The reasoning may be cloudy and ambitious, and the tone frequently arrogant and scornful; but there is the glow of awakened thought everywhere, now breaking into splendid declamation, touching the reader with contagious enthusiasm, now expanding into trains of meditative imagery, and now rising into bursts of lyric sweetness. There is great fulness, if not much clearness and precision, of intellectual life; a breadth of sympathy and openness to the influence

of literature and charms of nature — although not without the signs also of that negative taste and narrowing temper which afterwards more fully possessed him. In the sermons of Chalmers there may be more completeness and more sustained strength; there is certainly a more powerful play of clear-sighted intelligence, and a firmer and more definite development of ideas; but Irving rises to heights of spiritual insight, and loses himself in wild and touching strains of spiritual music, which Chalmers never reaches. And with all the affectations of his style, it is a higher style than that of Chalmers,—more living and poetical, less artificial and rhetorical. It is impossible that such discourses, delivered with all the accessories of physical impressiveness which characterised Irving, should not have produced a powerful sensation. His remarkable height, his dark gleaming countenance, his long black hair, his commanding action, above all, his voice of marvellous compass, with a peculiar liquid roll as of distant melody, breaking into enchanting bursts under which the listeners were contented to sit in wrapt enjoyment even when the utterances were not remarkable for wisdom, were elements sufficiently fitted to arouse excitement in an audience, and to make the preacher one of the most signal attractions of the day.

Mrs. Oliphant has combated very earnestly the notion that Irving was spoiled by his unprecedented popularity. So far she seems to us to have made good her point. The honesty and simple-hearted devotion and heroic aims of the man are undeniable through all the halo of applause that surrounded him. The publication of his 'Journal,' with its quaint revelations of his inner and outer life, shows that in that impassioned and somewhat theatrical orator, there was, nevertheless, a servant of Christ. But it is another question how far his intellectual life suffered from the unwholesome atmosphere of admiration in which he lived, and the incessant demands upon his time. Irving's intellect was of that character which required, to preserve it in healthiness, at once large nourishment and frequent repose. Its intensity was excessive. It was constantly in a glow. And in order to keep it from wasting under the sleepless fervency of its own action, it needed to have a large communion with other intellects and with nature. It needed to go abroad and rest itself in the wide fields of literature, or in the calm delights of contemplation. But from this repose it was cut off by his London career. All its overconfidence was stimulated, and the channels of its interest at the same time narrowed. His ever-stirring, intellectual excitement could only have been happily balanced by a broad and

varied experience. But this was denied him; or rather, he wilfully rejected it. He scornfully cast aside whatever opposed his intellectual prejudices, and much that would have softened and expanded as well as enriched his intellectual vision. It is a curious anomaly which his mind presents. The diversity of sympathy, the wide range of culture, which all its glowing activities seemed to crave, were the very things which he despised, which he would not have. Criticism never seems to have moved him, except to indignation. He assumed from the beginning an attitude of hostility to the press, and to the pulpit as represented in the ordinary preaching of the day, which is amusing if it were not savage in its ferocity. He has no good to say of any of the manifestations of literary activity around him,—saving only the poetry of Wordsworth, which seems to interest him more from the fact of its being a subject of opprobrium to others, than from its own intrinsic excellence. He can see nothing but a display of diabolic talent either in Byron or Southey; he recognises Macaulay's genius in the Milton Essay, but deprecates his admiration of Milton's opinions; in Brougham he discovers the 'archfiend' of radicalism. He is constantly setting himself against his age, and indulging in wild abuse of it. And if any desire to see of what grand rage he is capable, when he has the 'critics' for his victims, let them read the preface to the third edition of his 'Orations.' It is a wonderful piece of invective. But Irving misunderstood himself and his strength. The critics, or some of them at least, were his best friends, if he could only have seen it. With few exceptions they recognised his genius; they admired his power; but they would have had him mitigate his heady dogmatism, and open his mind to other truths than those which he kept constantly iterating.

Irving continued in his new sphere of labour successful and happy for some years. In the autumn of the second year, the 16th October, 1823, he was married to one of the daughters in the Manse of Kirkcaldy. This engagement, which he then honourably fulfilled, had been contracted in very early life—eleven years before. He was not unconscious that the choice made by the school-usher at Kirkcaldy was not well adapted to the station he had since attained. And in this respect his marriage was an unfortunate one. A woman of higher intellectual powers and judgment might have exercised a salutary influence over his later life. But from the uniform deference and affection displayed towards his wife in the letters published by Mrs. Oliphant, no one would suspect how little Mrs. Irving was fitted to be the helpmate of a man of genius.

His reputation was probably at its height in the beginning of 1824, when he published his 'Orations.' Notwithstanding the critics and the missionary societies, who were equally puzzled and indignant with him, a splendid career of usefulness seemed lengthening before him. In the meantime his intellectual life was restlessly working in different directions. Deeper and more comprehensive views of theological truth began to dawn upon him. He had at once a singular susceptibility to new impressions and a singular tenacity of holding to his most recent impressions when once formed. He was docile as a pupil, and yet dogmatic as a master. He had a constant craving for what was positive and authoritative in religion; and to any one who came to him with the offer of a new truth his mind was open. The teacher might be very inferior to himself, but decision and self-assurance went a great way with him, and when once he had taken a step, as he conceived, forward, no uncertainty, no light of evidence, would make him retract. He was thoroughly open-minded in short, but not in the least critical. He knew not what it was to doubt and hold his mind in suspense. Coleridge was his highest and best teacher, and to his influence we would be inclined to trace those aspirations after a higher theology which henceforth animated him. He himself confessed, in the dedication of his famous missionary sermon to the Highgate philosopher, 'You have been more profitable 'to my faith in orthodox doctrine, to my spiritual understand-'ing of the word of God, and to my right conception of the 'Christian Church, than any or all the men with whom I have 'entertained friendship and conversation.'

There was from the first, indeed, in Irving an impulse of poetic faith — a blending of imagination and of thought — which must have raised him to a more catholic sphere of doctrine than that which was presented in the popular theology of the Scotch Church. It is evident that he felt its deficiencies long before he left Scotland. The argumentative form and legal phrase in which this theology sets forth the most abstruse truths, and strives to apprehend them as distinct logical propositions,— its favourite ideas of *Election* and the *Covenants*,— could never have been welcome to a mind like Irving's, which was always seeking for something above and beyond the mere logic of any truth — for a living and authoritative voice, and not for the dead echoes of that voice, however correctly represented. He has said in his 'Orations,' in reference to the catechisms of his Church, that 'the rich and mellow 'word, with God's own wisdom mellow, and rich with all 'mortal and immortal attractions, is a better net to catch child-

'hood withal than those pieces of man's wording, however true 'to Scripture, or compounded of the ingredients of human 'wisdom.' He was already, therefore, before he knew Coleridge, and as the result possibly of his own deeper intuitions and the study of such authors as Hooker, leaving behind him many of the popular ideas identified with orthodoxy in Scotland, and aiming after a more comprehensive conception of Christian truth,—taking its start from an Incarnate Person rather than from an abstract decree. The highly systematic, abstract, deductive creed of his early years was dear to him, yet he naturally rose above it; for his mind was unsystematic and concrete in the highest degree; and from the most perfect system he turned instinctively to the living and sympathetic Will of which it spoke, and to the Church which constituted the embodiment and organic development of that Will on earth. By a natural consequence, the Incarnation and the Sacraments became the central ideas of his theology,—ideas by no means ignored in the theology of Scotland, but which had long ceased in the popular Christian teaching — and, not least, in the most evangelical phase of it—to have due prominence assigned to them.

His views of the Incarnation became, it is well known, the subject of special attack; but whatever extravagance they assumed, they had their origin in a right theological instinct. It had become usual with the Evangelical party, both in England and Scotland, to regard the Atonement as a doctrine, if not divorced from the Incarnation, yet to some extent apart from it. But Irving's mind could not rest in such a view. He saw the more than accidental—the organic—connexion between the Incarnation and the Atonement, between the Sufferer and His sufferings. The reality of Christ's human nature, as 'bone of 'our bone, and flesh of our flesh,' he felt to be the turning-point in a genuine Christian theology. He was at fault here, however, as frequently, in the extremely rhetorical manner in which he treated the subject. In his anxiety to vindicate the fact of Christ's human nature and its essential identity with the common nature of mankind, he fell into expressions which seemed to speak not merely of an *essential* but a *complete* identity, sin not excepted. He used unguardedly such expressions as that 'Christ's flesh was *in every respect* '*as ours*;' that it was *fallen*, and *sinful*, and *rebellious*, and some stronger and less happy expressions than these, which we need not quote. It is evident to any one who studies his writings in a comprehensive and charitable spirit, that he meant nothing further by these, or by any expressions that he used, than that Christ shared our nature, as he himself explains,

'*under the conditions of the fall*,' that in short He shared our very nature as it exists, weak, corruptible, and sorely tempted, and not any imaginary counterpart of that nature — any higher or unfallen nature, incapable of temptation. That he denied for a moment, or doubted Christ's perfect *holiness in the flesh*, no one can honestly think who will have the candour to weigh his several expressions, and especially his own explanations of his meaning, which on such a matter ought to have been at once accepted. The single difference between him and his opponents seems to be that Christ's 'holiness in the flesh' was to him the expression of the constant indwelling of the Holy Spirit; to them rather a substantive quality, inhering in the humanity itself, or, as he said, 'a physical change in the created thing, 'the creature part.' The subject is one which shrinks from analysis and dogmatic explanation, and we shall not venture further into it. Nothing could have been more distant from the mind of Irving than any idea of heresy. He supposed himself here and everywhere to be vindicating the 'orthodox and 'catholic doctrine,' from which the fragmentary dogmatisms of modern theology had fallen away. It was the very depth and tenderness of his spiritual nature, his profound realisation of human misery, and of the need of salvation through the power of a living, brotherly sympathy and perfect bearing of our sins, that forced the subject upon his attention.

'I believe,' he says, in a passage quoted by Mrs. Oliphant from his treatise on our Lord's human nature — and we cannot quote any more characteristic expression of his belief, in illustration of our remarks — 'that my Lord did come down, and toil, and sweat, and travail in exceeding great sorrow, in this curse of temptation with which I and every sinful man am oppressed; did bring His divine presence into death-possessed humanity — into the one substance of manhood created in Adam, and, by the fall, brought into a state of resistance and alienation from God, of condemnation and proclivity to evil, of subjection to the devil; and bearing it all upon His shoulders in that very state into which God put it after Adam had sinned, did suffer its sorrows, and pains, and swimming anguish, its darkness, wasteness, disconsolateness, and hiddenness from the countenance of God; and by His faith and patience, did win for Himself the name of the Man of Sorrows, and the author and finisher of our faith.'

Here, beyond question, we have the very essence of his belief. The Incarnation regarded as a living fact — a mystery, indeed, but also an intense, intelligible reality — and the Atonement as its necessary expression, the outcome in sorrow, struggle, and victory of the 'presence of God in death-possessed 'humanity.'

It is difficult to say to what extent he was indebted to Coleridge for this higher theological sentiment, and to what extent it was the mere growth of his spiritual education. Of one thing we may be sure, that all Irving's catholic tendencies, and more poetic and concrete conceptions of divine truth, were greatly promoted by all he heard from the Highgate philosopher. Whatever he learned from Coleridge, however, he failed to learn what would have done him most good—some higher philosophy of nature and religion, into which he could have fitted all his speculations, or which at least would have served to balance the intensity of his intellectual and spiritual impulses. With all his craving after truth, his impatience and incapacity of system was fatal to philosophic breadth or comprehensiveness. Then his views of life and nature from the first—notwithstanding their glow and poetry of feeling—were tainted with a gloom verging on fanaticism. In this respect, as in others, he was strangely anomalous; responsive on one side of feeling to all the beautiful harmonies of creation; on the other side, in conflict with it, as a mere devil-creation, to be destroyed utterly. From the first this morbid tinge and distemper — a kind of Tertullian fierceness and darkness — colour his thoughts. To his lofty but oblique vision the world was utterly out of joint, — a disordered and devil-possessed world, incapable of salvation, save through strange crises and purification as by fire. Such a view appeared to him, as it did to many of the early Christians, of the very essence of the Gospel. The present time was the 'reign of Satan,' and it could never, by any gradual progression or natural inclination, develope into anything better or happier. It could only deepen in darkness and wickedness till the wrath of God overtook it; and on its ruins a millennial reign of purity and bliss arose.*

* Mrs. Oliphant has associated Irving's millenarianism with Coleridge; and evidently, from what Coleridge says in his 'Notes on 'English Divines,' p. 335., he and Irving had discussed the subject, and so far sympathetically. But every one who understands Coleridge's theological and speculative spirit will know that the Apocalyptic millenarianism to which Irving abandoned himself could meet no approval from the Highgate philosopher—was in fact in direct contrast to all his teaching. Accordingly, on reading what he says, in his 'Notes on English Divines,' under the head of 'Irving's Ben 'Ezra,' we see at once how widely they differed. The Coleridgean millenarianism amounts to nothing more than the belief 'that the 'objects of the Christian redemption will be perfected on this earth, '—that the kingdom of God and His Word, the latter as the Son of 'man, in which the *Divine Will shall be done on earth as it is in*

It is not our intention, of course, to enter upon any examination of such a view. To our own minds it appears a profoundly mistaken creed; in apparent congruity with certain intimations of Scripture, but in reality opposed to the essential spirit and meaning of the Gospel. But whether this be so or not, there was something fatal in the hold which it took of Irving, — fairly possessing him till it shut out all other ideas, and became little else than a madness. Of all things it was the one most calculated to injure his peculiar mental temperament, which required, as we have said, expansion, and not contraction, of interest. Exclusive devotion to professional study was a sufficiently trying test for a mind like his; but a study of such a narrowing character as millenarianism, which seized upon him with all the virulence of a mental disease, was baleful in the extreme. It became not merely a speculation, but an absorbing passion — a lurid gleam, fascinating his mind and excluding all other light. The common influences of earth, in their subtle healthiness and embracing every-day beauty, were less and less felt; he could see no good in anything or in any one save in relation to his wild delusion of the near approach of a new heavens and new earth. Contemporary literature and philosophy were to him mere frivolity or mere devil-sport. Art, industry, commerce, and all the pregnant activities of his time, were nothing else than the play of folly or the uproar of wickedness. In a remarkable passage in one of his occasional discourses, preached at Birmingham, on 'The Curse as to Bodily Labour,'* he elaborates, with something of his better imagery, but also with a saddening tediousness, this very view. It was impossible that this millenarian excitement, or rather *mania*, should not have exercised a wasting and deteriorating influence on Irving's

'*heaven*, will come,— *and that the whole march of nature and history*, '*from the first impregnation of chaos by the Spirit, converges towards* '*this kingdom as the final cause of the world.*' In short, in the Apocalyptic sense of Irving, Frere, and their followers, Coleridge is no millenarian at all. The 'Apocalyptic millennium began under Con-'stantine,' he says. He believes, of course, with every Christian, in the gradual evolution of the Divine plan in the history of our world — always unfolding itself in an advancing Christian intelligence, in 'better manners, purer laws,' and happier circumstances — the very opposite of the Irvingite millenarianism, which rejects all idea of historical development in favour of a series of miraculous and catastrophic dispensations. Strange, surely, that this latter idea should be supposed to be the object of a higher faith than the former!

* Sermons, Lectures, and Discourses. 1828.

mental powers. It appears to us, with his works before us, in all seriousness, to have *been his ruin*. Other minds, of lighter texture or more elastic versatility, may indulge in religious romance with impunity — may amuse popular audiences with Apocalyptic sketches; minds of harder tenacity may devote themselves to elaborate theories, and charts of the future history of the world; — but there was an intensity of spiritual passion, and a wild earnestness in Irving, which made such speculations no mere gentle excitement or ingenious exercise of logic, but a dangerous intoxication. Let any one only turn from the perusal of his 'Orations' or early sermons to his 'Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed,' or even his 'Last Days,' and they will realise the truth of what we say. It is difficult to measure, by any ordinary standard, the declension of mental freshness and force in the first of these books, which was also the first of his prophetical writings. Through many pages of weary maundering, from which we vainly try to gather a coherent meaning, or the slightest thread of interest, he discourses of 'The Little Horn and the Beast,' and 'The Battle of Armageddon,' and the 'Time, Times, and Dividing of Time,' symbols from which the jargon of millenarian commentators have well nigh extracted all reverence. It is sad to see a powerful intellect bearing such a burden of trash, and adapting itself with a delirious fondness to the burden. In the 'Last Days,' there is more vigour and life of thought, but abundant evidence of the same deterioration. The poetic touches and the healthy natural feeling are gone, and the vigour sounds hollow, and dim, and flaccid beside the declamation of the 'Orations' or 'The Judgment to Come;' all is sicklied over with 'the pale cast' of a fevered despair, or an equally fevered rapture.

The baleful influence of Irving's prophetical studies appears everywhere in his writings. They turned the balance of his mind the wrong way just at the crisis of his intellectual fate. They, rather than the mere idolatry of fashion and popularity, shed a foul light upon him—'intoxicating, poisoning.' There was too much manly purpose and honest-hearted feeling in him to be utterly spoiled by the latter; but there was an original taint in his mind which made him a fatal prey to religious delusion. No intellect can well survive such poison — least of all an intellect like Irving's, in which imagination and passion so largely blended; which could not idly play nor coldly argue with this or any subject, but which seized with an eager and proud vehemence upon its most unintelligible splendours as a 'light 'from heaven.'

Mr. Hatley Frere, a prophetical enthusiast of the day, has

been principally associated with Irving's unhappy devotion to prophetical study. 'Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of 'God,' is dedicated to this gentleman, and in the dedication Irving confessed that the subject of the 'present times, as 'foretold in the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse,' was first suggested by his conversation. We have already adverted to his strange facility of impression in the hands of any confident teacher, however inferior in mental grasp to himself; and Mr. Hatley Frere was evidently not blameless in the matter. With that rare cruelty with which an inferior mind of narrow dogmatism will sometimes dominate over a larger intellect of vague and generous susceptibilities—a cruelty which poor Irving was destined to taste in its most humiliating bitterness—he had evidently marked his victim in the great preacher, and pursued him with his prophetical jargon till he hunted him down. But Irving was no unwilling victim. He may have offered objection, and even considered the matter 'more 'than a year,' as he says; but there was an unhappy congeniality in his whole mental constitution to the poison so adroitly administered. An unhealthy gloom kindred to the theme; an utterly uncritical and unhistorical spirit, a yearning impatience of faith, a craving after palpable effect, a rapture of Christian ambition, rather than a clear resting in the light and love of God,—all made Irving, if not a speaker with 'tongues,' what was still more melancholy, a believer of those who professed to speak with them.

We have been led onwards in our effort to analyse Irving as an intellectual phenomenon far beyond the period of his life to which we had advanced. We must now gather up very rapidly the events of his career as they followed in swift and tragic succession. After his marriage and the publication of his 'Orations,' Irving continued abundant in his ministerial labours. He was always a 'workman not needing to be ashamed,' rejoicing in his duty, and evidently discharging the irksome and unostentatious parts of it no less steadily than the preaching, by which he attracted thousands. But the tone assumed by Irving was not likely to ingratiate him with his brother-clergymen, and it is obvious that he stood aloof in his grandeur from the clerical society of the metropolis. He was a kind of portent which the ordinary evangelical clergyman did not know what to make of. The missionary societies were equally suspicious of him. Yet they could not afford to pass him over. Accordingly he was invited by the London Missionary Society to preach one of their anniversary sermons in May 1824. The manner in which he performed this duty was characteristic, and brought down

upon him the ill-dissembled indignation of the directors and agents of the society. The idea of the missionary life in its loftiest phase was, as we have seen, familiar to him. He had long brooded over it, and the opportunity now granted him to hold forth to the world this idea was too tempting to be resisted. In a discourse of extraordinary length he unfolded his theme to the admiration, but also to the bewilderment, of many of his audience. He had not a word to say of congratulation of success; not a word of money or of means, of committees or of agents. It was the ideal missionary after the apostolic mould that he depicted — 'without staff or scrip, without 'lumber or provision, abiding with whomsoever would receive 'him; speaking in haste his burning message, pressing on 'without pause or rest through the world lying in wickedness; 'apostle responsible to no man; a messenger of the Cross.' The society expostulated through Mr. Orme, their secretary, as to what they conceived to be the misrepresentations of the discourse; but he elaborated it into a 'Series of Orations, in 'Four Parts,' and gave it to the world with the striking dedication to Coleridge from which we have already quoted.

In the following year the Continental Society employed his services, and his sermon to them gave rise to scarcely less commotion. This sermon was in fact the germ of the 'Babylon 'and Infidelity Foredoomed,' and if he inflicted much of the tediousness of the volumes as they now stand upon the audience, we confess to some sympathy with those 'leading members of 'committee' who, we are told, 'had neither Christian patience 'nor decorum to hear the preacher out, but abruptly left the 'place.' His unhappy communications with Hatley Frere had by this time begun, and his mind taken its inveterate and fatal bias towards the study of prophecy.

As yet, however, other and higher studies shared his attention. The doctrines of Baptism and the Trinity greatly occupied his thoughts, and were the subjects of extended pulpit exposition. The death of his eldest child fixed his mind intently on the former subject, and gave an impulse to his Sacramentarian views. This great sorrow in fact exercised a powerful influence on the whole of his subsequent life. 'No other event pene-'trated so profoundly the depths of his spirit,' and there is a deep-hearted and nameless tenderness in all he writes about it. To this event we owe the very interesting 'Journal,' which forms a considerable part of Mrs. Oliphant's first volume. It is a quaint and striking autobiography — as characteristic perhaps as anything of the kind that ever was written, and formed the daily transcript of his doings, sent to Mrs. Irving, who remained

at the Manse in Kirkcaldy for some time after the loss of their child. The laborious devotedness which it records — its frank unreserved confidences, with that strange touch of magnanimity in them, as in all he says and does — the beautiful light of affection playing through all, and softening all, shedding something of nature over the high-pitched narrative of his priestly offices day by day, make a strange and touching picture. None can doubt the genuineness of the man after such a self-revelation. But it is scarcely less conclusive as to the singular defects of his intellectual character. Touching and thoroughly honest, there is yet no familiarity and playful undress in it, and not only no humour but a total absence of observant shrewdness. We confess that everywhere this over-solemnity, this grand priestly air, tires us in Irving, and is, to our apprehension, a notable defect of intellect.

Irving's prophetical hopes took a more confident tone from intercourse with Henry Drummond, and certain meetings at his house at Albury, in 1826. In his preface to 'Ben Ezra,' he has given a remarkable description of these meetings, to which we refer our readers as among his most characteristic passages. The preface altogether is esteemed one of his finest compositions, and amid a good deal of tediousness and digressive declamation, the vice of all his later writings, contains some very eloquent passages.

This tediousness is so much a part of himself, and unhappily of most of his writings, that it deserves some notice. Perhaps one of the most prominent indications of it occurs at this period of his life on the occasion of the opening of his new church, in Regent Square. Dr. Chalmers is the complainant. He had come to London to open the new church. The eager and crowded congregation had assembled to hear him; they had been already three hours assembled before the service began. Irving said he would assist him by reading a chapter. '*He chose* '*the longest in the Bible, and went on for an hour and a half.*' On another occasion he assured Chalmers he would be 'short.' 'How 'short?' he asked. 'Only an hour and forty minutes,' was the reply. The lengthiness of his sermons, even at the height of his popularity, or at least after the first flush of it, was plainly a frequent subject of remonstrance on the part of the kirk *session*. But he was inaccessible to remonstrance. 'I told 'them,' he says, in his 'Journal,' 'that I would submit to no 'authority on that matter. I am resolved that two hours and 'a half I will have the privilege of.' What was this? Not egotism, at least not in any vulgar sense; but a want of fitness and consideration — an intent and solemn tone of mind savour-

ing of egotism, but with nobler elements mixed. He had no thought for the time, save that which possessed him; he never looked around and realised the thoughts of others. It was nevertheless an intolerable infliction, even at the hands of such a preacher as Irving, as it must have greatly weakened the effects of his oratory. It takes from the life and permanence of all his writings; and his hearers were sometimes as severely visited as the poor boys at the school of Kirkcaldy.

Up to this time, whatever might have been thought by many of Irving's extravagances, none had accused him of heresy. But now, in 1828, arose the first rumours of his heretical views as to our Lord's human nature. 'An idle' clergyman, of the name of Cole, one of those creatures not unknown at all times in the Church, who having failed themselves to interest any auditory, prey upon unwary preachers having the misfortune to be popular, first set abroad those rumours, which ere long spread into Scotland, and kindled something of a commotion there. The 'Christian Instructor,' a periodical at that time under the management of Dr. Andrew Thomson, whom Irving has thoroughly well described as 'a gladiator of the intel-'lect, his weapons being never spiritual but intellectual *merely*, '*and those of an inferior order*,' opened its logical batteries upon him in a series of elaborate articles not without ingenuity, but woefully arid and unintelligent. We have sought them out and tried to read them at the expense of having our notions very much confused on the subject. According to what we have already said, Irving was no heretic on this or on any doctrinal point. His vehement rhetoric hurried him into unguarded expressions; but even when he was most at fault there was a principle at the root of his declamation. A Saviour who could not be tempted as he himself was, in whom the process of conflict, and passion, and victory was in any sense phantasmal, and not real and living as his own experience, was to him no Saviour at all. His deep feeling of the identification of Christ with the nature which He came to redeem, and of the importance of the truth to the whole system of Christian doctrine, led him into exaggeration; but it is impossible, in the face of his own earnest reiterations, to accuse him of having impugned the perfect holiness of Christ in the flesh. The question was one which ought never to have been agitated, and which certainly received no illumination from the discussion that ensued. To no other logic save that of the Evangelicalism, then beginning its rampant career in Scotland, could Irving, on account of his views on the Incarnation, have appeared in the light of a heretic. Irving uses a very remarkable expression, in a letter

to Chalmers, at this time — having really more of the character of a prophecy than anything attributed to him or his followers. 'Mind my word,' he says, 'the Evangelical party in the Church 'of Scotland will lay all flat, if they be not prevented.'

But the Church of Scotland was at this time in one of those panics of orthodoxy to which all Churches are liable. Mr. Campbell of Row, a name since well known in religious literature, had broached certain views as to the universal love of God to man, and the comprehensiveness of the Atonement, which had startled not only his Presbytery, but gradually disturbed the whole of the west of Scotland. There was a natural affinity of sentiment between Mr. Campbell and Irving, and in the autumn of this same year, they made each other's acquaintance in Edinburgh. Irving had made a visit to the northern metropolis to give his lectures on Prophecy. The excitement with which he was received was greater than on any former occasion. Crowds assembled to hear him as early as five in the morning, and Chalmers records that he tried in vain to force his way into the church through the excited multitude. It was in the midst of all this enthusiasm, of which he was the centre, that the quiet minister from the Gairloch sought out the great orator to consult him in the midst of his difficulties. Irving welcomed him with the characteristic exclamation, 'God may have sent me 'instruction by your hands.' Whatever may have been the special nature of their communications, their names were henceforth bound together as the most conspicuous of a group destined to be offered on the altar of Scotch orthodoxy.

It is impossible to look back upon the excitement which then prevailed in Scotland, and the consequences which flowed from it, in the expulsion of Mr. Campbell, Irving, and others, from the National Church, without a feeling of profound sadness. We shall not use harsh words of Dr. Chalmers or of any others, although we have nothing to say in mitigation of the language that Mrs. Oliphant employs on this subject. Chalmers perhaps could not have arrested the progress of the doctrinal furor then animating the Church, any more than afterwards he could arrest the course of the ecclesiastical excitement under which she so rapidly moved forwards to her disruption. With greater clearness, consistency, and breadth of mind than Irving, he was yet too unhappily like him in the failing of being easily moved by minds of inferior power but more dogmatic hardihood. He had the horror which every mind that has canvassed doctrinal questions from various points of view has of being involved in a heretical squabble on his own account. Unable to lead (Mrs. Oliphant is wrong in sup-

posing he could have done this as a matter of course, and in virtue of his mere position), and deeply disliking the logical janglings into which such discussions almost always degenerate, he kept himself aloof from them; he was not (we understand) a member of the General Assembly of 1831, which deposed Mr. Campbell, and shook an ominous warning in the face of Irving. The story is that he was resident at Burntisland, and that on looking into the newspapers next morning he exclaimed, with a kind of relief, that, 'one vote would not have made any difference.' This may seem directly to justify Mrs. Oliphant's imputation of cowardice; and certainly the church and the public had a reasonable claim for something else at Chalmers' hand.

But it was not any communication of doctrinal excitement from the banks of Gairloch that was chiefly to move Irving. Notwithstanding the suggestions of his magnanimous humility, he had nothing to learn from Mr. Campbell in doctrinal comprehensiveness. But ere long a new and very different excitement took its rise along these quiet banks, on which the calm of nature rests so sweetly; and this strange movement was destined to give a new impulse altogether to Irving's life and fortunes. In a little farm-house of Fernicarry, at the head of the Gairloch, there had lived and died, in an odour of sanctity, a young woman of the name of Isabella Campbell. Her parish minister had written a memoir of her, which attracted a wide-spread attention, and brought many pilgrims to visit the spot where she had lived and prayed. These visits and the saintly reputation which had gathered around the name of Isabella, had a very remarkable effect upon her surviving sister Mary, — gifted with the same spiritual temperament, with powers of mind of no ordinary character, and moreover, with the 'personal fascination of beauty.' The full details of this girl's story will be found in Mr. Story's memoir, to which we have already referred. Suffice it to say here, that she professed by and by not only to be miraculously cured of an apparently mortal sickness under which she was labouring, but to have received 'the gift of tongues,' which had been lost since the time of the primitive Church. The contagion of her spiritual enthusiasm spread along the shores of the Clyde. A quiet family at Port Glasgow, of the name of Macdonald — sober, steady people, it is said — became subjects of the same ecstatic influence. The news of the wondrous gifts soon travelled to London, and were caught up by Irving as an approaching realisation of his prophetic dreams. He does not seem to have hesitated for an instant. His mind was all astir; his heart

was miraculously akin to all wonders and 'splendours;' and he hailed the manifestations in the west of Scotland as merely the natural answer to his aspirations and prayers.

In a short while manifestations of a similar character appeared among his own flock; at first privately, at certain meetings they held in the early morning, about the time of the sitting of the General Assembly which deposed Messrs. Campbell and M'Lean. He was greatly excited by the prospect of this assembly; and shortly after its close he wrote to his friend Mr. Story, strongly denouncing its proceedings. In the same letter he added, 'You keep too much aloof from the good work of the Spirit 'which is proceeding beside you. Two of my flock have 'received the gift of tongues, and prophecy. . . *Draw not 'back, brother, but go forward*—the kingdom of heaven is 'only to be won by the brave. Keep your conscience un-'fettered by your understanding.' The attitude of rational doubt, of calm inquiry, was unknown to him. He had gradually intensified by over-indulgence the mystical, and what we may call the *thaumaturgic* side of his mind, originally too strong, till he was prepared to see miracles any day. The prophetic utterances from the Gairloch, therefore, were no astonishment to him. They were not objects for a moment of curiosity, but from the first of faith. He evidently expected their appearance in his own congregation; and when they did make their appearance he could not refuse to acknowledge them. He hesitated, indeed, to recognise them in the public Service for a while, but only for a while. He had gone too far to pause; he saw his own dilemma, and urged it before the Presbytery afterwards, with a puzzling bluntness of logic:—

'For look you at the condition in which I was placed,' he says. 'I had sat at the head of the Church, praying that these gifts might be poured out on the Church. I believed in the Lord's faithfulness, that I was praying the prayer of faith, and that He had poured out the gifts on the Church, in answer to our prayers. Was I to disbelieve that which in faith I had been praying for, and which we had all been praying for?'

It would not serve any good purpose to enter into an examination of the pretended gift of tongues, whether as manifested in the west of Scotland or in London. That there was nothing miraculous in it, it is needless for us to say: that it was from beginning to end a gross delusion—in some cases a shallow imposture—we feel bound to say. Mary Campbell herself was probably half enthusiast, half impostor. Her character comes out in a very ambiguous light in Mr. Story's memoir. A Mr. Baxter, of Doncaster, who had been among

the earliest and most prominent of the speakers with tongues connected with Irving's congregation, and who appears to have been a thoroughly earnest, but weak-minded man, ere long recanted, and wrote a 'Narrative of Facts' explanatory of his delusions. Little, however, is to be made of it, or indeed of anything that one has read or can learn of the subject. There is not a thread of reason, of sense, or of utility — in a word, of moral meaning, throughout the whole business. Save as a picture of human weakness, we honestly confess that it has little interest for us even of a psychological kind. And that a mind so rich and grand as Irving's should have sunk so low as to have been befooled by such pretended prophecies would really have been unintelligible, had we not been able to trace the steps by which he passed from one degree of excitement to another. The faith, or rather the credulity and presumption together, which can profess to expound with confidence the destinies of the world from the unintelligible symbols of the Apocalypse, appear to us capable of any absurdity. If they stop short of the extravagances of Irving, it is not any consistency or remnants of reason that save them.

The disorders introduced by the 'prophets' into the once staid congregation at Regent Square did not, of course, long pass without notice. The London newspapers once more opened their fire upon the preacher whom they had not spared in the heyday of his fame. The Presbytery looked on with amazement; but as Irving had withdrawn himself from formal connexion with them, did not know very well what to do. The blow at length came from the quarter that perhaps he least expected, and whence it fell most cruelly. The members of his kirk session had hitherto stood by him with a hearty unanimity in all his difficulties. Only a year before they had subscribed along with him a declaration in which they repudiated with abhorrence 'any doctrine that would 'charge with sin, original or actual, our blessed Lord and Saviour 'Jesus;' and when the London Presbytery had condemned him, they withdrew with him from their jurisdiction, and appealed to the general Church of Scotland. They were his best friends, to whom his heart clung, and who cordially loved and admired him in turn. It was from this body of men that there now came to Irving first remonstrance, then appeals, and finally threats. Under all he was alike immoveable. Pliable as a child in the hands of his prophets, open to impression to all who came to him with an offer of truth, when once he has yielded to the impression, he remains unassailable by any argument or reason, with that strange mixture of facility and yet of obstinacy, of

docile faith and yet of blind wilfulness, that characterises him. 'He is so thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it is 'impossible to make an impression upon him,' writes his sister-in-law.

Unable to move him, the kirk session and trustees of the church are driven to take such legal steps as seem fit to them. Sir E. Sugden's opinion is taken as to what they should do. He advises them to make complaint to the Presbytery of London, whose jurisdiction they had shortly before wilfully set aside. It was rather a humbling necessity; but they had no alternative but to leave matters alone or proceed as they were directed. Irving sent them a letter of solemn adjuration, protesting that the work against which they were proceeding was 'the work of God — verily the mighty work of God, the most 'sacred work of the Holy Ghost — which to blaspheme is to 'blaspheme the Holy Ghost;' but feelings of deep opposition had by this time been engendered, and they made a formal complaint to the Presbytery, setting forth in detail the disorders which he had introduced into the Church service.

The issue of the investigation before the Presbytery could not be doubtful. The disorders complained of were unquestionably contraventions of the order of Presbyterian service, for which the church had been built and set apart. It is needless to urge on the other hand the question upon which Mrs. Oliphant has enlarged. 'Is there anything in the constitution of the 'Church which forbids the exercise of the prophetic gift, sup-'posing it to be real?' Who was to determine the reality of such a gift? What rational inquiry could there be into a pretension which in its very character divorced itself from all reason? Neither Irving nor his followers gave or could give any evidence of the reality of the assumed gift. His own reiterated *ipse dixit*, in his speech before the Presbytery, that he had asked, and the Lord had given, is all he urges or can urge; and surely it was his part to show, or to try to show, by some tangible evidence, the reality, rather than the Presbytery's part to investigate it. Irving deserves every sympathy under the charge of heresy for which he was finally condemned and expelled the Church by the Presbytery of Annan which ordained him; but we cannot blame the Presbytery of London in their dealing with the disorders which he had openly permitted and sanctioned in Regent Square Church. The charge of heresy was, if not actually unfounded, yet in many respects ignorantly urged and incompetently disposed of. It would be a very liberal or else a very narrow judgment that would conclude the Presbytery of Annan the fitting arbiters of

a question of so much complexity and delicacy as Irving's views on the Incarnation. But the question before the Presbytery of London was, after all, a practical one, which they were as competent to settle as any other body of men. The disorders in the Church service were abundantly proved; they were admitted on all hands. It was equally plain that they had imparted to the service a new character; it was no longer the Presbyterian service, or the 'forms of worship and mode of discipline 'of the Established Church of Scotland,' for which, according to the trust-deed, the Church had been expressly instituted. A plea of *special divine* right to set aside the old and institute new usages of worship, is one which no church court could entertain, and which if it did it could never competently dispose of.

This conclusion shut the Regent Square Church against Irving and his prophetic followers, and virtually severed him from the Church of Scotland. He was not deposed, indeed, by the Presbytery of Annan till the spring of the following year, March 1833. But with his departure from Regent Square Church his career as a Presbyterian minister was over. Not only so, but his public career may be said to be ended. Henceforth the nominal head of a new sect, he is dead alike to the world and the Church which he had disturbed.

We shall not follow him into the comparative obscurity of the two remaining years of his life. So far as we can understand them from Mrs. Oliphant's description—and she is, perhaps purposely, not very clear in her statements as to the relations in which he stood to the 'apostles and prophets'—Henry Drummond and others—upon whom, as its pillars, he built his new 'Catholic and Apostolic Church.' They were sorrowful and somewhat darkened years. To a nature like Irving's, the wrench from the Church of his fathers, wildly as he may have denounced her coldness and her shallow theology, was a blow that went to his heart. This Church was still to him that of his early love, which he had lauded in his first successful years as the most perfect Church on earth; and amidst all the raptures of his new faith he could not easily forget it. There were evidently also personal causes for disappointment. The apostles and prophets that had gathered around him actually raised their voice against him, and for a time withheld their sanction from his preaching. We confess to a feeling which we would rather not clothe in words, as we think of the last and dark indignity to which his great, if erring, spirit was subjected. It was an unhappy fate in his case certainly, for the greater to serve the lesser.

In the autumn of 1834 he set out on a mission to Scot-

land, commissioned as a 'prophet' to do a great work there for his Church. He had not been deemed worthy of the higher office of 'apostle;' and amongst the worthies who had assumed this office in London his presence appears to have been somewhat of an embarrassment. It is sufficiently intelligible, therefore, that the voice of 'prophecy' should call him to Scotland. He travelled northwards through Herefordshire and Wales; and from point to point on his journey sends letters to his wife so touched with a gentle sadness, and so beautiful in the tender picturesque glimpses they give of the scenery through which he passes, that there are few can read them without emotion. How his mind seems to expand and gain its early freshness in contact with nature! More than ever we feel what a ruin the dank unhealthiness of millenarian superstition has made of this man.

He was unwell almost from the beginning of his journey; but he braved his illness and fatigues with a mingled manfulness and credulity pathetic to contemplate till he reached Liverpool, where his wife joined him, and they proceeded to Glasgow. Here he rallied for a brief space; but all noted the change in his appearance—'his gigantic frame' bearing 'all the marks of 'age and weakness;' and 'his tremendous voice no longer firm, 'but faltering.' The 'word of the Lord' had come to him that he would recover, and his wife had 'never a doubt of it;' but he sank in a rapid consumption, and died on the 8th of December, with the words on his lips, 'If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen.'

Our estimate of Irving has been sufficiently indicated. At least we have nothing more definite to add. It is impossible, we think, to read his works, or at least such of them as any longer possess a literary interest, without recognising his remarkable powers of mind. It is impossible to read Mrs. Oliphant's volumes without something of love and admiration for the man. It has been to us equally impossible not to recognise his great defects both of character and intellect,—defects which wrecked the latter, and only left the former untouched because its native purity was more than proof against the deteriorating weakness which so deeply mingled in it. We cannot acknowledge in him the hero, pursuing his path through inevitable conflict and radiance of tragic glory which she has painted him; but neither can we allow him to be the fanatic or charlatan that others have supposed him to be. He is not without heroic mould; yet the mould is flawed and distorted at different points. He would have been greater, if not so grand. If his spirit had been less theatric, he might have risen to genuine sublimity.

ART. VIII.—1. *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ.* By C. T. NEWTON, M.A., Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum; assisted by R. P. PULLAN, F.R.I.B.A. London: 1862.

2. *The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus Restored, in conformity with the recently-discovered Remains.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, &c. London: 1862.

IT has been a favourite topic with moralists and poets, in all ages, to inveigh against the vanity of those who strive to secure to themselves, by costly and elaborate monuments, that fame after death which they had not earned by the actions of their lives, and who thus, in the fine language of Cowley, 'by 'the proofs of death pretend to live.' Nowhere, certainly, is this truth more forcibly impressed upon the mind than as one wanders through the long line of tombs that border the Appian Way, in an almost continuous series, from the gates of Rome to the hills of Albano. Sepulchres of the most massive construction arise on each side, the solid masonry of which has defied the destructive agencies of near two thousand years, and still looks as if it might defy them for two thousand more; while the profusion of architectural and sculptured fragments that lie scattered around them sufficiently attest the elaborate decorations with which they have once been ornamented. But in the great majority of cases there remains not one line or letter of inscription to record to posterity the name of the individual over whose remains was raised this costly structure.

There are, however, some notable exceptions to this remark. The tomb of Cæcilia Metella is one of the most striking and conspicuous of the monuments of Roman greatness; and that 'stern round tower of other days' has rendered her name familiar to thousands who would never have heard of the wife of Crassus or the daughter of Metellus Creticus. Still more remarkable has been the fortune in this respect of Mausolus, prince of Caria. The obscure despot of a petty province of Asia Minor has been raised to immortality by the celebrity of his tomb alone; and the monument erected to his memory by the affection or ambition of his wife was long regarded as one of the wonders of the ancient world, while it has given to the whole class of similar monuments a name that has been adopted and incorporated into the language of every civilised nation.

There is abundant evidence that it was not solely, or even

principally, on account of its magnitude that the far-famed tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus was ranked by the ancients, with the Pyramids of Egypt and the Colossus of Rhodes, among the seven wonders of the world. It owed this preeminence to the beauty of its architectural design, and in even a greater degree to the excellence and variety of the sculptures, upon which four of the most eminent artists of the day had bestowed their skill. Lucian, in one of his humorous Dialogues of the Dead, represents Mausolus as arrogating to himself a superiority over all the other shades, on account of his possessing a tomb which surpassed all others in size as well as in the beauty of its decorations, 'being adorned with figures of men and horses of the 'most admirable design, and wrought in the finest marble, so 'as to surpass in this respect even the most splendid temples.' Pliny also tells us expressly that it was to the sculptures with which the Mausoleum had been enriched by Scopas and his rival artists that that monument owed its place among the wonders of the world; and the language of Vitruvius is precisely to the same effect. The monument itself long remained to tell its own tale, and appears to have survived through many centuries. We have, indeed, reason to believe that it was still in existence, and retained at least some portion of its pristine magnificence, down to a late period of the Middle Ages. But from that time all trace of it had been lost; and only a few years ago the most celebrated of all sepulchres might well have been cited as one of the aptest illustrations of the vanity of all such monuments. The period of its destruction was unknown, but that destruction had been so complete that the very site was uncertain. Mr. Donaldson, who visited Halicarnassus early in this century, and examined its remains with the eye of an architect, could only say, 'Of the tomb of Mausolus there are no remains, and it is 'difficult even to fix its site.' Mr. Newton was the first to indicate its true position; but even after this, Lieutenant Spratt, who was employed by the Admiralty to make an accurate survey of the locality, assigned to it a different situation; while the learned German traveller, Dr. Ross, who visited Halicarnassus in 1844, differed again from the conclusions both of Mr. Spratt and Mr. Newton.

But though all trace of the building itself had thus been lost, there remained to us a brief description of it by Pliny, which, though extremely concise and obscure, was more detailed than most similar notices preserved to us by ancient writers, and contained some precise statements of numbers and dimensions which bore the appearance of being derived from an authentic source. Hence the restoration of this celebrated

building became one of those problems which has exercised the ingenuity of modern artists ever since the revival of a taste for classical architecture. 'What the squaring of the circle is to 'the young mathematician, or the perpetual motion to the young 'mechanician, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was to the young 'architect; and with the data at his disposal, this problem 'seemed as insoluble as the other two.' (*Fergusson*, p. 6.) Not less than forty or fifty of these designs have been published, and in one instance the author had the satisfaction of embodying his conception in a more tangible form than those of his rivals, —the steeple of St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, having been avowedly constructed by its architect as a correct restoration of the Mausoleum. Fortunately for our opinion of ancient taste, we are now able to assert with confidence that this unsightly edifice is *not* like that which was so much extolled by Vitruvius and Pliny. 'All these designs (observes Mr. Fergusson) had 'only one thing in common,—that they were all wrong,—some 'more, some less so, but none seizing what now turn out to be 'the main features of the design.'

But if there appeared no reasonable hope of arriving at any definite idea of the architectural features of the Mausoleum, there was still less prospect of our obtaining any conception of the sculptures with which it was once adorned, of those miracles of art to which it owed its chief celebrity. Even the subjects of them are not mentioned by any ancient writer, and we can only infer from the use of the word 'cælavit' by Pliny, in speaking of them, that they were principally works in relief rather than detached statues. At the same time, the fact that they were deemed worthy to occupy four of the most eminent sculptors of Greece during a period of several years, and that they were continued by them as a labour of love, and from a spirit of emulation, even after the death of the Queen Artemisia, is a sufficient proof that they must have been works of an extensive and varied character.

It was in this state of things that attention came to be directed to certain slabs of marble, adorned with bas-reliefs, which were built into the walls of the castle at Budrum—the Turkish town occupying the site of the ancient Halicarnassus — and which had been noticed by successive travellers, from Thevenot, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to Mr. W. J. Hamilton, in 1837. The beauty of these fragments, which had the appearance of having belonged to the frieze of some ancient edifice of the best period of Greek art, naturally led to the supposition that they had been taken either from the Mausoleum itself or from some of the other buildings with which the

ancient Halicarnassus was adorned, and had been removed from thence to the position they occupied in the castle by the Knights of St. John, who were known to have built the castle itself, during the period that they occupied Halicarnassus. Hence a wish was excited in this country, among persons interested in ancient art, that these marbles — the excellence of which had elicited high commendations from all who had seen them — could be rescued from a position where they were so difficult of access, and exposed to so many chances of total destruction. At length, in 1846, Sir Stratford Canning, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Porte for their removal; and the sculptures in question were safely conveyed to England, and placed in the British Museum. Here their great merit was at once acknowledged; and though considerable difference of opinion was expressed, both by English and foreign archæologists, as to the degree of their excellence, it was generally admitted that they had formed part of the frieze of the Mausoleum itself — a supposition now converted into certainty by the discovery of other slabs, of a similar style, and of corresponding dimensions, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mausoleum.

Public attention having been thus especially directed to the celebrated monument of Halicarnassus, and to the sculptures brought from it, a singular discovery was made, that three fragments of an ancient bas-relief which had long remained neglected in the villa of the Marchese di Negro, at Genoa, corresponded so precisely in their style, subject, and dimensions with those of Budrum as to leave no doubt that they had originally formed part of the same frieze. The fragments thus replaced were the more valuable, because they were in far better preservation than the greater part of those in the British Museum, which had suffered so much from atmospheric and other injuries as to throw great difficulties in the way of a correct appreciation of their artistic merit. But while the sculptures thus collected were admitted to be a valuable addition to the existing remains of pure Grecian art, they were, nevertheless, more calculated to increase than to diminish our regret for the disappearance of the far more numerous and important works which had given a world-wide celebrity to the tomb of Mausolus; and it was natural for the public — or at least that small portion of the public which takes an interest in archæological researches — to inquire whether there was not any possibility of recovering, by excavations on the spot, some more considerable remains of these celebrated sculptures, such as had rewarded the labours

of the excavators on the site of the temples at Bassæ and Ægina. The object was, in this instance, the more desirable, because the sculptures of the Mausoleum, from their well-ascertained date and known authorship, would be a peculiarly valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of Greek art, and especially of that later Athenian school, of which so few authentic examples are at present known to us.

The circumstances of the case were indeed not promising. The building itself had, as already mentioned, been so entirely destroyed that its very site was still a matter of question; and a curious document, brought to light by Mr. Newton, from a writer of the sixteenth century, containing an apparently authentic narrative of the final destruction of the monument, in the year 1522, while it afforded a striking testimony to the remains of its original magnificence down to so late a period, seemed to prove also that these valuable relics had been then annihilated. We shall have occasion to recur in the sequel to the interesting narrative to which we refer. On the other hand, the important results obtained by excavations systematically carried on upon other ancient sites, and especially the extraordinary series of accidents that led to the restoration of the beautiful Temple of Victory at Athens, might lend some colour to more sanguine speculations as to the result.

The first point was evidently to determine the actual site of the Mausoleum, and the merit of this discovery is unquestionably due to Mr. Newton. In a memoir, published in the 'Classical Museum,' in July 1847, he had already suggested the probability that the 'fragments of a superb Ionic edifice,' noticed by Mr. Donaldson, when he visited the ruins of Halicarnassus, were in fact the remains of the Mausoleum itself, 'lying *in situ*;' and he was confirmed in this view when he had himself an opportunity of visiting Budrum, in 1856. He then observed that not only were the fragments on this particular spot of the finest period of Greek architecture, but that no other remains of a similar character were to be observed in any other part of the ancient city. Hence, when he was enabled, by the liberality of Her Majesty's Government, to commence his excavations at Budrum, it was to this spot that his efforts were immediately directed, and they were soon rewarded by incontestable proofs that he was right in his original conjecture. His labours were continued until he had completely discovered the ground-plan of the long-lost edifice, and traced out the line of the *peribolus*, or surrounding wall of its sacred enclosure. Numerous architectural fragments, of a highly ornamental character, were also brought to light in the course of the excavations, together with

four additional slabs belonging to the same frieze as those already in the British Museum, and various fragments of other sculptures, some of them of a high order of merit, but almost all in a very mutilated condition.

We cannot attempt to follow in detail the progress of the excavations which were carried on by Mr. Newton upon the site of Halicarnassus, from the month of November 1856 till that of March 1858. Those readers who are desirous to trace his operations step by step, will find them related in the fullest detail by Mr. Newton, in his recently-published work. Our purpose in the following pages will be to examine how far the results of these long-continued labours, under the direction of so competent a scholar and archæologist as Mr. Newton, have fulfilled the hopes naturally entertained from them by the public, and have enabled us to form a more correct idea of the long-lost Mausoleum, both as regards its architectural design and the sculptures with which it was decorated. The results of these researches had been already partially communicated to the public in two official reports from Mr. Newton, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and laid before Parliament in March 1858 and August 1859, while many persons had become familiar with the most important of the sculptures discovered on the site, which have been for some time past deposited in the British Museum, though they are not yet accessible to the general public. But it was not until the appearance, in February last, of Mr. Newton's elaborate volume, that the whole results of the expedition were laid before the public, or that it became possible for archæologists to appreciate the full extent of the advantages actually gained, and the additional materials obtained towards a knowledge of ancient architecture and sculpture.

There is indeed much in the form in which these results are even now produced by Mr. Newton to which we are disposed to take exception. The costly mode and form of publication, which have the effect of rendering the work itself inaccessible to the great majority of those who would be interested in its contents, might be excused, if it were really required for the adequate illustration of the subject; but many of the plates by which the folio volume now before us has been swelled to its present bulk might undoubtedly have been spared, without omitting anything that possesses the smallest real interest. The perilous facility which the process of photography affords for reproducing every step in the progress of such labours as those in question, has misled Mr. Newton into laying before the public many trivial and uninteresting details, which contribute nothing

to our real knowledge, either of the Mausoleum itself or the sculptures with which it was adorned. But it is a still graver defect in this volume that, while it contains much that is useless and unnecessary, it omits a great part of that which the public would have reasonably expected to see, and which would have formed a valuable addition to our knowledge. We find two large views of a single squared stone, and two others of a stone coffin, of the most ordinary construction; but we remark, with equal surprise and regret, that while these details are thus elaborately represented, and no less than seven plates are devoted to the illustration of the mediæval castle of Budrum, the greater part of the sculptures which form the most important result of the expedition have been unaccountably omitted. Mr. Newton has indeed figured the four additional slabs of the frieze representing the battle with the Amazons, and belonging to the same series as those previously known; but he has omitted the beautiful fragments containing a chariot race, which certainly belonged to a distinct frieze, and one apparently of far superior execution. Still more remarkable is it that he should not have thought fit to present us with the statue of Mausolus himself, the crowning-point of the whole monument; nor with the noble fragments of the horses of his chariot; nor even the admirable torso of the warrior on horseback*, by far the finest work of art discovered in the course of the excavations. We should have been glad, also, to have seen the slabs from the castle at Budrum reproduced in connexion with those newly discovered: these important sculptures are not, so far as we are aware, published in any work generally accessible to the English reader†, and certainly would have occupied with advantage some of the space now devoted to the mediæval towers and modern bastions of the Castle of St. Peter's. It is much to be regretted that the results of Mr.

* This fragment is generally considered to be that of an Amazon on horseback; but an attentive consideration of the details of the figure has convinced us that Mr. Newton is right in describing it as that of a warrior. The *anaxyrides*, or close-fitting trousers, though frequently found in works of art representing Amazons, are equally applicable to any Asiatic warrior.

† Mr. Newton himself refers his readers to the engravings of these bas-reliefs, published by the Roman Institute of Archæological Correspondence, a most valuable series of publications, but unfortunately little known in this country. Considering that these marbles have now been in England for sixteen years, it is a disgrace to our artists and archæologists that they should not yet have been published in this country.

Newton's labours should be given to the public in a form so little calculated to render them generally useful; but it is still more lamentable that a work produced in so costly and elaborate a form should fail in presenting us with a complete and satisfactory view of the results actually obtained.

Before we proceed to inquire more particularly into the architectural questions connected with the Mausoleum, and to examine the elaborate attempt at its restoration by Mr. Pullan, it may perhaps be useful to some of our readers if we give a brief account of the history of Mausolus himself, and the circumstances that led to the erection of the monument which has given immortality to his name.

Mausolus, prince or despot of Caria, was the eldest of the three sons of Hecatomnus, a Carian by birth, who had for a considerable period ruled over that country with virtually sovereign power. Of the steps by which Hecatomnus attained to power we have no information at all, nor are we able to determine with any certainty the precise nature of his relations to the supreme authority of the king of Persia. But it is probable that he availed himself of the disturbed state of the Persian empire under the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon to establish himself in a position of practical independence, without venturing openly to disclaim allegiance to the Great King. The policy of Hecatomnus was carried on and developed by Mausolus, who succeeded him in the year 377 B.C., and, during a reign of twenty-four years, attained to an amount of wealth and power far exceeding that of any former ruler of Caria. He not only made himself master of all the Greek cities in that province, but of several of the neighbouring islands, together with portions of the adjoining provinces of Lydia and Ionia. Neither Hecatomnus nor Mausolus, however, ventured to assume the title of king: the Persian monarch was still emphatically 'the 'king' in the eyes of all the rulers of the Asiatic provinces, whether they exercised their authority nominally as his satraps or vicegerents, or openly defied it and assumed the position of independent potentates.

It was doubtless with a view to identify himself more completely with the Greek portion of his subjects, and to promote the extension of Hellenic influences in his dominions, that Mausolus determined to transfer his capital from Mylasa, the seat of government of Hecatomnus, to Halicarnassus, one of the most important of the Greek cities on the coast recently added to his dominions. Though both Hecatomnus and Mausolus were of Carian origin, and would consequently have been regarded by all persons of pure Greek descent as 'barbarians'

— a name applied by them without distinction to all races that did not speak Greek — there can be little doubt that Mausolus had received, in part at least, a Greek education: and he appears to have been a man of sufficient ability to appreciate the superiority of the Greek civilisation of his time to that of the Asiatic nations by which he was surrounded. The favourable situation of Halicarnassus for commercial purposes, and the excellence of its port, as well as the natural strength of its position, were the circumstances that determined him in the choice of his residence: but not content with these advantages, he called in the assistance of Greek architects to embellish the city with splendid public buildings, and render it in all respects a capital worthy of his dominions.

So considerable were the additions thus made to the old city of Halicarnassus, that it assumed in great measure a new aspect; and it is cited with especial commendation by Vitruvius as an example of a city laid out upon a general plan so as to take the fullest advantage of the natural resources of the locality. The situation had something of the form of a theatre, formed by gentle hills rising round an oval basin in the centre, which constituted the principal port. On the low ground near the port was placed the Agora or Forum, while a broad street was carried round the curve, about half way up, so as to resemble the *præcinctio* of a theatre. In the middle of this street stood the Mausoleum, 'a building constructed in so magnificent a 'manner as to be considered one of the seven wonders of the 'world.' On the summit of the citadel, which rose midway along the curve, stood a temple of Mars, while the two horns or extremities were respectively marked by conspicuous edifices — that on the right by the temple of Venus and Mercury, and that on the left by the royal palace, which was so placed as entirely to command a secret port, that served as the station of the royal fleet.*

It will be observed, that in the passage just cited from Vitruvius the Mausoleum is noticed as if it formed part of the original design of Mausolus himself. There would have been nothing unsuited to the habits of Oriental thought in such a provision for his own monument, and it is not improbable that its position may have been already determined by himself, with reference to the general plan of the city. But the general testimony of ancient authors distinctly ascribes its construction to his widow, Artemisia, who succeeded him on the throne of Caria.

* Vitruvius, lib. ii. c. 8.

Artemisia was the second princess of the name who figures in the history of Caria. The exploits of the first, who commanded the contingent of Halicarnassus in the great expedition of Xerxes, will be familiar to most of our readers from the spirited narrative of them given by Herodotus. It was the energy and courage displayed by her at the battle of Salamis that called forth the exclamation from Xerxes himself, that 'his 'men had become women, and his women men.' The second Artemisia, who was very probably descended from her namesake, though we have no positive evidence of the fact, appears to have possessed much of the same masculine vigour of character. She was the daughter of Hecatomnus, and married — according to a custom prevalent in many Oriental countries, though wholly opposed to Greek ideas — to her brother, Mausolus, whom she succeeded on the throne of Caria. Her reign only lasted two years, during which she gave many proofs of her aptitude for command, and ruled over the dominions which she inherited from her husband with a strong and vigorous hand. The Rhodians having attempted to discard her authority, and emancipate themselves from the dependent condition to which they had been reduced by Mausolus, soon found that they had mistaken the character of the adversary with whom they had to deal, and were speedily defeated and reduced to submission.

But it is not to her military prowess, or to the vigour of her administration, that Artemisia owes her place in history. 'The 'name of the Carian princess' (observes Mr. Newton) 'is 'associated for ever with the world-famous monument by which 'she has commemorated her husband's renown and her own 'sorrow.' Well were it, if the same lofty conception and liberal application of the noblest arts to monuments dedicated to the memory of the illustrious dead were to be met with in the structures of our own age!

'In the obsequies of Mausolus (says Mr. Newton) the refinement of Hellenic culture was happily employed in giving scope and meaning to Asiatic magnificence, and in converting an ephemeral and sumptuous pageant into an abiding monument of beauty.

'At the funeral games, four renowned rhetoricians contended for prizes in oratory and poetry, the theme being an eulogium on the departed prince. In this competition Theodectes obtained the prize for his tragedy "Mausolus," and Theopompus vanquished his master in rhetoric, Isocrates. It is to be regretted that no fragments of the prize compositions have been preserved to us, as they would probably throw light on the history of the Carian dynasty, and perhaps on the motive of the sculptures of the Mausoleum.

'While rhetoric and poetry were thus invited to celebrate the

memory of Mausolus in fleeting words, the genius of the most famous architects and sculptors of the day was employed in the construction of his tomb. This monument was of the class called at a later period *Heroon*, but surpassing in beauty of design and sumptuousness of material all similar monuments in the ancient world. The architects were Satyrus and Pythius, who composed a treatise on the structure of the edifice, cited by Vitruvius, but which has unfortunately not been preserved. We learn from Pliny that the tomb was a peristyle building, surmounted by a pyramid, on the summit of which was a chariot group in marble. The sculptural decorations were chiefly executed by four renowned artists, Scopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, and Timotheus; a fifth sculptor, who seems to be the same as Pythius, the architect of the tomb, made the chariot group on the summit. The material was Parian marble of the finest quality. In the descriptions of this monument which have been handed down to us, its extreme costliness is especially dwelt upon, a statement which has been amply borne out by the discovery of its remains *in situ*.

'The extreme grief of Artemisia for the loss of her husband is said to have been the cause of her death, which took place B.C. 351. Her short reign of two years did not enable her to see the completion of the magnificent structure which she had commenced, but the artists who had been employed continued their work after her death till it was finished; and, if we are to believe Pliny, this was a labour of love, carried out with no other reward than the fame it won them.' (P. 56.)

There can be no doubt that a monument adorned with such splendid works of art would be preserved with jealous care as long as any respect remained for the arts of ancient Greece. Lucian, writing in the second century of our era, speaks of it as an object which the Halicarnassians took a pride and pleasure in showing to strangers; and we have no reason to suppose that at this time it was in any degree shorn of its original magnificence. Again, in the latter part of the fourth century, Gregory of Nazianzus alludes to the Mausoleum in terms from which it may fairly be inferred that up to that period it still remained uninjured. The subsequent notices are less satisfactory; for though it is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, and by Eustathius as late as the twelfth, as a monument still subsisting, we are hardly entitled to assume from mere passing notices in writers so vague and inaccurate as the later Byzantine compilers, that it still preserved its integrity. Mr. Newton supposes it to have been first reduced to a ruined condition by an earthquake; and the circumstances attending the discovery of the fragments belonging to the upper part of the building lend much probability to this conjecture.

But at whatever time the building first fell into decay, we

learn with certainty that it had passed into a state of complete ruin before the year 1472, when a Venetian traveller, who visited the site in company with the expedition of Pietro Mocenigo, speaks of having seen some vestiges ('*vestigia* '*quædam*') of this celebrated monument among the ruins of the city. Halicarnassus had at that time been for seventy years in the possession of the Knights of St. John, together with the adjoining island of Rhodes; and it is certain that they had made use of the materials furnished to their hands by the ruins of the ancient city, including perhaps those of the Mausoleum itself, for the construction of the strong castle with which they fortified the rocky peninsula that commands the harbour. But notwithstanding all these chances of destruction, we learn from a curious account accidentally preserved to us, that even in the beginning of the 16th century the 'vestiges' still subsisting of the Mausoleum were far more considerable than the expression of the Venetian traveller would have led us to suppose. The narrative in question, which has been brought to light by the industry of Mr. Newton, is so curious that we give it entire: —

'In the year 1522, when Sultan Solyman was preparing to attack Rhodes, the Grand Master, knowing the importance of the castle of St. Peter, and being aware that the Turks would seize it easily at the first assault, sent some knights thither to repair the fortress and make all due preparations to resist the enemy. Among the number of those sent was the Commander de la Tourette, a native of Lyons, who was afterwards present at the taking of Rhodes, and came to France, where he related what I am now about to narrate, to M. d'Alechamps, a person sufficiently known by his learned writings, whose name I mention here only in order to make known my authority for so singular a story.

'When these knights had arrived at Masy (Budrum), they at once commenced fortifying the castle; and looking about for stones wherewith to make lime, found none more suitable or more easily accessible than certain steps of white marble, which rose in the form of a terrace in the midst of a level plain near the port, where had formerly been the great Place of Halicarnassus. They therefore pulled down and took away these marble steps, and finding the stone good, proceeded, after having destroyed the little masonry remaining above-ground, to dig lower down in the hope of finding more. In this attempt they had great success; for in a short time they perceived that the deeper they went the more the structure was enlarged at its base, supplying them not only with stone for making lime, but also for building. After four or five days, having laid bare a great space one afternoon, they saw an opening as into a cellar. Taking a candle, they let themselves down through this opening, and found that it led into a fine large square hall, ornamented all round

with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, friezes, and cornices engraved and sculptured in half-relief. The space between the columns was lined with slabs and bands of marbles of different colours, ornamented with mouldings and sculptures, in harmony with the rest of the work, and inserted in the white ground of the wall, which was all covered with histories and battle-scenes sculptured in relief. Having at first admired these works and entertained their fancy with the singularity of the sculptures, they ultimately pulled it to pieces and broke it up, in order to apply it to the same purpose as the rest. Besides this hall they found afterwards a very low door, which led into another apartment, serving as a kind of antechamber, where was a sepulchre with its vase and helmet of white marble, very beautiful and of marvellous lustre. This sepulchre, for want of time they did not open, the retreat having already sounded. Having returned there the day after, they found the tomb opened and the earth all round strewn with fragments of cloth of gold and spangles of the same metal, which made them suppose that the pirates, who at this time swarmed along the coast, having had some inkling of what had been discovered, had visited the place during the night and had removed the lid of the sepulchre. It is supposed that they discovered in it much treasure. It was thus that this magnificent tomb, which ranked among the wonders of the world, after having escaped the fury of the barbarians, and remained standing for the space of 2247 years, was discovered and destroyed to repair the Castle of St. Peter, by the Knights of Rhodes, who immediately after this were driven completely out of Asia by the Turks.' *

It must be confessed that this narrative was not calculated to raise our expectations of the probability of making important discoveries by excavations on the site of the Mausoleum; and if we are at first disposed to feel disappointed with the result of Mr. Newton's researches, we may perhaps, on second thoughts, feel grateful that even so much has been rescued from destruction. The architectural decorations have indeed disappeared to even a greater degree than might have been anticipated; but we have nevertheless obtained some important materials for the restoration of the edifice; while the sculptural remains that have been recovered, few and mutilated as they unquestionably are, still serve to give us some notion of the artistic treasures that are lost to us for ever.

It is unquestionably the fact, and is indeed admitted on all hands, that the architectural *data* obtained by the researches of Mr. Newton would not in themselves have been sufficient to convey to us any idea of the celebrated edifice to which they belong; and that we must still have recourse in the first

* Guichard, 'Funérailles des Romains, Grecs, &c.' Lyon: 1581. We cite from Mr. Newton's translation, with some slight alterations.

instance to the description of the Mausoleum preserved to us by Pliny:—'Had not this description been extant (says Mr. 'Pullan), anything like a correct restoration would have been 'an impossibility, as neither the character of the design, nor 'the magnitude of the work, could have been inferred from the 'existing remains' (p. 159.). It is important to bear in mind, in considering the attempts that have been recently made to reproduce the original building, that they must still be based principally upon the same authority with those which have preceded them.

The celebrated passage of Pliny, which has so long exercised the ingenuity of commentators and architects, is to the following effect:—

'Scopas had as rivals in the same age, Bryaxis, and Timotheus, and Leochares, who should be mentioned together, because they were equally employed in decorating the Mausoleum with sculpture: this was a sepulchre erected by his wife Artemisia to Mausolus, King of Caria, who died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad. It was mainly owing to the artists just mentioned that this work came to be reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. It extends on the north and south sixty-three feet, but is shorter on the two fronts. The whole circumference is four hundred and eleven feet. It is raised in height twenty-five cubits, and is surrounded by thirty-six columns. This circuit is called the Pteron. The sculptures on the east side were by Scopas, on the north by Bryaxis, on the south by Timotheus, and on the west by Leochares. Before they had finished their work the queen died; but they did not cease from their labours until the work was completed, regarding it as a monument both of their own fame and of art. And to this day it is disputed which of their productions is of the greatest merit. A fifth artist was also joined to them; for above the Pteron there was a pyramid, equal in height to the lower part, contracting by twenty-four steps to a summit like that of a *meta*. At the top of all was a chariot with four horses, in marble, the work of Pythius: the addition of this completes the height of the whole work to one hundred and forty feet.' (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 4.)

A very slight consideration of this passage is sufficient to show that it appears to involve inconsistencies and difficulties from which it is impossible to extricate ourselves without explanation from some other source. How, for instance, could a building which was only 63 ft. in length, and shorter on the other sides, have a circumference of 411 ft.? and, if the height of 25 cubits (37½ ft.) be applied to the Pteron, and the same height be allowed for the pyramid above it (which seems the most natural construction of Pliny's words), how are we to make up the whole height of 140 ft.? Whether or not Pliny himself had any distinct conception of the building which he

undertook to describe, may well be doubted; but at all events it is certain that his description, taken by itself, is drawn up in such a form as to be utterly unintelligible to future generations. We cannot indeed wonder that, while they had no other assistance to guide them, the speculations of architects should have diverged so widely from one another, and from what we now know to be the truth.

The only other definite statement transmitted to us from antiquity was calculated to perplex the matter still more. Hyginus, a writer of little authority, enumerates among the seven wonders of the world, the monument of King Mausolus 'built of Parian marble, 80 feet in height and 1340 feet in 'circumference.' Vitruvius, though he alludes to a work describing the Mausoleum by the two architects Satyrus and Pythius, in a manner which would seem to imply that it was still extant in his day, has unfortunately left us nothing that can contribute to our knowledge of its architectural design. Lucian and Pausanias furnish nothing but vague admiration of its general splendour. The only other hint concerning it is found in Martial, who speaks of 'the Mausoleum hanging in 'the vacant air,'* a remarkable expression, which undoubtedly points to some corresponding peculiarity in the construction of the monument.

When we compare the two attempts that have been recently made to restore the Mausoleum, in accordance with the results obtained by the late excavations—the one by Mr. Pullan, the architect who accompanied the expedition, embodied in the plates to Mr. Newton's work, and to which Mr. Newton has given the sanction of his high authority†; the other subsequently put forward by Mr. Fergusson, in a separate publication, the first impression undoubtedly must be, that if it is still possible for architects to come to conclusions so widely different, there has been but little positive gain from the recent researches on the spot. And yet this conclusion would be greatly exaggerated. We unquestionably do not possess adequate materials for such a restoration as every one would desire to see—a complete reproduction of the original building, based on authentic and satisfactory evidence: but we have

* 'Aëre nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea.' Lib. i. Epigr. 1.

† It is but just to add that the merit or demerit of this design is due in great part to Lieutenant Smith, who, as stated by Mr. Pullan himself (p. 159.), had previously determined the general character of the edifice, and especially the form of the pyramid. His restoration is appended to his official report, published among the papers presented to Parliament.

gained a certain amount of positive facts, which are the necessary conditions of the solution of the problem. And, what is perhaps the most important of all, we have obtained conclusive evidence, from the agreement of some of the ascertained dimensions of the building with those stated by Pliny, that the description given by that author, obscure and perplexing as it may be, is nevertheless derived from some authentic source; and that, while attempting to explain and reconcile his statements, we are not at liberty to reject them as worthless, or arbitrarily to alter his numbers in accordance with any preconceived hypothesis.

It is not difficult to understand, from what we know of the manner in which Pliny composed the vast miscellaneous compilation to which he gave the name of 'Natural History,' how he should have left us a description so confused and unintelligible, but at the same time containing so much that was valuable. His reading was enormously extensive, but at the same time hasty and desultory; he was in the habit, as we learn from a well-known letter of his nephew, of making notes and extracts from all that he read, and this at all possible times, even during meals or on a journey. The results of this process are apparent throughout his large and laborious work, into which the contents of his note-books have been frequently discharged, with scarcely any attempt at method or arrangement. Nowhere is this more strikingly the case than in that portion of his work which relates to the history of art; a subject of which he had evidently no real knowledge, but concerning which he had read a number of Greek authors, whose statements and opinions he has thrown together into one confused mass, without attempting to criticise their assertions or reconcile their discrepancies. Among these authors it is not improbable that he may have made use of the work on the Mausoleum by Satyrus and Pythius, already noticed as referred to by Vitruvius,—or rather perhaps some more compendious abridgment, taken in the first instance from that original work*,—and may have jotted down from thence some accurate statements of dimensions, without troubling himself either to form a clear idea in his own mind of the building he was describing, or to transmit any intelligible conception of it to his readers. 'Now that we have the means of veri-

* Mr. Newton supposes him to have made use of the original work; but this seems to us scarcely probable, as no notice of it is found in the list of authorities given by Pliny himself for the contents of each book.

'fying them (remarks Mr. Fergusson), these figures are ten 'times more valuable than the most vivid description of the 'general appearance of the building would be to us: but it is 'only now that we feel this.'

Hence it will be found that, widely as the restorations proposed by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson differ in their general effect, they still possess many points in common; and the field of discussion between them is materially narrowed, as compared with the wide gulf of divergence that separates them from all previous designs.

The most important of the points which may now be considered as settled by the recent discoveries are the following:—

1. The determination of the ground plan of the building, by the extent of the foundations, which were found to occupy a quadrangular area of 127 feet in length by 108 in breadth. Throughout this extent the rock had been excavated to a depth varying from 4 to 15 feet, in order to receive the massive blocks of greenstone which had formed the foundations of the edifice. No doubt can therefore be entertained as to this being the actual area occupied by the base of the Mausoleum.

2. The discovery of portions of the chariot group which crowned the whole edifice, sufficient to enable us to determine with tolerable certainty that its height was about 13 or 14 feet.

3. The ascertaining the true dimensions and form of the pyramid that formed the upper portion of the building. Numerous blocks were found, which obviously formed part of the steps of which this was composed, and as the number of these is known to us from Pliny, it is not difficult to obtain a correct knowledge of the general form and character of the pyramid thus constituted. The result is remarkably different from that adopted by Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Falkener, in their recent attempts at the restoration of the Mausoleum,—the last which had been made previous to the late discoveries. Both these eminent architects had been misled by Pliny's expression of the pyramid contracting 'in metæ cacumen'—to give it an elevation out of all proportion to its breadth. The unsightly effect thus produced has been now clearly shown to have formed no part of the original design. Both Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson, though differing as to the precise dimensions, concur in the general form of the pyramid.

4. The various architectural fragments discovered on the spot have been sufficient to enable us to restore the whole 'order' of the Pteron, or second story of the building, with very

tolerable certainty; and it is found that the result accords as nearly as possible with the 25 cubits, or 37½ ft., assigned by Pliny to that portion of the edifice. This remarkable coincidence, while it materially confirms our faith in the accuracy of that author's numerical statements, supplies valuable assistance towards determining the dimensions of the remaining portions.

5. It appears to result beyond a doubt from the existing evidence, that the Pteron, which, as we learn from Pliny, was surrounded by 36 columns, was simply peripteral — i. e. that the columns were ranged in a single row, and that there were 11 of them on the longer faces, and 9 on the shorter. In this respect both the restorations of Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson agree; and the latter author says, 'No other arrangement 'seems possible with the evidence now before us.' This result is the more remarkable, as both Mr. Cockerell's and Mr. Falkener's attempts at restoration were based principally upon the assumption of the *dipteral* arrangement of the colonnade of the Pteron; a 'discovery' upon which the latter writer especially dwells with much complacency. Mr. Newton also (writing in 1847), censures 'the inartificial scheme' of those previous restorers who made Pliny's 36 columns surround a solid structure in a single row. Yet we are now compelled to admit that this 'inartificial scheme' was that really adopted in the building which was so long the admiration of the world.

6. It may be considered as clearly resulting from the architectural *data* now before us, that the length of 63 ft. given by Pliny, can refer only to the *cella*, or interior solid structure within the Pteron, analogous to the *cella* of a temple. This had been already suggested long before by Colonel Leake, with that intuitive perception which so rarely failed him in anything connected with Greek antiquities.

7. The measurement of 411 feet given by Pliny for 'the 'whole circuit' of the building is found to correspond so well with the dimensions obtained from recent researches, as to leave no doubt of its correctness, though it may still be a question at what precise point it was measured. On the other hand, the assertion of Hyginus, that the whole circumference was 1340 ft., a statement evidently preposterous if applied to the monument itself, obtains a reasonable explanation if supposed to refer to the *peribolus* or outer enclosure, the existence of which has been ascertained by Mr. Newton's researches.

Such, then, being the positive *data* that may be considered as fairly established by the evidence now before us, and adopted as the basis of their attempted restorations alike by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Fergusson, it is not a little curious to see

how widely their designs have diverged, while keeping within the limits thus prescribed to them. Mr. Pullan has produced a very ugly building, of which the leading characteristic is massive solidity. Mr. Fergusson presents us with a design of a richly ornate character, but at the same time so light and elegant, that there is something of a *modern* aspect about it; and we involuntarily hesitate to accept it, as scarcely suitable to the gravity of a sepulchral monument. We feel disposed to question whether the latter design does not owe too much to the inventive genius and fertile imagination of its author; but when we turn to its more prosaic competitor, we seek in vain for any evidence of that genius and imagination which are never wanting in the higher specimens of Greek art. To sum up our impressions in one word: we do not feel satisfied that Mr. Fergusson has succeeded in reproducing the Mausoleum as it was; but we feel satisfied that Mr. Pullan has not. Nothing short of positive and irresistible evidence would induce us to accept Mr. Pullan's tame and spiritless restoration as a true representation of the edifice so renowned in antiquity for its elaborate magnificence. And so far from its possessing this conclusive evidence in its favour, we think it will be found, upon examination, that it fails to satisfy almost all the tests by which such a design must be tried; and we shall briefly state the reasons which render it impossible for us to accept it as a satisfactory solution.

Mr. Newton has justly remarked that, 'from the general 'analogy of Greek art, it may be assumed that the chariot group 'which crowned the apex of the Mausoleum was the key to the 'whole design.' It is therefore especially fortunate that sufficient fragments of this group have been preserved to determine its dimensions with tolerable accuracy. But this group being of such paramount importance to the whole design, it was evidently of the utmost consequence to determine in what manner it was placed on the pyramid, and how it was connected with it. Both Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton have assumed, without a word of explanation, or even hinting at the possibility of another arrangement, that the pyramid itself served as the base or pedestal on which stood the chariot group: and Mr. Pullan has further assumed, without giving any reasons at all for so remarkable an hypothesis, that the platform which supported the chariot was considerably larger than was necessarily required for the purpose, so as to leave 'a margin' of 2 feet 11½ inches at each end, and one of 1 foot 9 inches on each side. A more infelicitous arrangement, as it appears to us, could not possibly be devised. Apart from the consideration that in all other cases of

a nearly similar character with which we are acquainted, such a group or statue is raised upon a pedestal of its own, distinct from the building which it crowns, we think that a glance at Mr. Pullan's restoration will be sufficient to convince our readers of the absolute necessity of such an addition. In the particular case before us, moreover, it has the further advantage of giving something like an intelligible explanation of Pliny's expression 'in metæ cacumen se contrahens;' a phrase utterly incomprehensible if applied to such a pyramid as that which surmounts Mr. Pullan's edifice, without any special pedestal to support the quadriga.

But if the chariot and horses were to be placed on the top step or platform of the pyramid at all — an arrangement which we must regard as absolutely inadmissible — it would have been at least essential to have given them what effect was attainable in so disadvantageous a position by bringing them as near as possible to the edge of the platform on which they stood. But instead of doing this, Mr. Pullan has aggravated the difficulty by unnecessarily introducing the wide 'margin' already referred to, without considering the effect which this must necessarily produce upon the appearance of the group when seen from below. Awkward and unsightly as appears their position in Mr. Pullan's design, where the whole building is represented in strict elevation, it would have been ten times worse when viewed in perspective, as it must necessarily have been from any distance at which it was possible to appreciate the merit of the sculptures. From any such point of view the 'margin' so gratuitously left by Mr. Pullan would have hidden from sight the hoofs and part of the legs of the horses, as well as a portion of the wheels of the chariot, and thus have marred the effect of the whole group. Mr. Fergusson justly remarks that 'anywhere, but more especially at such a 'height as this, a sculptor would bring the hoofs as near to the 'plinth as possible:' and both in Mr. Cockerell's and Mr. Falkener's designs, though the more taper form of the pyramid adopted by them rendered it much better adapted to serve as a base for the chariot group, they have thought it necessary, in order to give sufficient effect to this group, to make it project sensibly beyond the pedestal which supports it.

The next portion of the building to be considered is the pyramid, on which the quadriga was elevated, and which, as Mr. Pullan himself remarks, is the key to the whole building. Now we are distinctly told by Pliny that this pyramid was equal in height to the part of the building that supported it, i. e. to the Pteron, of which the elevation is now ascertained

beyond any reasonable doubt. But when Mr. Pullan comes to construct his pyramid, he interprets these words of Pliny to mean that the pyramid *with the addition of the quadriga* was equal in height to the Pteron,—a construction which appears to us at variance with the whole tenor of the description. For Pliny, after describing the Pteron, says that there was 'a pyramid above it of equal elevation, contracting to a summit like a '*meta*,' and then adds,—'On the summit is a quadriga of marble, '*the addition of which* makes the whole height amount to '140 feet.' It seems to us perfectly clear that Pliny here mentions three distinct portions of the monument, and that it is the pyramid *without* the quadriga which he describes as equal in height to the Pteron. And we are confirmed in this view by finding that both Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Falkener have understood the words of Pliny in this sense; the only one, we are convinced, that an unprejudiced scholar would naturally attach to them. But Mr. Pullan found himself in this difficulty: the portions of the steps which had been found were sufficient to determine the angle of inclination, and therefore the general form of the pyramid; and it thus became impossible to give it an elevation equal to that of the Pteron, without departing from the statement of Pliny concerning the number of the steps and increasing the base beyond what the known area of the building would admit of. The exact height of the pyramid itself, as deduced from the steps, cannot indeed be determined, but it may be fixed within narrow limits *; and must undoubtedly fall considerably short of the 25 cubits required by Pliny's description. Hence Mr. Pullan is obliged to make up the deficiency by supposing the quadriga to be included, in direct opposition to the words of Pliny; while the solution of the difficulty is found by Mr. Fergusson in the much more plausible suggestion that the elevation given by Pliny includes not only the steps of the pyramid, but the pedestal on its summit, the 'metæ 'cacumen' noticed in his own words. Assuming such a pedestal to have been a necessary addition to the pyramid — as all the recent restorers, with the exception of Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton, have agreed in thinking it,—Mr. Fergusson's explanation of the words is so natural that we should have no hesitation in accepting it, even if we were not driven to it by the necessities of the case.

In the attempt to reconstruct an edifice like that before us, one part of the design is so necessarily dependent upon the

* Mr. Pullan fixes it at 24 feet 6 inches; Mr. Fergusson approximately at 26 feet.

other, that an error committed in any one portion must almost of necessity affect the whole. And thus we find that the most glaring and obvious objection to Mr. Pullan's restoration — the excessive height of the basement, as compared with the rest of the building — results in great measure from those already adverted to. Having no pedestal to support the quadriga, he was obliged to include the quadriga itself with the pyramid in the 25 cubits assigned to this portion of the building, and the height of the Pteron or second story being also known to be 25 cubits, the two together gave only 50 cubits or 75 feet. Now we learn from Pliny that the total height of the building, including the quadriga on its summit, was no less than 140 feet, and there thus remain 65 feet unaccounted for, the whole of which is therefore at once assigned by Mr. Pullan to the basement of the edifice.

Mr. Newton himself admits that this basement 'is the part of 'Mr. Pullan's restoration least substantiated by the evidence of 'remains found *in situ*,' and that 'its height is arbitrarily deter-'mined on the authority of Pliny's text.' But had he not previously departed from the plain meaning of Pliny's text by including the height of the quadriga in that of the pyramid, instead of reckoning it separately, he would have brought down the base of the pyramid to a level 13 or 14 feet lower, and therefore diminished by a corresponding amount the excessive height of the basement. The advantage gained by such a change in the relative proportions of the two stories of which the building was composed, would have done much towards removing the main objection to the proposed restoration.

But it is not only to the disproportionate height of the basement story in Mr. Pullan's design that we are disposed to object. We look in vain for any authority for the massive simplicity which he has chosen to assume as the characteristic of this part of the edifice. It is certainly not to be found in Pliny, who does not mention the basement at all, so that its very existence is only assumed as a necessary inference from his other numerical statements. It is equally little substantiated by the evidence of existing remains, from which we learn only that the core or internal structure was constructed of masses of green ragstone, great quantities of which had been removed to the Castle of Budrum. But of the marble casing with which this internal masonry was covered, not a vestige remains; and Mr. Newton himself suggests that it may probably have been removed at a comparatively early period of the Middle Ages. If so, who knows what amount of architectural and sculptural decoration may not have been lavished on this part of the

building? Is it probable that all the treasures of art with which the Mausoleum was adorned were removed to a height of more than fifty feet from the ground, and that the whole of the building below that level presented nothing but a bare unsightly wall? Mr. Falkener, in his attempted restoration of the Mausoleum in 1851, defends the introduction of an elevated basement (though far less lofty than that suggested by Mr. Pullan) by observing that 'a lofty basement does not necessarily imply 'a bare plain wall, without the opportunity of embellishment. 'On the contrary (he says), I conceive that the basement was 'the most richly decorated part of the structure, and that it was 'to the sculptures of this part of the monument that the praises 'of Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian are directed.'* Unfortunately this valuable hint has been altogether lost upon Mr. Pullan, who has been content to go on putting together the edifice 'stone by stone,' even though the greater part of the stones had undoubtedly disappeared, and who has tacitly assumed that what has not been found could never have existed.

There is undoubtedly no part of the building concerning which we are so much in the dark as this basement or lower story. But when we have so little information to guide us it seems all the more necessary to avail ourselves of the little that we possess. Yet Mr. Pullan has unaccountably discarded the only evidence that remains to us with regard to the interior of this portion of the building, in the curious narrative already cited from Guichard. 'His account of the remains (as Mr. Fer-'gusson observes), and of the discovery of the chamber in the 'basement, is so clear, so circumstantial, and in every respect so 'probable, that there does not seem any reason to doubt that it 'was substantially correct, and no restoration can be accepted 'which does not admit of or explain its details.' (P. 33.) Even if we are not prepared to place too implicit faith in this account, transmitted to us only at third hand, we must remember that it is the only authority we have upon the subject, and is certainly entitled to consideration in the absence of all evidence against it. But it is summarily dismissed both by Mr. Pullan and Mr. Newton, because no traces have been found of this internal decoration, although we learn from the narrative itself that they were broken to pieces and destroyed by the very persons that found them, in order to burn them for lime. Mr. Pullan has in consequence filled up the interior of his building with two plain vaulted chambers (one on each story), for which he has no authority at all, except an assumed analogy with a

* Museum of Classical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 179.

tomb called the Koul Oba, near Kertch, which is supposed to be the burialplace of one of the Greek kings of the Bosphorus, and a still more far-fetched analogy with the anomalous buildings known as Nur-hags in Sardinia, which there is no reason to believe to be of Greek origin at all.

There is one other point in Mr. Pullan's restoration to which we feel it necessary to advert. Our readers will remember that Pliny gives 63 feet as the length of the building (that is, as has been already shown, of the *cella* within the Pteron), and adds that it was 'shorter on the fronts.' Mr. Pullan arrives at the remarkable conclusion that it was *shorter by one foot!* the width being, according to his arrangement, just 62 feet. We certainly cannot believe that so trifling a difference could have been noticed by Pliny in the manner referred to: but still less can we believe that any Greek architect would have constructed an edifice of such singular proportions, departing from the regularity of a perfect square without even approximating to the symmetry of any other proportion. Mr. Fergusson's design, in which the width of the *cella*, as determined from other arguments, amounts to 52 feet 6 inches (or in the ratio of 5 to 6 with the length), appears to us much more in accordance with the expression of Pliny, as well as with the proportions usual in Greek architecture.

We cannot enter further into the details of Mr. Pullan's attempted restoration. We have endeavoured to show that he has failed in the problem that he has proposed to himself, and that his design, notwithstanding the advantages which he possessed over all his predecessors, must be consigned to the same limbo with those of Mr. Falkener and Mr. Cockerell, of MM. Caylus and Quatremère de Quincy. Our limits will not allow us to enter into an equally detailed examination of the more elaborate and ingenious design of Mr. Fergusson; but we have already expressed our conviction that in several leading points he has seized the true meaning of Pliny's description, and the true proportions of the edifice, more successfully than Mr. Pullan. If we do not feel satisfied that he has succeeded altogether in solving the problem that has so long exercised the ingenuity of architects, it is but just to add that we do not believe the solution of that problem to be possible, with the means at our command. Much has undoubtedly been gained by the recent researches, but much still remains, and in all probability must ever remain, uncertain or unknown. We may perhaps eventually arrive at some agreement as to the general architectural character and principal dimensions of the celebrated Mausoleum, but we shall never learn to know that

building as we know the Parthenon or the Erechtheum; or be able to restore it in all its completeness, as we can do with the temples at Bassæ or Ægina.

There is, however, one part of Mr. Fergusson's restoration to which we cannot omit to advert, because we believe it to involve a principle of the most vital importance in Greek architecture, and one which contains the key to the true solution of all such problems as the one before us. The principle to which we refer is the system of definite proportions. It had long been suspected that some such principle had been adopted by Greek architects; but it is only recently that sufficient materials have been collected to prove the singular completeness and accuracy with which it was carried out by them. In those buildings with which we are fully acquainted in detail, such as the Parthenon, the Temple at Bassæ, and that at Ægina, it has been established by the most elaborate investigation that 'every part was proportioned to those parts in juxtaposition or 'analogy to it in some such ratio as 3 to 4, 4 to 5, 5 to 6, and 'so on,— not by accident, but by careful study, and the whole 'design was evolved from a *nexus* of proportions as ingenious 'in themselves as they were harmonious in their result.' (*Fergusson*, p. 17.)

To give only a few instances, in explanation of the system pursued. In the Parthenon, of which the front measures precisely 100 Greek feet, the flank bears to the front a ratio of 9 to 4, while the total height of the building is just seven-twelfths of the breadth, and two-sevenths of its length. In the temple at Bassæ, again, the length is to the breadth as 5 to 2; while the height bears to the breadth the proportion of 3 to 4. Of this height the columns form nearly half, bearing to the remainder of the total elevation the proportion of 6 to 7.

Mr. Fergusson has been the first to apply this doctrine of definite proportions to the restoration of the Mausoleum; and the results are in many cases so satisfactory as to leave little doubt of the fact that in this case also the whole building was conceived according to one symmetrical plan, every part of which bore a definite proportion to the others. A few of the leading dimensions, indeed, lend themselves so readily to this scheme, as almost of themselves to suggest it. Thus the total length of the building, measured along the line of foundations, is, according to Mr. Newton, 127 English feet, or within a small fraction of 126 *Greek* feet; and it strikes us at once that this is just double of the 63 feet given by Pliny (who would undoubtedly use Greek feet in his statements) as the length of the *cella*. But again, if we assume 14 feet as the height of

the chariot group, a very probable estimate — Mr. Newton makes it 13 feet 3 inches, but it is evident that in such a case no great accuracy can be attained — we find that, deducting this from the 140 feet given by Pliny as the total height, there remain just 126 feet for the height of the building itself: that is to say, its height was exactly equal to its extreme length. Again, the dimensions deduced by excavation for the foundation or ground plan of the building are, according to Mr. Newton's statement, 127 feet by 108; but there appears to be some doubt as to the accuracy of these measurements, and Mr. Fergusson has pointed out that if the latter dimension be taken at 106·31 English, or 105 Greek, feet, this would give exactly the ratio of 5 to 6 for the proportion of the width to the length of the whole edifice. Now this is precisely the same proportion as Mr. Fergusson deduces from independent considerations for the length and breadth of the *cella*, a proportion which certainly agrees very well with Pliny's expression that it was 'brevius a frontibus.'

It is by following out the principle thus indicated, and which has been already found to prevail in other well-known examples of Greek architecture, that Mr. Fergusson has produced a scheme for the restoration of the Mausoleum far exceeding in symmetry and beauty of proportions any of those previously put forth. And although much ingenuity is required in putting together the various parts of an edifice so peculiar in its character as that with which we have here to deal, and it is probable that many similar attempts may hereafter be made with more or less success, we feel convinced that Mr. Fergusson has been the first to strike out the true path of discovery, and that a skilful application of the system of definite proportions will be found the only clue to the restoration of the long-perished Mausoleum.

Undoubtedly the part of Mr. Fergusson's design that least carries conviction to our minds is the manner in which he has dealt with the basement or lower story of the building. This is indeed the main difficulty in any restoration, for, in truth, we know absolutely nothing concerning it. But the analogy of other monuments of a later date than the Mausoleum, and which we may reasonably suppose to have been in some measure designed as imitations of it, would certainly lead us to suppose that the basement had a more solid and massive character than that suggested by Mr. Fergusson. This does not, as already pointed out, by any means exclude the introduction of the richest ornament; and especially of that sculptural decoration for which the building, as a whole, was so celebrated. Mr.

Newton himself is disposed to suggest the introduction of 'one 'or two belts of friezes, so disposed as to give an agreeable 'alternation of sculpture and plain masonry,' instead of the uniform monotony of Mr. Pullan's basement; but he afterwards rejects this idea because no such remains were found *in situ*. Yet he himself admits that the marble casing of the basement has entirely disappeared, and suggests, with much probability, that this may have taken place at a comparatively early period of the Middle Ages, long before the fall of the pyramid and the Pteron, and still longer before the Knights of St. John began digging among the ruins in search of marble to burn for lime.

But however we may account for this disappearance, one fact remains unfortunately but too certain, that the sculptures which once gave its chief celebrity to the Mausoleum have almost entirely disappeared. The few fragments that have been recovered are sufficient to give us a faint glimpse of the glorious works that we have lost, but they are very far from enabling us to realise, even in imagination, the character of those works. We are still almost as much in the dark as heretofore as to the nature, the design, and even the subjects of the compositions by which Scopas and his rival artists gave immortality to the tomb of Mausolus.

The sculptures that have been discovered and brought to England consist exclusively of two classes: portions of friezes, adorned with reliefs, but none of them exceeding the usual dimensions of such architectural members; and fragments of statues, or, as they are technically termed by Mr. Newton, 'sculp-'tures in the round.' Some of these last, as the statue of Mausolus himself, and that of the goddess who appears to have accompanied him in his chariot, have been found in such a condition that it has been possible to restore them in great part by merely reuniting the disjointed fragments; but these, as well as the two colossal portions of the horses of the chariot, were the work, as we know from Pliny, of a separate artist, probably the same who is mentioned also as one of the architects of the building. The noble fragment of a colossal figure on horseback is the only other work of this class that has been preserved to us in such a state as to enable us to form any idea of the original to which it belonged; and even to this we are wholly unable to assign any position in the building, or to determine whether it was an isolated figure or formed part of a group. The other fragments found, besides two or three heads, consist for the most part of portions of extremities, hands, feet, legs, and arms; and these are sufficiently numerous to indicate the existence of a considerable number of separate statues; most of which appear

to have been isolated figures, in a standing posture and in attitudes of tranquillity. These are supposed by Mr. Newton to have been placed in the intercolumniations of the Pteron, or in other positions of a similar character. But no portions have been discovered that can be referred to works in relief on any larger scale than those of the friezes.

Yet it is certain that it is to works of this latter class that the words used by Pliny — 'cælavere Mausoleum' — where he speaks of the labours of Scopas and his brother artists, would naturally refer. Mr. Newton, indeed, goes so far as to say that 'the expression *cælavere*, used by Pliny in reference to their 'respective works, seems to indicate that they were all employed 'on friezes.' (P. 239.) But this conclusion seems to us wholly unwarranted. Sculptured metopes, sculptures let into panels, or broad slabs sculptured in relief, — anything, in short, except detached statues, — would equally come within the scope of Pliny's expression. It appears to us, on the other hand, absolutely impossible to suppose that the celebrated works of the masters in question could have been confined to so subordinate a part of the building as the mere decoration of friezes, more especially as those friezes must have been raised to a height nearly double that required even in the largest temples.

We are very far from wishing to depreciate the value of the slabs of frieze that have been so fortunately preserved to us. Their merit has been indeed very variously estimated by writers upon ancient art; and we certainly think that they must be admitted to be of very unequal excellence; some of them, especially the four slabs discovered by Mr. Newton, and the one still remaining at Genoa, being entitled to a very high place among works of their class, while several of the others are so inferior, both in design and execution, that we find it difficult to believe that they belong to the same period and school of art. But even their most sanguine admirers will not venture to place them in comparison with the noble frieze of the Parthenon. Yet we shall look in vain in all the authors of antiquity for any special mention of the latter work, while, if we are to believe Mr. Newton, it was to a few narrow friezes that the Mausoleum owed its world-wide celebrity.

The negative evidence, on which Mr. Newton lays so much stress, is to our mind wholly inconclusive. At whatever period the marble casing was stripped off from the basement of the edifice, it is certain that all trace of it has disappeared. The fragments of statues found are in all probability portions of those which adorned the Pteron. Nor have any remains of architectural, any more than of sculptural, decorations been dis-

covered, which can with any probability be referred to the basement. We are therefore compelled either to acquiesce in Mr. Pullan's supposition that none such ever existed, and that a building celebrated in all antiquity for its highly ornamented character was in its most important member one of the plainest of edifices, or to admit that the lower part of the building had been plundered long before the upper story; and that the immortal works of Scopas and his fellow-labourers perished at this earlier period. This latter hypothesis seems to us at once the most plausible and consistent with the analogy of other similar cases.

Let us be thankful for what we have got. We owe much to the exertions of Mr. Newton, who has rescued from oblivion, as well as from all chances of further destruction, the few fragments that had survived the vicissitudes of so many centuries: but we cannot consent to magnify the value and importance of these scanty relics by assuming them to have formed any considerable portion of the great works referred to by ancient writers. We must venture to doubt, notwithstanding the high authority of Mr. Newton, whether any portion of the friezes that we possess can be ascribed to the master-hand of Scopas or of his scarcely less celebrated rivals. It is certain that in most cases the execution of the friezes was left to subordinate workmen—pupils or young artists who possessed skill enough to execute the designs of the master mind to whom the conception of the whole was due. There is every reason to believe that this was the case even with the exquisite frieze of the Parthenon itself; we know it to have been the case with that of the Erechtheum, a building upon which the Athenians were undoubtedly desirous to lavish all the resources of art. But even if we allow the friezes of the Mausoleum the highest merit that can possibly be claimed for them, they can no more be considered as representing the masterpieces of those great artists than would a corresponding portion of the frieze of the Parthenon have sufficed to give us an adequate idea of the glorious works of Phidias.

Of some of the other fragments recovered it is indeed difficult to speak too highly. The figure of Mausolus himself is full of dignity and grandeur, and has a monumental character peculiarly suited to the position for which it was designed. The same style of treatment is still more observable in the horses that belonged to his chariot, and which bear evident proofs of having been executed with reference to the lofty situation in which they were to be placed. It is very instructive to compare them in this respect with the torso of the eques-

trian figure, the surface of which, as Mr. Newton observes, is highly wrought, as if meant for close inspection. Cruelly mutilated as it is, this equestrian fragment is undoubtedly entitled to rank among the finest works of Greek sculpture remaining to us. We are indeed unable to make out with certainty the action of the rider, or the subject that it was intended to represent; but it is certainly probable, as suggested by Mr. Newton, that it formed part of a group. A figure in such violent action would have seemed unmeaning and exaggerated without some apparent motive for its attitude. But whether detached or combined with other figures we are wholly at a loss to assign it any place in connexion with the building to which it undoubtedly belonged. We can only infer, from the laws of architectural symmetry, that such a group must of necessity have had corresponding groups in other parts of the building. Of these, however, no remains have been discovered—an additional proof, if any such were wanting, how imperfect, after all, is our knowledge of the famous Mausoleum.

Our space will not admit of our attempting to follow Mr. Newton in his interesting researches at Cnidus and Branchidæ. But we cannot omit to bestow a passing word upon the noble lion that he has brought from the former place, which is indeed, as he himself terms it, 'a magnificent example of colossal Greek 'sculpture,' and deserves to rank with the statue of Mausolus, and the fragment of the equestrian figure from Halicarnassus, among the most valuable specimens of Greek art. It is probably of somewhat earlier date than the sculptures of the Mausoleum; and Mr. Newton suggests that the monument which it surmounted may have been erected to commemorate the victory gained by the Athenian fleet under Conon in B. C. 394 — an action which was fought in the immediate neighbourhood of Cnidus, and probably in full view of the conspicuous site on which the ruins were discovered. If this hypothesis could be established, the monument would possess almost as much historical as artistic interest.

ART. IX.—1. *A Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden.* By REYNOLDE SCOT. 1574, 1576, 1578.

2. *A Declaration and Protestation against the Illegal, Detestable, Oft-condemned New Tax and Extortion of Excise in general; And for Hops (a native uncertain Commodity) in particular.* By WILLIAM PRYNNE, of Swainswick, Esqre. 1654.

3. *The Riches of a Hop-garden explained.* By RICHARD BRADLEY, Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. 1729.

4. *The Hop Farmer.* By E. J. LANCE. 1838.

5. *Evidence before the Select Committee on the Hop Duties.* 1857.

6. *Plain Facts as to the Excise Duty on Hops.* By GEORGE P. BACON, Honorary Secretary of the Hop-Excise-Duty Repeal Association. 1860.

7. *Report by Mr. Bonar, H. M. Secretary of Legation at Munich, on the Manufacture, Consumption, and Commerce of Beer in Bavaria.* Munich: 1860.

8. *Debate on 5th March,* 1861, *On the Motion for the Repeal of the Hop Duties.* Published by the Central Hop-Duty Repeal Association. 1861.

FIELDING, in his 'Don Quixote in England,' makes Sancho Panza say, 'I am so fond of the English roast beef and 'strong beer, that I don't intend ever to set my foot in Spain 'again, if I can help it.' A most improbable sentiment for a native of wine-drinking La Mancha ever to have expressed. Had the original Sancho visited one of our inns, he would have made wry faces over the host's ale, still more over his beer, whether flavoured with the ground ivy or fern leaves of early days, or with the hop which was then rapidly superseding them. Could the liquor, however, have been in accordance with modern notions of excellence, the honest squire would, in all probability, have pronounced it as execrable as the balsam of Fierabras. And no wonder, inasmuch as a liking for beer, especially for highly-hopped beer, is in most men the result of habit.

It has taken centuries to form and develope our present national taste, and its origin is perhaps due to necessity rather than to choice. According to some accounts, at least, a bitter was originally admitted into the cask, not to gratify the palate, but to preserve the ale by checking fermentation. Be this as it may, hops, when first introduced into England in the fifteenth

century, were by no means relished. Not only were they considered unpalatable, but they were conceived to dry up the body, and to engender melancholy. Henry VI. is said, on the authority of a German writer, to have prohibited their cultivation by his subjects. Certain it is that bluff King Hal would have none of the 'pernicious weed,' and imperatively forbade his brewer to put hops in the royal beer. Civic dignitaries, from time immemorial studious of good living, petitioned Parliament against the use of hops, 'in regard they would spoyl the 'taste of drinke, and endanger the people.' This was in 1528; but taste and doctors' opinions are alike capricious. By 1552 a revulsion of feeling had evidently taken place. In that year we find an Act extending certain privileges to such lands as were 'set with saffron or hops.' Twenty years later a Bill was brought into Parliament which had for its object directly to promote and encourage 'planting and setting.' About the same time Bacon wrote, 'The planting of hop-yards is profitable for 'the planters, and consequently for the kingdom.' The consumers' interest before long became the care of the Legislature. In 1580 a Bill was introduced 'against false packing;' and in the first year of James I. an Act was passed 'for avoiding of 'deceit in selling, buying, or spending of corrupt and unwhole-'some hops.' More unmistakeable evidence that hops had, in the words of Walter Blith, 'become a national commodity,' is afforded by 'An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons 'assembled in Parliament, dated 8th July, 1644,' requiring the planter to pay 'an excise duty of 6*d.* for every value of 20*s.* of 'hopps, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser value.' The Lord Protector and his Council, by an Order made in 1653, imposed a duty of 2*s.* per cwt. on English, and 5*s.* per cwt. on foreign hops. Cromwell's Excise Act, four years afterwards, confirmed and continued this excise, and raised the customs' duty to 10*s.* per cwt. The Restoration relieved home-grown hops from taxation; but the exigencies of war again brought them under the exciseman in the reign of Queen Anne. From 1711 down to the present day no other record than the statute-book is needed to attest the growing appreciation in which hops were held by the British public. Suffice it to say that the use of the 'wicked weed,' at first prohibited, then tolerated, then encouraged, came in the last century to be prescribed by the Legislature, and brewers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, from employing even such innocent bitters as quassia or gentian, not simply, as might be imagined, for the protection of the revenue, but for the sake of the health and comfort of the people.

The progress of the national taste for hops and its causes are well traced by Reynolde Scot, in a passage to be found in the later editions of the 'Perfite Platforme':—

'Whereas,' he says, 'you cannot make above eyght or nyne gallons of indifferent Ale out of one bushel of Mault, you may draw XVIII or XX gallons of very good Beere; neyther is the Hoppe more profitable to enlarge the quantitie of your drinke, than necessary to prolong the Continuaunce thereof. For if your Ale may endure a fortnight, your Beere through the benefite of the Hoppe shall continue a moneth, And what Grace it yeeldeth to the taste all men may judge, that have Sense in their Mouths, And if the Controversie be betwixt Beere and Ale, which of them two shall have ye Place of Preheminence: it sufficeth for the Glorie and Commendation of the Beere, that here in our owne Countrie Ale giveth place unto it, and that most part of our Countrymen doe abhorre and abandon Ale, as a lothsome drinke, whereas in other Nations Beere is of great Estimation, and of Straungers entertayned as their most choyce and delicate Drinke. Finally, that Ale which is most delicate, and of best account borroweth the Hoppe, as without the which it wanteth his chiefe Grace and best Verdure.'

We find that at this time (1576) 2½ lbs. of hops were considered the maximum quantity to be brewed with a quarter of malt; qr, according to a writer in 1616, ½ lb. of hops was held amply sufficient to a barrel. Since that date the taste for well-hopped beer has progressed, till at the present day it has culminated in the popularity of that, according to Mr. Gladstone, 'incomparable article,' pale ale, brewed with from 5lbs. to 8 lbs. of hops to the barrel, which has usurped not only the place, but the name of the original Saxon liquor made from malt alone.

The old distich,

'Hops, Reformation, Bays and Beer,
Came into England all in one year,'

or the variation thereof,—

'Turkies, carp, hoppes, pickerell and beer,
Came into England all in one year,'

marks the period when the first English hop yards were formed. The cultivation appears to have been originally established in Kent. At Bourne, near Canterbury, there is a plot of ground which is known to have been a plantation in the first year of Elizabeth. The plant was introduced from Flanders; and 'the 'trade of the Flemming,' i. e. his method of culture, and 'his 'Ostes at Poppering' were held out as 'a profytable patterne and 'a necessarie instruction for as many as shall have to doe therein,' by the author of the 'Perfite Platforme.'

When this little work was published, the capability of our soil and climate for producing hops was still much doubted, and our supplies were in great measure drawn from the Low Countries. Scot writes not only to explain the cultivation, but to recommend its extension, and somewhat indignantly complains of the Fleming as 'dazeling us with the discommendation of our soyle, obscuring and falsifying the order of this mysterie, and sending us into Flanders as farre as Poppering for that which we may find at home in our own backsides.' Whether owing to the information diffused by Scot's writings, or to other causes, hop growing was pursued with such success, that eighty years later Walter Blith, in his 'Improver Improved,' declared of the English produce:—

'It is usually a very good commodity, and many times extraordinary; and our nation may ascribe it unto itself, to raise the best Hops of any other nation.'

Kent and the eastern portion of Sussex became, and, as is well known, continue to be, the chief seats of the cultivation of hops. Next to these in importance rank Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and the district about Farnham, which, from the excellence of its produce, was termed by Bradley in the beginning of last century 'the first capital town for hops in Britain.' Colonies are found in different parts of England, some, known as the 'North Clay districts,' in the high latitudes of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire; others dotted about the midland and southern counties, from Suffolk in the east to Cornwall in the south-west. The several varieties of hops which careful and systematic culture now produces in England differ as widely in price and in quality as different growths of wine. The Worcestershire red-bine is said to bear the closest resemblance to the old Flemish hop; this latter Bradley, in 1729, describes as small, close in texture, with a red bine and dark-green flower, resembling the indigenous British hop that grows wild in our own hedges.

Any one wishing to inspect the hop districts for himself, cannot do better than go by the South-Eastern Railway from London to Tunbridge. He may then continue his journey along either branch of the fork into which the trunk line there divides, or explore any of the roads or lanes that diverge from them, and he will find hop grounds and oast-houses to his heart's content. If it be winter time, he will only see sheaves and stacks of poles cumbering the bare earth. If it be summer, he will see the infant bine struggling to climb the poles,—an attempt in which it is materially aided and guided by the hands of the tyers. In a favourable season the growth is so rapid that

the process may almost be said to be discernible by the eye. Indeed, in one parish, on the borders of Kent and Sussex, it is averred that on a particular Sunday, when the rector's sermon was protracted beyond the usual length, the bine in a hop garden adjoining the church was observed to have grown an inch during the morning service. The traveller should, however, defer his visit till autumn. He will then behold a spectacle more glorious than the vineyards of Burgundy or of the Rhine. Every pole has become a thyrsus wreathed with graceful foliage. The bine has climbed the poles, and waves its clustering bells from their summits in token of victory. Round the poles, from their base upwards, light shoots, laden with flowers, droop sleepily in the noontide heat, or dance in the evening air. Nor is the sight the only sense that is gratified. Aromatic odours, soothing as opium, are wafted abroad by the breeze, till it seems overcome by their narcotic influence, and dies away, leaving an atmosphere impregnated with fragrant particles, as in the fabled land,

> 'Where round and round the spicy downs the yellow lotus-dust is blown.'

Let the stranger, however, if a farmer, beware of yielding to the spell. The beauty of the hop garden is but too commonly a Lamia who allures men by every charm that can intoxicate the senses, but when embraced proves a foul monster, that drains the life-blood of the confiding victim. True it is, that a garden sometimes yields a ton an acre; true it is that the produce may sell for 10*l.*, or more, a cwt., and that three times within twenty years hops have reached the price of 20*l.* or 22*l.*, a cwt. But great gains imply great risks. The crop is one of marvellous uncertainty. The hop might appropriately stand in the language of flowers as the symbol of fickleness. It is enough to point out that in 1852, 46,000 acres yielded five times as large a crop as 54,000 acres in 1854, and that again in 1859, 45,000 acres yielded six times as much as the same acres in 1860. So sensitive is the plant, that every variation of temperature, every rise or fall of the barometer, every change of the wind, affects its growth, and exalts the farmer's hopes or darkens his prospects. Enemies innumerable, both in the animal and in the vegetable world, threaten the quantity, or endanger the quality, of the produce. Blight, mould, mildew, honeydew, fireblast, fleas, flies, lice, moths, spiders, caterpillars, form but a portion of the appalling list furnished by Mr. Lance. The amount to be staked against such odds is far in excess of that ventured in any other branch of farming;

25*l.* or 30*l.* per acre is the ordinary cost of raising a crop in a garden that has been some years formed, and has come into full bearing. Then the hops must be picked, dried, and bagged, and, till within the current year, must satisfy the exciseman's demand, at a cost of 2*l.* for every cwt. The above outlay is altogether exclusive of the rent of the land, which in some instances is as much as 26*l.* per acre, and of the extraordinary tithe, which may amount to 1*l.* 10*s.* or 2*l.* Add to all this, in the words of an old writer, that the hope of 'the profit and 'gains arising by a hop garden sometimes so pleaseth and flattereth 'a man's conceit, whose vein and humour is such that he will 'employ more ground than he can keep or maintain, and through 'greediness of his desire overthrow his whole purpose,'—and it will be admitted that the hop grower plays a very hazardous game. Suppose, however, that he rises a winner; he not improbably finds that his neighbours have heavy crops as well as himself,—that there are more hops in the market than the brewers require, and that the price to be obtained does not cover the expenses incurred. If he be a man of capital, he may think he will hold; but as prolific seasons frequently follow in cycles, it is likely enough the same results may ensue next year; moreover, hops deteriorate by keeping, till at the end of a few years they become as worthless as so much chaff. As a last resource, the owner may, or might till within the last month, perjure himself by swearing they are marketable, export them for the sake of recovering the duty in drawback, and throw the once costly commodity into the German Ocean.

The alternations of glut and of dearth to which, in the case of a crop so precarious, and an article so perishable, any country confined to its own resources is exposed, naturally call for the utmost freedom of exchange between different states. Prohibitory or protective duties have, for two centuries and a half, precluded England from fully availing herself, when her own produce has been deficient, of the surplus of her neighbours. Accordingly, in seasons of scarcity our brewers have been driven to the use of substitutes more or less injurious, or, as we believe the general practice of the trade has been, to brew with fewer hops, or with stale hops that have lost their virtue.

The recent establishment of free trade now leads us to look with some interest at other hop-growing countries. Respecting these much valuable information is to be found in the Evidence taken by the Select Committee on the Hop Duties in 1857.

The average crop of the European continent is about equal to that of England, and appears liable to similar fluctuations from year to year, in respect both of quantity and of quality.

Statistical tables, compiled by the Agricultural Society of Bavaria in 1860, show how wide are the ordinary limits of variation in the annual yield of different countries.* We may here add, that the North American continent produces annually from 30,000 to 60,000 cwt., while the annual consumption of its inhabitants is supposed to be 50,000 cwt. Nor are fluctuations in prices less extreme in other parts of Europe than in England. In Belgium the average market-price of the year's produce has, within the last ten years, ranged from 1*l.* 8*s.* to 14*l.* per cwt. In Bavaria, according to Mr. Bonar, the price usually varies from 3*l.* 5*s.* to 16*l.* 10*s.* per cwt. In the autumn of 1860, however, the current price rose to the unparalleled sum of 370 florins, or about 31*l.* per Bavarian cwt.

Of the hop-growing countries of Europe, the most important to us, as sources of supply, are Belgium and Bavaria. The area under cultivation in the latter, the classic land of beer, is estimated at 26,000 acres, an extent about equal to the plantations of the county of Kent. The two great centres of production are Spalt and Hersbruck, the former lying a few hours south-east of Nuremberg, the latter some seventeen miles north-west of that city. Of these Spalt occupies the first rank. Extensive plantations exist at Aischgrund, and at Hallertau, a district approaching the Danube. The whole valley of the Maine, from Bamberg to Wurzburg, is also favourable for the growth of hops.

As at Farnham and at Maidstone, so at Spalt and at Hersbruck, there are limited districts immediately adjoining the town, which are among hop plantations what the grounds of Laffitte or of Johannisberg are among vineyards. Their produce is known as Spalt City, or Hersbruck City, hops. Inclusive of these, the choicest growths, about one-third of the crop raised in Bavaria may be considered of first-rate quality, rivalling the best Kentish or Farnham produce. No actual test has determined their comparative merits, but the prevalent opinion seems to be, that the South German hops have the finest bitter, while inferior to the British in body, flavour, and

* Countries.	Full Crop.	Short Crop.	Countries.	Full Crop.	Short Crop.
Bavaria . .	153,000 cwt.	70,000 cwt.	Carried forward . .	313,000 cwt.	135,000 cwt.
Bohemia . .	90,000 „	20,000 „	Altmark . .	20,000 „	10,000 „
Baden . . .	20,000 „	15,000 „	Wurtemberg	12,000 „	10,000 „
Brunswick .	30,000 „	15,000 „	Alsace and Lorraine	24,000 „	12,000 „
Prussian Poland . .	20,000 „	15,000 „	Belgium . .	90,000 „	30,000 „
Carried forward . .	313,000 „	135,000 „	Total . .	459,000 „	197,000 „

preserving power. Qualities differ as with us, but the only distinct varieties recognised are, the early hop, picked in September, and the late hop, gathered in October. Of these the later hop is esteemed the most powerful, and realises the highest price.

The land is principally in the hands of peasant proprietors, and under the Code Napoleon, which obtains in Bavaria, the holdings are, on the death of the head of a family, sold or subdivided. Consequently, except in the city districts, little money is expended on the cultivation, but much time and manual labour is devoted to the garden by the owner and his family. Owing probably to the more genial summers, the plant attains proportions which would in England be deemed gigantic. Hence the larch-poles, chiefly used in Bavaria, not unfrequently exceed forty feet, or double the length of the tallest poles employed in England. The Bavarian farmer puts only one pole to a hill instead of three, as is the usual practice of Kent and Sussex; his hills are, as a rule, farther apart, he manures less, sometimes contenting himself with restoring to the soil the old hop-bines, and is satisfied with a smaller yield per acre than his British competitor. The hops being thus less crowded, enjoy 'that 'largenesse of space through which the Sunne may come to give 'comfort to every plant,' which Markham*, so long ago as 1638, recommended as calculated to improve the flower, and render it less liable to blight. If blight make its appearance, the German planter does not hesitate, in order to check its progress, to thin his plantation by removing a number of poles. We commend this bold practice to the notice of the planters of East Kent, who, according to the evidence of several witnesses before the Committee, have of late, by largely manuring, increased their average produce to the detriment of its quality. Indeed it is not improbable that open competition with the South German growers will induce English planters generally to direct their attention to the goodness, rather than to the weight, of their crops.

Hop-picking, so picturesque a spectacle in England, presents a far less attractive scene in Germany. There the poles are taken down, the bine is hastily stripped from them, and then removed to be picked at leisure at the planter's house. This, in Walter Blith's time, was a new and improved method of gathering: the older practice, still followed by some continental growers, had been to cut the bine at the foot, and then, with a fork, to take it off the standing pole. Quaint

* Markham's Farewell to Husbandry. 1638.

figures in Elizabethan costume are represented thus engaged in the vignettes to Scot's 'Perfite Platforme.' In Germany, and still more in Bohemia, the result of the course pursued but too often is that the hops are, before picking, dragged about, thrust into stables, cow-houses, cellars, kitchens, or bedrooms, and maltreated and injured in divers ways. When fairly used, they are spread over the floors of lofts, or hung up in the high sloping roofs, where air and warmth may have access to them. In fine weather they are thus dried in about three days, and then loosely thrust into coarse sacks. The above is the only drying they receive at the hands of the peasants. If bought by merchants, particularly if for exportation, they are conveyed to a town and dried in kilns. This process is said to be defective, inasmuch as the draught is not quick enough, and the damp is suffered to hang in the hops so long, that they are, in a manner, stewed. In the opinion, however, of some persons, the English method of drying subjects the hops to too violent a heat, or, as one merchant expresses it, roasts them, thereby destroying the aroma, and is even more injurious than the Bavarian treatment.

It is well known that the making of beer and the drinking of beer form two of the most important occupations of the Bavarian people, and the legislation on the subject of beer one of the chief cares of the Bavarian Government. We do not say, with a recent English traveller, that the whole nation are perpetually drunk upon malt liquor, but the quantity consumed is prodigious. Water, say the Bavarians, never was fit for human stomachs,—at all events, has not been since the Flood:—besides, the drinking of fermented liquors constitutes a specific difference between men and animals:—

'Vina bibunt homines, animalia cætera fontes.'

Although no brewery can exist but by the special authority of government, there are no less than 10,723 such establishments in the country, and Mr. Bonar is no doubt under the mark in estimating the quantity of beer annually poured down Bavarian throats at 100,000,000 English gallons. One-eighth of the whole revenue of the state is derived from a malt duty of 11*s.* a quarter. The king himself is the first brewer in the land, and most of the great proprietors belong to the same privileged and influential class. Government fixes the price of beer twice a year, according to the value of malt and hops, and as the time approaches when the cost of this necessary of Bavarian life is to be determined for the ensuing summer or winter, the public mind is gravely, often painfully, excited.

The process of brewing differs from that carried on in England, principally in the low temperature at which the worts are fermented. This system is much recommended by Liebig, as preventing the beer from turning sour. The summer beer, brewed for home consumption, is kept six months, or even longer, before it is used, but commonly in deep rock-cellars, and often surrounded with ice. Yet Bavarian beer does not bear exportation. There are only two peculiar kinds capable of bearing a sea voyage, of both of which His Majesty is the chief and best brewer. These are known as the Salvador and the Bock. The Bock, so called from its being strong enough to butt a man down, or from its making him leap like a buck, is of two sorts, single and double. With these exceptions, all the beer destined for exportation beyond seas, and even most of that sent to France and other parts of the Continent, is brewed expressly for the purpose. Bavarian malt is excellent, some of the finest in Europe being grown between Nuremberg and Munich. The public taste is, as might be expected, most fastidious in regard to hops, and, after Bavarians, considers none but those of Wurtemberg and Baden, or the best Bohemians, worthy of the palate of a connoisseur. English hops, fumigated with sulphur, to give them the bright yellow colour which the fashion of the trade at home requires, have an evil reputation in Munich. Sulphured hops are an abomination to the Bavarians; the use of them is prohibited, and the brewer on whose premises any such are found incurs a heavy penalty. A paternal government does not, however, feel itself called upon to care for the health of others than its own subjects, and sulphured hops, if intended for exportation, are exempt from the confiscation to which in other cases they are liable.

The produce of the other hop-growing districts of South Germany is much akin to that of Bavaria, and the cultivation and method of curing are similar. The very best Bohemians are raised at Saaz; they equal the Spalt hops in price, and are by some English pale ale brewers preferred, on account of their delicate flavour, to the best Bavarians. South German hops are exported to Vienna, France, Italy, England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, but in what quantities we are unable to state with any certainty. Bavaria itself has been estimated to require a minimum of 50,000 cwt. a year for internal consumption, and to export the surplus produce, which on an average of years may equal 45,000 or 50,000 cwt. The continental demand is an increasing one, but the cultivation of all except the best descriptions of hops is believed to admit of extension. Indeed, in Baden, and probably elsewhere, owing to high prices recently

obtained, the growth of hops is in some measure displacing that of tobacco. The hops of North Germany and of Prussian Poland are of altogether inferior quality, and not likely to find favour in this country. American hops may also be dismissed in a few words. Like American grapes, they derive a coarse, rank flavour and smell from the soil in which they grow, which no management, however careful, has hitherto succeeded in neutralising. There is little chance of their competing in our markets with European growths, except in seasons of scarcity and of unusually high prices.

Poperinghe, the district of which Reynold Scot was so patriotically jealous, lies south-east of Ypres, close to the French frontier, and is still the metropolis of Belgian hop-growing. The next and most important plantations are those of Alost, but considerable quantities of hops are also raised between Liege and Namur. As in Bavaria, so in Belgium, the gardens are usually the properties of small holders, and are cultivated by the hands of the owner and his family. Contrary, however, to the prevailing custom in Germany, large quantities of manure are employed, and heavy crops, varying usually from ten to seventeen cwt. per acre, are raised. Most of the hops are kiln-dried, the practice having been for the merchant to receive them from the grower when picked, and convey them to the town to be dried. Oast-houses are now, however, to be found in the country, in which the planters dry on their own account. The merchants often use sulphur in their kilns, and are suspected of employing ether, or some chemical preparation, which not only swells the hops, giving them a false appearance of bulk, but imparts something of that clammy feeling which is taken as an indication of 'condition.'

Since the days of Elizabeth, the British growers have surpassed their then masters, the Flemings. The bulk of the Belgian produce is now-a-days scarcely equal to the inferior classes of English; even Poperinghe hops only hold a rank intermediate between the best German or Kentish and the more ordinary British growths. Not long since, the increasing importations from England so alarmed the Belgian planters, that they petitioned the Chamber of Representatives, complaining that the small duty of 1f. 20c. per 100 kilogrammes levied on hops imported exposed them to a competition with the English growers they were utterly unable to maintain, and which must prove ruinous. These petitions were reported upon by a committee of the Chamber, which disapproved of any increase of duty, but recommended that efforts should be made to obtain from foreign governments reciprocal freedom of trade

in hops. The growers of the two countries were, like children in the dark, frightened at each other. For at the same time a section of English planters was sending petitions to Parliament, averring that competition with foreign hops, more especially with those of Belgium, must before long drive many of the plantations of Kent, Sussex, and Worcester out of cultivation.

In most, if not all, the beer-drinking countries of Europe, the thirst of the people for their favourite beverage is turned to good account by their government. In France, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and Hanover, a duty is levied on the manufactured article. In Bavaria, Prussia, Saxe-Weimar, and elsewhere, on its chief constituent, malt. During the spring of the present year, the propriety of a duty upon hops was canvassed by the American press; but Mr. Chase, if he ever entertained the idea, abandoned it, and has contented himself with a charge of one dollar per barrel upon beer. England alone has enjoyed at once a tax on beer itself, and a tax upon each ingredient of which beer is composed.

The first excise upon hops was, as we have seen, a device of the parliamentary party during the civil wars. It appears to have been bitterly opposed, even in those early days. In 1654 that sturdy patriot, William Prynne, published the Declaration and Protestation named at the head of this article. This effusion is eminently characteristic of the man and of the times. The writer first gives vent to his indignation by setting forth many Old Testament texts and precedents (or 'presidents'), and some classical quotations against plunder, oppression, and tyranny in general. He then proceeds to state that the sub-collector had served a notice upon him to appear upon a certain day, 'at the Greyhound, in Bath,' to make entry of the hops he had growing, and to pay the excise for the same; that, on 'repairing to the lecture at Bath, he sent for the sub-collector 'to the inn where the ordinary for the lecture is kept before the 'sermon began,' and took this officer, as it subsequently appears, roundly to task. With a profusion of arguments, precedents, and cases, legal and historical, interspersed with biblical quotations, the summary of which alone extends over thirteen folio pages, Prynne expounded to the sub-collector that he held the demand to be 'an intollerable oppression,' 'a detestable innova-'tion,' and 'fit to be eternally damned.'

He at last summed up:—

'Upon all these grounds and Reasons, I declared and protested to the Exciseman that I was resolved upon no terms whatever to pay any Excise at all for Hopps, but to question and oppose it to my power, according to my Protestation, Vow, Solemn League and

Covenant, for my own and the whole Nation's future ease from this oppressing, illegall grievance and Dutch Devill, which I conceived all patrons of publique Liberty would now cordially and unanimously joyn to conjure down to Hell again, from whence it was first raised,' &c.

Whether the exciseman was convinced, or wearied out, or perceived that payment was hopeless, does not appear; but after an interview, which must have lasted many hours, he told the recalcitrant planter, 'with much civility and respect,' that in consideration of his having been so eminent a sufferer for liberty and religion, and of his 'crop of Hops being so mean,' he would demand nothing from him. So Prynne went to church to his lecture, chuckling, however, somewhat over a suspicion he evidently entertained, that the collector would keep an eye on those hops, and make the first buyer pay the duty he had failed to extract from the hop-master.

It is remarkable how exactly several of the arguments directed against the excise upon hops by the old puritan are anticipations, sometimes almost in the same words, of those employed by recent speakers, both in and out of Parliament, and by Mr. Bacon in his above-named pamphlet. This latter is a complete armoury of all the weapons that can be brought to bear against a duty upon hops. As Uncle Toby said of the Pope's oath, it was so comprehensive that he defied a man to swear *out* of it, so may Mr. Bacon defy any one to curse the hop duty *out* of his work. Its interest has of course passed away with the tax, and clear statement and pointed argument will not save it from soon becoming as forgotten as Prynne's declaration. The Secretary to the Hop-Duty Repeal Association may, however, lay down his pen and take up his glass of bitter beer, with the satisfaction of feeling that, unlike Prynne, he has not seen the exciseman beaten off for once only, but has heard Mr. Gladstone proclaim 'the whole nation's future ease from 'this oppressing grievance.'

ART. X.—1. *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen. Nach den handschriftlichen Quellen der kaiserlichen Archive.* Von ALFRED ARNETH. Drei Bänder. Wien: 1858.

2. *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen.* Drei Vorlesungen von HEINRICH von SYBEL. München: 1861.

PRINCE EUGENE of Savoy may be called almost an English hero, so often did he lead English troops to battle and victory. The fame of Marlborough can scarcely be recalled to mind without that of Eugene—the two forming together a sort of double star of military glory. The volumes of Herr Arneth have been compiled from a diligent investigation of the State Papers in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, as well as of original documents in other collections. With their assistance, we shall endeavour to condense, as far as possible, within the limits of an article, the eventful history of a man whose achievements were so great in the cause of Europe and of Christendom; but allowing the merit of conscientious and laborious workmanship to the author, it were to be desired that he had taken a less official tone in the treatment of his subject, and had endeavoured to achieve a more life-like and characteristic portrait of the great man whose biography he has undertaken to write.

Prince Eugene was the great-grandson of Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and the grandson of the youngest son of that duke, Thomas Francis of Savoy, the founder of the line of Carignano. The grandfather of Prince Eugene married Marie de Bourbon, the sister and heiress of the last Comte de Soissons. The eldest son of this marriage founded the house of Carignano. The second son took the title of Comte de Soissons, and, on account of his possessions in France, was brought up at Versailles, taking rank as a Prince of the Blood. He married Olympia Mancini, one of the five sisters Mancini, the celebrated nieces of the Cardinal Mazarin.

These sisters all figure largely in the memoirs of the time, but, of all, none commenced life under more brilliant auspices than Olympia. When a child, she was the playfellow of Louis XIV., and was distinguished for her sprightliness, her wit, and her graceful manners. She was a *piquante brune*, according to Madame de Motteville, who adds, somewhat spitefully, 'Son âge de dix-huit ans, son embonpoint, ses beaux bras, ses 'belles mains, la faveur et le grand ajustement donnèrent du 'brillant à sa médiocre beauté.' Her story is one highly indicative of the pestilential atmosphere of ennui, vice, and immo-

rality which was engendered beneath the magnificent and glittering appearance of the French monarchy when in the noonday of its splendour. The mother of Eugene was a lady who united the fire and spirit of an Italian with the intriguing and ambitious nature of her uncle Mazarin, and a due share of all the follies, lax morality, and necromantic superstitions of the time and Court of Louis XIV. The monarch himself had been in love with her in his youth. When his transitory passion yielded to other attractions, Olympia Mancini gave her hand to the Comte de Soissons, a descendant of the House of Bourbon, general-in-chief of the Swiss regiments in the Royal service, and Governor of Champagne. The count appears to have been a *brave bonhomme;* he had served well under Turenne, and was always ready to fight a duel on his wife's behalf, and think no scandal. To him was ascribed by the wits the honour of being the first inventor of M. Jourdain's great discovery — that he talked prose for forty years without knowing it. The marriage, however, was a good one for Olympia. As the wife of a Prince of the Blood she had a splendid position and establishment. Though she lost the love, she preserved the friendship, of the King, who, when the fervour of his first *amourettes* was exhausted, became a daily visitor at her apartment, which was the haunt of the most brilliant society of France. On the marriage of the King she was made *surintendante* of the Queen's household, and, as *dame de la cour*, was one of the chief ladies in France. But so exalted a position was, for a woman of her intriguing and domineering nature, a perilous one. All her artifices, all her intrigue, Italian passion and resentment, were called into activity, one after another, to retain her position in the King's favour, and to undermine the increasing influence of a La Vallière or a Montespan. Failing to achieve her ends by natural means, she had recourse to supernatural ones. The countess placed herself under the guidance of La Voisin — one of the quacks, fortune-tellers, and astrologers then most in vogue; infamous also for the sale of succession powders. The whole of the reign of Louis XIV. was haunted with a ghastly suspicion of secret poisoning. At a time when sudden deaths were most frequent and rumour most rife, La Voisin was arrested. In her revelations, among a crowd of persons, she implicated the Comtesse de Soissons. The countess, with her husband, had, in consequence of her intrigues, already been banished from Court. After the count's death, in 1673, she returned, to make herself more obnoxious than before. She had, moreover, rashly incurred the enmity of Louvois, then all powerful, by refusing to marry

one of her daughters to his son. Louvois, after the discoveries of La Voisin, gave orders for the arrest of the countess, who was terrified, and fled from Paris to Brussels. But though probably guiltless, in her intercourse with La Voisin, of all but a silly belief in supernaturalism, the suspicion of being a poisoner and sorceress clung to her for life. In the Low Countries the mob beset the carriage of the *empoisonneuse* with cries and insults. Though after a time she was enabled to live tranquilly in Brussels, yet when she visited Madrid with her son Eugene, with the view to procure him a career in Spain, the foolish King Charles II. believed that she had thrown a charm upon him. When the Queen of Spain, the niece of Louis XIV., died, her ancient lover exclaimed that the young Queen had been poisoned by the Comtesse de Soissons. And the peace-party in England in after days made the most use they could of the scandal against Prince Eugene.

The Comtesse de Soissons had five sons and three daughters; these all remained in France under the protection of the Princess Carignano. The youngest son was Eugene Francis, better known as Prince Eugene. The countess's care for her children appears to have been remarkably slight, and Eugene, we are told, was allowed to run about like a *galopin*. His appearance was by no means imposing: he was small in stature, weak in constitution, rather humpbacked, of brown complexion, with a short upper lip, so that his mouth was always open and displayed two great front teeth; his nose somewhat *retroussé* with large nostrils. Yet his eyes were noticed to be fine and full of fire and intelligence. Early in life he was seized with the warlike enthusiasm which prevailed among the young nobles of France, and which was heightened by the new splendour which the genius of Condé, Turenne, and Vauban, and the early victories of Louis XIV. had thrown on the science of war: he loved the glitter and display of troops, devoured the life of Alexander the Great and military memoirs, and studied mathematics and fortifications. Louis XIV., however, looking on his unprepossessing exterior, destined him for the church, and the boy was called at Versailles *l'abbé de Savoie* and *le petit abbé*. Every effort made by the young prince to escape from a priestly life and to enter the military service of the King was rejected by Louvois with contempt; and it is said that, at last, in exasperation, he swore that he would leave the French territory and never return except with arms in his hand. Two of Eugene's elder brothers, disgusted with the treatment they had met with, had already left France, and entered into the service of the Duke of Savoy. One of these, Emanuel Philibert,

Comte de Dreux, died soon after his departure; but the other, Louis Jules, called the Chevalier de Savoie, when hostilities broke out between the Turks and the Roman Empire, passed over to the service of the Emperor of Austria, and obtained a regiment of dragoons.

The noise of the preparations of the Turks had resounded throughout Europe. The French princes of the blood and a brilliant band of nobles — among whom was the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Roche sur Yon, and the Prince de Turenne — went to serve as volunteers in the army of the Emperor. With them departed Eugene, then nineteen years of age, and overwhelmed with debt. He was well received by the Emperor, and obtained a commission in the dragoons. In his first skirmish he lost his brother. Prince Eugene then served under his cousin, the Margrave Louis of Baden, who commanded the cavalry in the Imperial army. In the conflicts under the walls of Vienna, which ended in the raising of the siege, the Prince was noticed for his ability and his daring; and so ambitious a young soldier could not have found himself, in any other place or period, in the presence of men or events more calculated to stimulate his military ardour. The relief of Vienna by the chivalrous Sobieski was one of those events which mark a period in the history of the world; and, besides the brilliant King of Poland, Eugene had also before his eyes other generals of European celebrity — the war-worn Duke of Lorraine, the impetuous Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and his cousin the Margrave Louis of Baden, an able but somewhat pedantic tactician.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, a pupil of Montecuculli, was the general-in-chief of the Imperial army: under his leadership the troops of the Emperor maintained the reputation which they had achieved some twenty years before in the great battle of St. Gotthard, which liberated Europe from the Turks. Under the Duke of Lorraine Eugene rose to be a colonel at twenty and lieutenant-general at twenty-five. On the death of that prince, Maximilian of Bavaria succeeded to the command of the Imperial army. At the capture of Belgrade, Eugene distinguished himself by that reckless bravery which was one of his peculiar characteristics: he was the first in the breach, but the distinction was near being his last; a janissary clove his helmet in two with a sweep of his sabre, Eugene replied by plunging his sword into his adversary's body.

Meanwhile, on the other side of Europe, Austria was already involved in an immense contest, and was launching forth armies and urging onwards her allies to set limits to the am-

bition of the French monarchy. Among the princes who were necessarily forced to take part in this great conflict, none stood in a more precarious position than Victor Amadeus II., the Duke of Savoy, who, in diplomacy, dissimulation, and military and political ability, was the latest and greatest proficient of the subtle teaching of Machiavelli or Guicciardini. Wedged in between the two colossal Powers, France and Austria—who were always in collision or on the verge of it — his small territory was either threatened or trodden under foot at every movement of diplomacy or war. He had little love and equal fear for either of his neighbours; and, as they courted his alliance, he leaned to whichever side seemed most to favour his independence or his aggrandisement. The French monarch, by possession of the strong fortresses of Pignerol and Casale, held his little dominions as in a vice; and the duke, though he anxiously feared such a destiny for his state as was then hanging over the House of Lorraine, had nevertheless been constrained to accept the French alliance. But his astute and politic mind saw in a general European collision an opportunity for withdrawing from his engagements. He feared, indeed, the encroaching power of Austria in Italy equally with that of France. Nevertheless, as neutrality was impossible, he listened to the offers of Austria, who proposed, among other things, to put his ambassador on an equal footing with those of kings, and to take and give him Pignerol. On such conditions he secretly joined the League of Augsburg. When his defection became known at Versailles, Catinat was sent with an army to occupy Piedmont and take possession of Turin. The duke met him at Staffarda on August 17. 1690, and gave battle; though he suffered a defeat, yet his retreat was so well covered by his cousin, Prince Eugene, who had been sent from Vienna to his assistance, that the march of Catinat upon Turin was arrested. From his relationship to the duke, as well as for his diplomatic and military ability, the Court of Vienna conceived it advisable that Eugene should remain at Turin. Consequently, two years after, he accompanied Victor Amadeus in his irruption into Dauphiny, and thus fulfilled the boyish threat of entering France sword in hand, which he had uttered when refused a company in the French army. Louis XIV. shortly after endeavoured to repair his mistake, and offered to make Eugene a field-marshal of France; but the Prince refused, being already a field-marshal in the Imperial army and decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. When Eugene next appears in history, it is as general-in-chief of the Imperial forces, and victor over the Turks in the great battle of Zenta, by which he became at once one of the great names of Europe.

The victory of Zenta, and the peace of Carlowitz, mark, indeed, an epoch in the history of Christendom, as affording, by diplomacy, the first incontestible evidence of the decline of the Turkish power. In the campaigns in which Eugene had already taken part, after the relief of Vienna by Sobieski, the Turks lost in six campaigns as much as they had gained in two centuries. The intrigues of the French, the machinations of the insurgent Tekeli, their own indignation under defeat, and the high spirit of the young Sultan, Mustapha II., who had just, according to Eastern custom, placed the corpse of his predecessor in the funeral car, brought about another campaign. The young Sultan, in true Moslem spirit, published a hatti scherif, announcing that God had given him the khalifat of the world, inveighing against the luxury of his predecessors, denouncing vengeance on the infernal swarm of infidels, and proclaiming a sacred war. Immense preparations were made by sea and land; and at first the Turks were successful. During three years of warfare both Venetians and Austrians suffered a series of disastrous defeats, until Eugene was appointed to the command of the Imperial army. The Sultan himself, brave and arrogant as he was, knew nothing of generalship. There were no Kiuperlis now to direct the fortunes of the Ottoman Power; and he was dependent for advice on an incompetent grand vizier, ignorant pachas, and second-rate French engineers. After some indecisive movements, in which the Sultan showed that he was powerless in the hands of a real master of modern warfare, Eugene came upon the Ottoman army, on the evening of September 11. 1697, two hours before sunset, half of it having already crossed the Theiss. The remaining portion was formidably entrenched: but Eugene knew his troops, saw his advantage, and, full of confidence, was about to engage, when a sealed letter from the Emperor was put into his hands commanding him not to risk a battle. Divining its contents, he gave it back to the bearer, and proceeded with his dispositions. His troops stormed the entrenchments on all sides; and a detachment of the left wing of the Imperialists pierced through the rear of the Turks, and cut off their retreat to the bridge. The massacre was tremendous: scarcely 1,000 Turks escaped by swimming; 10,000 were drowned; 20,000 were cut to pieces. The Grand Vizier and four others, the Vizier Aga of the Janissaries, the Governors of Anatolia, Bosnia, Roumelia, and Diarbekir, and a legion of pashas, perished by the sword. Seven horse-tails, 423 standards, and the Seal of the Empire, were captured. The Seal of the Empire had never before been taken by an enemy; and its loss was deemed

to portend a future of evil to the house of Othman. On the morrow — the anniversary of Eugene's first battle under the walls of Vienna — he crossed the Theiss, and took possession of the camp of the Sultan, where 500 silver kettle-drums of the Janissaries, the Sultan's carriage, eight horses, the women of his harem, and 3,000,000 of crowns, formed a portion of the immense booty. The famous peace of Carlowitz was not signed until more than a year afterwards, on January 21. 1699. It was the first in which the Turks admitted the mediation of any Christian Power; and each successive treaty they have since made has marked a further descent of the Ottoman Power in the scale of nations.

By the victory of Zenta the name of Eugene had become celebrated throughout Europe; but that success was gained against a nation of ignorant barbarians, to whom the art of war remained as rude as it was in the Middle Ages. In the first campaigns of the war of the Spanish Succession Eugene was matched against the best and most experienced generals of the most military nation in Europe. Catinat, one of the most estimable of all the statesmen and soldiers who served Louis XIV.,— a pupil of the Great Condé and Turenne, — a commander of antique simplicity, dignity, and virtue, and with scientific acquirements second to none except Vauban in his age, — was at the head of the French in Italy, in superior numbers, when Eugene, with 30,000 Imperialists, descended the Adige. But the Prince was now in the enjoyment of all the vigour, brilliancy, and good fortune of youth — full of confidence in himself, and flushed, not only with the great victory of Zenta, but with a still greater victory he had obtained over the Aulic Councils, which enabled him to carry on war independently of the restraint of councillors at home. Catinat, on the contrary, was old and worn, his spirit broken with the recent loss of a brother, who was to him all his family, his self-respect wounded by the imperious and meddling dictates of unworthy ministers, and the ignorant presumption of favourites placed over his head. His military plans were overruled by restrictions transmitted from Versailles, where the incompetent Chamillart was blundering through the duties of Minister of both Finance and War, and labouring under responsibilities greater than Colbert or Louvois had ever dared to undertake. On the present occasion, especially, Catinat was lamed for decisive action by being ordered to keep the defensive.

Eugene commenced the campaign by a stroke of genius worthy of Hannibal or Napoleon. He had descended as far as Roveredo, and was there cooped up in the narrow valley, with Catinat on

his front occupying the pass of Chiusa and the main road into Italy. After having convinced himself that the enemy was unassailable in his position, he surveyed the valley round in every direction, and by skilful manœuvres concealing his designs from the enemy, with the aid of the people of the country made a road for his troops across mountains hitherto deemed impassable even by the natives themselves, and conveyed his artillery, baggage, and armaments over precipitous heights with incredible exertions. On the 24th of May, 1701, he set forth from Roveredo; on the 4th of June he had transported his whole army to the rear of Catinat's position, twenty-five miles from Verona. Catinat's troops, although superior to Eugene's in numbers, were now insufficient to keep the whole line of the Adige. By a series of skilful manœuvres, Eugene induced the French marshal to scatter his forces along the line of the river; then by dexterous feints he entirely deceived his adversary as to the direction of his march, and the latter was suddenly surprised with the news that a detachment of his forces was entirely routed at Carpi, and the line of the Adige forced. Catinat then retired, and was driven back from position to position till he had crossed the Mincio and Chiese, followed by the Prince till he had planted himself behind the line of the Oglio. These were the commencements of a campaign, which, though not of any great magnitude, yet revealed to the world a new, daring and brilliant military genius, who had in mere strategy outwitted the most cautious and experienced marshal of France.

The Court of Versailles was astounded at the successive retreat of the French troops, and Marshal Villeroi was sent to repair the faults of Catinat. Catinat without a murmur submitted to be deprived of his command and to act under the orders of Villeroi. Villeroi was the evil genius of the armies of France in the last years of Louis XIV. He had a greater talent for defeat than any general who has a place in history. For the misfortune of France he was brought up as a child with the King, and thus acquired an ascendancy over the monarch which was never impaired by any disaster incurred by his incompetency and fatuity. He was a greater fop than de Vardes or de Guiches, and was known in the *salons* of Versailles as *le charmant*. A man made, wrote Saint Simon, to be the hero of an opera, if he had a voice, but nowhere else. Under this mixture of frippery and folly the Duke of Savoy, though nominally the generalissmo of the French-Spanish army, agreed to serve, but undoubtedly in a Machiavellian spirit, for Victor Amadeus II., though he was now corporeally with the

French, was in spirit with the Imperialists. Villeroi, the hero of the Court, confident in his power of beating Eugene out of Italy, gave battle, in opposition to the wishes of Catinat, at Chiari. The French suffered a sanguinary defeat, with the loss of 4,000 men. Catinat, who had observed the excellent position of the Prince, sought death on this occasion as a remedy for his dishonour. The Duke of Savoy had a horse killed under him, and exposed his life with immense bravery in order to prove his attachment to the cause he was on the point of deserting. The battle of Chiari took place on the 1st September, 1701. A few months after, when the troops were still in their winter quarters, on the morning of the 1st of February, 1702, Eugene attempted perhaps the most singularly audacious achievement of modern warfare — the surprise of the strongly fortified town of Cremona, situated on the Po, then the head-quarters of Villeroi. Had Eugene succeeded in his project, he would have been in the very centre of the communications of the French army and become master of the Milanese. He introduced about 3,000 of his troops at dead of night into the very centre of the city through an ancient aqueduct; but after an incessant and desperate conflict of twelve hours, he was obliged to retreat by the light of burning houses and magazines, carrying off with him Villeroi, 90 officers, 400 soldiers, and 700 horses. Villeroi was sent to Innsbruck, there kept prisoner for some time, and then released without ransom, as it was imagined that Villeroi was of more service to the allies at the head of the French armies than as a prisoner.*

After the affair of Cremona, the Duc de Vendôme was sent to repair the disasters of Villeroi; he was the grandson of Henri IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées, the son of Mercœur and Laura Mancini, and, consequently, the cousin of Eugene. This strange character was distinguished at the same time for his shameless debauchery, the filthiness of his manners, the cynical effrontery of his life, and the besotted indolence of his habits as well as for undoubted military genius, an indomitable spirit when thoroughly roused, immense presence of mind and rapidity of judgment in the hour of danger, together with the power of inspiring the soldier with great enthusiasm, founded principally

* The following epigram on the occasion was first current in the army, and then throughout France:—

'Par une faveur de Bellone,
Et un bonheur sans égal,
Nous avons retrouvé Crémone,
Et perdu notre général.'

on the license and familiarity with which his inferiors were indulged. Philip V., King of Spain, whose accession to that crown was the whole cause of the war, now joined Vendôme. The Franco-Spanish and Piedmontese forces, with the new reinforcements, amounted to 80,000 men, while Eugene had but 28,000 to oppose them. Vendôme, by skilful manœuvres, forced Eugene to abandon the blockade of Mantua, and the two armies encamped opposite to each other on either side the Mincio, near to Montanara. Here Eugene, who was always too much addicted to partisan warfare, made an attempt to kidnap Vendôme by night out of the centre of the French camp. The plan was on the point of succeeding, and only failed by the disobedience to orders of those sent to carry it out. Vendôme was so enraged at this violation of military etiquette, that he directed the fire of his artillery for a whole day on Eugene's quarters, and the Prince was obliged to leave them. Not long after, at Luzzara, Eugene nearly surprised Vendôme's army in the act of encamping. He had pushed the Imperial forces forward, behind one of the dikes with which the country is intersected, and his advance was only discovered sufficiently soon to give Vendôme time to throw his forces in order of battle, and to display the whole energy of his nature and resources. The bloody but indecisive action of Luzzara took place on August 13. 1702, both sides claimed the victory, and Te Deums were sung at Vienna and Versailles. In this battle Prince Eugene lost his brave friend and general the Prince Commerci.

At the end of the campaign he returned to Vienna, to infuse new life into the Emperor's councils and military administration, and to draw closer the bonds of the Grand Alliance. For now the war of the Spanish Succession was about to assume European dimensions. On the news of the acceptance of the fatal legacy of Charles II. by the French King, the Imperial troops had marched into Italy and engaged in hostilities without war being declared. Leopold I. had in vain appealed to the great Powers of Europe for assistance; and the diplomacy of Louis XIV. had procured the recognition of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain by England, Holland, and the chief Powers of Germany. But the successes of Eugene in Italy revived the spirit of the Grand Alliance; and the death of James II., followed by the recognition by the French King of his son as James III., united all parties in England in a desire for war. Leopold left no means unemployed to enlist the states of the Empire in his cause, and made a firm ally of Frederic, Elector of Brandenbourg, by acknowledging

him as King of Prussia. The Elector of Bavaria only, who had fought on the side of the Imperial forces in many a campaign in Hungary, though still apparently on the side of Austria, had a secret understanding with France. On May 15. 1702, the declaration of war took place against France at London, the Hague, and Vienna. During the year 1703, while Marlborough was gaining back fortress after fortress of the chain of strongholds in the Spanish Netherlands, which had fallen into the hands of the French through the treachery of the Elector of Bavaria, Eugene was occupied with the duties of the war ministry and the suppression of a revolution in Hungary, which had carried terror to the capital.

The affairs of Austria, indeed, at this crisis were on the very brink of ruin; and the Emperor Leopold, with his Spanish formality and his infatuation for Jesuits and astrologers, music and buffoons, was utterly incompetent to bear the weight of a falling empire. His neglect of some of the great magnates of Hungary had driven them into a rebellion; the advice of the Jesuits, religious persecution, a cruel policy, and sanguinary tribunals had lit again the flames of insurrection, and now French intrigue was lending secret assistance to the insurgents. Moreover, Count Carolyi, one of their chief nobles, having been unable to obtain redress for the insult of an official, broke into open revolt, headed the insurgents, and led them to the gates of Vienna. At the same time, the Elector of Bavaria openly declared for Louis XIV., and Villars, the commander of the French army of the Rhine, had been ordered to effect a junction with him. The Margrave of Baden, with 40,000 Imperialist troops, had endeavoured to prevent the union, but in vain: the daring and brilliant Villars, in the first campaign, gave him a severe defeat and won a marshal's staff at Friedlingen; in his second campaign he induced the slow and methodic German commander to scatter his troops,—then suddenly crossing the Rhine, drove the German forces before him, passed under the cannon of Freyburg in a fog, broke up the quarters of the Margrave, made himself master of fifty forts on the Rhine, took Kehl, and defeated an attack of the Austrians under Counts Schlick and Styrum. Villars then, by a most daring march, penetrated the defiles of the Black Forest, scaled the crests of the mountains which separate the basin of the Rhine from the basin of the Danube, and effected the junction with the Elector of Bavaria on May 8. 1703, at Tuttlingen. Had the ambition and the advice of Villars now been listened to, the Franco-Bavarian army might have marched to Vienna. The Emperor Leopold was seized with terror and prepared to leave the capital. With

the Hungarian insurrection on the one side and the Franco-Bavarian army on the other, the empire seemed indeed to be in the last extremity. But in this emergency Austria was saved by the irresolution of the Elector of Bavaria. When Villars was expecting to hear that the Elector had taken the road to Vienna, the news came that the Prince, who, brave as he was in the field, was entirely governed by the intrigues of his wife, his mistresses, and his love of the most frivolous amusements, had put off the invasion of Austria and gone to the Tyrol, proposing to join Vendôme in Italy, and then with their united forces to come down upon Vienna. The peasants of the Tyrol, however, rose in arms against him, and, after losing half his army, the Elector again joined Villars. In these emergencies Prince Eugene remained at Vienna to direct the whole measures of defence as minister of war, and relinquished the command of the army of Italy to his lieutenant, Guido Stahremberg, the nephew of the brave defender of Vienna against the Turks, a man of great ability and, next to Eugene, the most capable of the Austrian generals. To Count Heister, another able leader, was committed the charge of suppressing the insurrection in Hungary; and Eugene directed the whole of his attention to the dispersion of the Franco-Bavarian army which threatened Vienna.

Villars, indeed, at one moment, had he been properly supported even by the Court of Versailles, might have marched to Vienna and dictated what terms he chose; but the intrigues of the courtiers at Versailles continued, as well as the folly of the Elector of Bavaria, to stay his progress; disgusted at the loss of the great prize which he saw within his reach, he shortly after threw up his command and returned home; and his place was fortunately taken by two of the most incompetent men who ever led an army, Marsin and Tallard. But next to the folly of its enemies, the wisdom of Eugene saved the Court of Vienna on this occasion, by concerting with Marlborough that famous campaign which was crowned by the victory of Blenheim. From the first moment of their engaging in the same cause, the two leaders regarded each other with mutual esteem and admiration, and had entered into correspondence. To Eugene appears to be due the honour of having first conceived the campaign of 1704, and of the first invitation to Marlborough to leave the Netherlands, now sufficiently protected by his late conquests and by the Dutch army, and to effect a junction with the Imperial forces under himself and the Margrave of Baden, in order to sweep the French and Bavarians out of Bavaria, and deliver Vienna from the fear of

invasion. But it would be an ungracious work to attempt, in every great action performed by these two illustrious characters, to exalt one at the expense of the other, and to do for them what they disdained to do for themselves. Some approximation, however, to an estimate of their separate parts in the great drama may be attempted. Never in the whole history of war did two men of such abilities work so well together: they were as two hands of one body, and the slightest shadow of jealousy never appears to have come between them. This harmonious result was brought about, doubtless, very much by the equable tempers and the suavity of manners which characterised both generals; but also, we imagine, the difference of age (thirteen years) contributed not a little towards it; Marlborough was now fifty-four and Eugene forty-one years old; and this seniority gave Marlborough some reason, in addition to his military skill, for taking the lead as he undoubtedly did on most occasions. With the Margrave of Baden, on the other hand, the jealousy, hauteur, and punctiliousness of his character, and the slow and pedantic method of his operations, rendered it difficult even for Marlborough to act; and his presence was a constant cause of embarrassment until Eugene and Marlborough cleverly got rid of him, by setting him down to the siege of towns, which suited the methodic pedantry of his military operations. The part which Eugene performed in this campaign has by no means so splendid an appearance in history as Marlborough's magnificent march from the Moselle to the Danube, which deceived all the generals of France till it was too late to oppose it, and kept all Europe in suspense with wonder and expectation. To Marlborough also exclusively belongs the brilliant victory at the Schellenberg, the triumphant manœuvres by which he effected his junction with Eugene, and the sudden inspiration with which he masked the mass of Tallard's infantry cooped up at his right in the village of Blenheim, then hurled his squadrons across the Nebel on the ill-protected centre of the enemy, cut his army in two, and took nearly the whole of the infantry of the right wing prisoners. Nevertheless, Eugene, in command of the right wing, never had a harder day's fighting, and never exercised more self-denial, than on that occasion. Although he had the Elector of Bavaria in front in a very strong position, with far superior cavalry, he consented to be opposed to him with inferior numbers, knowing that the great stress of battle was to be on the left and centre. He fought with desperation the whole day. Three times he led the Imperial cavalry across the Nebel, and three times they were repulsed. Stung to madness, Eugene put himself at the head

of his infantry, charged again across the river, narrowly escaped being shot by a Bavarian trooper, and in sheer desperation turned the left flank of the enemy, and followed close upon the retreat of the Elector, when the centre was broken; his cavalry were so far advanced when the troops of Marlborough were in full pursuit, that a portion of them were mistaken by Marlborough for hostile squadrons, and the English general recalled his own men from pursuit, for fear of a flank attack, otherwise the victory would have been still more destructive to the enemy. And yet, though the total loss of the French army was 40,000 men, this was insignificant compared with the immense moral effect created throughout Europe, and the ulterior consequences. The prestige of the French monarchy was destroyed at a blow. There was a cry of exultation over the whole Continent: the invincible legions had been broken and shamefully captured, and the time of retribution was at hand.

After so immense a success—with the army of France dispersed or taken prisoners—both Eugene and Marlborough were for carrying the war into France, but they were over-ruled by the timid counsels of the Margrave. Landau was consequently invested and taken; Ulm also captured; and not only was the Court of Vienna delivered from all fear of invasion from Bavaria, but the Electorate was occupied by Imperial troops, and never released until the conclusion of the war. The Emperor, also, being now able to reinforce his troops in Hungary, Heister obtained a great victory over the insurgents, and Vienna was in security on every side.

The next campaign did not fulfil the promise of the last. Marlborough and Eugene had separate commands. The English leader was confined to operations on the Moselle, where his efforts were lamed by the opposition of the deputies of the States and the want of support of the Margrave of Baden. Moreover, he was opposed to Villars, who kept him in check by a series of well-conceived demonstrations. And in Italy, where Eugene commanded, the campaign of 1705 was indecisive though skilful. The Duke of Savoy had now passed openly over to the side of the Allies. The French would not listen to his advances to get the Milanese, and secret offers were made to him from Vienna of Montserrat, the Lomellina, and the Val di Sesia. When his defection became known, Vendôme was sent with an army to overrun his country and seize upon its strongholds. One after another his fortresses were taken away. Turin and its protecting fortresses, however, maintained a desperate defence. Verrua, which commands the navigation of the Po, and is a sort of outwork of Turin, was

the last place taken by Vendôme, after a long siege and the loss of 18,000. From thence the French general was called to confront Eugene, who was sent to the relief of his distressed cousin — and was driving before him the brother of Vendôme — Grand Prior of the Order of Malta — a man as profligate, shameless, and revolting in his habits as Vendôme himself without his abilities.

Eugene exhausted in vain every manœuvre in order to cross the Po and the Adda, to elude his antagonist and carry assistance to Piedmont. In the course of these operations the indecisive battle of Cassano was fought, in which, again, both sides claimed the victory. The campaign was, however, even so far, a brilliant example of Eugene's tactics; for, with inferior forces, he held his ground, and, by always taking the initiative, kept his adversary in check, and suspended the siege of Turin.

The siege of Turin was, however, the great event towards which all Europe looked forward with hope or fear. The probability of its success was discussed in every capital, in every coffee-house, and in every cabinet in Europe. The plans for its assault were deliberated upon again and again in the presence of Louis XIV. by his generals and ministers; and the aged Vauban himself (*le grand preneur de villes*) was desirous of adding this last success to his glory. La Feuillade, however, the son-in-law of Chamillart, was deputed to conduct the siege with an army of 50,000 men, and immense magazines were formed at Susa, Casale, Crescentino, and Chivasso. The city was invested in May 1706. For some time after the investment the Duke of Savoy remained in his capital to direct the plans for the defence. Before, however, the circumvallation was completed, he gave over the defence of the town to the Marquis de Carail, and of the citadel to Count Daun, passed through the French lines with his cavalry, and withdrew to the mountains to await events. When Eugene descended into Italy, for the year's campaign, he found the Imperialists had already been beaten in their winter quarters, and a task of immense difficulty before him. In order to arrive at Turin, he had to traverse two hundred miles of country; he had to march between numerous strongholds, to cross four navigable rivers, to pass through many defiles, to traverse innumerable canals, and the countless rivulets and torrents which descend one after another from the Alps to the Po, and all in the face of a superior and watchful enemy.

The same day that Eugene passed the Po, Vendôme gave up the command to the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent, nephew

of Louis XIV., and the husband of one of his daughters by Madame de Montespan: with Orleans was joined in command Marshal Marsin, one of the defeated generals of Blenheim. The Duke of Orleans in vain attempted to check the movements already partly accomplished in the face of Vendôme, and in spite of Vendôme's predictions. On the 29th of August Eugene, after a march of thirty-four days, in which his troops were supported by the ardour of their general under the sufferings caused by intense drought and want of provisions, joined, between Moncaglieri and Carmagnola, the Duke of Savoy, who descended from the mountains to meet him with an armed body of peasantry and a small body of troops.

On the morning of the 7th of September, at daybreak, Eugene and his cousin ascended the height of the Superga, on the brow of which stands the white and glittering temple, one of the most splendid in Italy, erected by Victor Amadeus in consequence of a vow made on this ever-memorable occasion. The Duke of Savoy looked down on his devoted capital, in which the whole hope of himself, of his state and dynasty were centred, and beheld the flag of distress of the inhabitants, which signified that their last sacrifice had been made, and their last strength exhausted. Meanwhile, Eugene was scanning the thirty miles of circumvallation which enclosed the city, and forming his plan of attack. Having completed his survey, he pointed out to his companion the indecisive movements and confusion of the besiegers in the presence of a relieving force, and exclaimed, '*Il me semble, Monsieur, que ces gens-la sont à demi-battus.*' In the French camp, indeed, everything was in disorder, and up to the last moment they had hardly resolved on a plan of action. The Duke of Orleans wished to march out and meet the enemy, and not attempt to hold so vast a circuit of entrenchments, but was overruled by La Feuillade in a council of war. Marsin was without vigour, indeed he acted under a presentiment of coming death. Prince Eugene determined to attack the lines of circumvallation in a peninsula between the Dora and Stura, where they had been left incomplete because the assailant in that quarter was exposed by a flank march. He was resolved to hazard all for such a complete victory as would render him safe after the battle; for since the enemy had 80,000 men to his 30,000, a half or an undecided success would ensure his destruction.

The day was clear and brilliant, a day of September under an Italian sun. The garrison and people of Turin were made aware by signals of the approaching conflict. The ramparts on the side of the battle were crowded with spectators; while

on the other, during the whole of the conflict, La Feuillade never ceased his attack on the town and citadel, which was defended by Count Daun and every citizen capable of bearing arms. The dauntless impetuosity which was imputed to Eugene as a fault, and which so often placed his life in danger, and got him wounded thirteen several times, on this day stood him in good stead; without the spirit which he infused into his troops by his constant presence at the most dangerous moments, the battle of Turin had never been won. The French defended the entrenchments everywhere with the greatest obstinacy. The right wing of the allied army, under the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, was delayed by the difficulties of the ground, and the left was the first to arrive at close quarters, and, consequently, had to endure the whole of the enemy's fire, and fell into confusion. Eugene instantly beheld their danger, and, despatching from the centre troops to support them, rode himself to the scene of action. His page and a domestic who followed him were shot by his side; his horse was wounded and fell under him, and he was precipitated into the trench. The soldiers on all sides cried out in terror, but the Prince scrambled up again covered with dust and blood, remounted his horse, and waved his hat; excited by this incident, the troops instantly carried the entrenchment. In the centre, the presence of the Duke of Savoy on the one side and the Duke of Orleans on the other, inspired the combatants with intense ardour; but the allied troops at length carried the ramparts, and the French rapidly gave way as Marsin, their general, fell mortally wounded, and the Duke of Orleans himself, twice struck with musket-shot, was obliged to retire from the field. The right wing, under the Prince of Saxe-Gotha, was the last to storm the line of circumvallation; but this, too, after a dreadful scene of carnage, succeeded. The French troops, however, still fought desperately, and their cavalry attacked the Allies in flanks and rear; but when the second line of the Allies, with the artillery, were brought up, the tide of battle was once more turned, and the French retreated in disorder by the bridges of the Stura, the Dora, and the Po; La Feuillade abandoned the whole of his siege artillery, cast his ammunition into the river, and the whole army straggled in flight on the way to Pignerol.

The quantity of ammunition, siege artillery, and baggage which fell to the spoil of the victors was enormous. The French lost 2,000 killed and 6,000 prisoners. The loss on the side of the Allies was 3,000 killed and wounded. But the ultimate consequences of the victory — the liberation of Italy from the

French, and the withdrawal of the French garrisons from every town and fortress — was not less momentous than the immediate result. At four in the afternoon the Duke of Savoy and the Prince entered Turin in triumph amid shouts and acclamations of delirious joy. Eugene was hailed by all as their liberator and saviour, and the press was so great that the two princes with difficulty made their way to the Te Deum in the Cathedral. The last charges of powder were expended in salvos of triumph. The two princes dined with Count Daun, the defender of the citadel, who was subsequently made a field-marshal at the request of Eugene. In England the news of the victory was received with jubilant acclamations; and in the same year, two persons died leaving bequests to the victor of Turin.

Yet, with the customary fate of coalitions, the victory of Turin, immense as it was, was of less advantage to the allied cause than might have been obtained. In the face of danger and disaster, unity prevailed in the confederate councils; but, after success, the temptations of separate interests created jealousy, distrust, and divided efforts. Marlborough, and Godolphin, and the deputies of Holland complained loudly that the victory of Turin was made use of solely for the purpose of taking care of the Imperial interests in Italy. The Imperial troops, instead of following up the French army and increasing their discomfiture, were employed in the reduction of the Milanese, which was treated as an Imperial fief, and in besieging the fortresses occupied by the French. While the Emperor, endeavouring to escape from his engagement to Victor Amadeus, refused to put him in possession of Montserrat, the Lomellina, and the Val di Sesia; and jealous of the offer lately made by Louis XIV. to accept the cession of Naples and Sicily for the Duke D'Anjou in lieu of the rest of the Spanish dominions, he determined to proceed at once to occupy the kingdom of Naples. The Duke of Savoy, on his side, began to be as apprehensive of the domination of Austria in Italy as he had previously been of that of the French; and, although his differences with the Court of Vienna were adjusted by the agency of Marlborough, and the disputed territories ultimately surrendered according to treaty, other difficulties arose in the conduct of the siege of Toulon, which was next resolved upon, and these rendered it impossible that the Duke and his cousin should ever again act together.

The capture of Toulon had been planned by Marlborough, and the scheme was naturally readily adopted by the Maritime Powers. The Court of Vienna embraced it reluctantly, and Eugene joined in its prosecution in a manner so little in accord-

ance with his usual vigour and audacity, that there can be little doubt that he abstained by commands from Vienna, where the Emperor had concluded a secret treaty with France, binding himself to neutrality with respect to Italy; the consequence was that the French garrisons and troops remaining in that country, who might all have been made prisoners, were set at liberty to act against the Allies in other directions. The Imperial Court, with its usual selfishness, was afraid that a too rapid success on the part of the Maritime Powers would have enabled them to conclude a peace in which its own interests might be disregarded. Immense preparations were, however, made for the siege of Toulon, although the Imperial expedition to Naples materially diminished the chances of success. The Austro-Piedmontese army, to the number of 35,000, descended from the Col di Tende upon Nice, passed Antibes and encamped near Toulon, while an allied fleet of forty-three sail and fifty-seven transports, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, anchored before Hyères. Hesitation, contentions, and distracted counsels postponed the proper period of assault, and allowed time for the French reinforcements to arrive, and works of defence to be established, which rendered the capture of the place highly difficult if not impossible. The Allies retired from before Toulon, and recrossed the Var, with the loss of 13,000 men by sickness and desertion. The only advantage gained was the capture of the strong place of Susa after their retreat. The Prince left Turin, declaring that he would never again divide command with the Duke of Savoy; deeply annoyed at the conduct of that politic prince, who before the walls of Toulon had continually insinuated to Sir Cloudesley Shovel that only the will and not the power was wanting in the Imperial leader to take the city.

But Eugene was now destined to leave Italy and to share again the glory of that English commander with whom his name will for ever be united. It was at this time contemplated to send him into Spain, to retrieve the defeat of Almanza and restore the fortunes of the Allies in that country. But after mature deliberation, it was determined that the critical position of the Empire with respect to its foreign relations, as well as its internal condition and the domestic difficulties of the cabinet, did not admit of the removal of its best general and soldier to so remote a theatre. The skilful diplomacy of Marlborough had averted the peril which had lately hung over the Empire, in the threatening aspect of Charles XII., but the fear of its recurrence still remained. The Czar, Peter the Great, was by no means a neighbour from whom the Court of Vienna felt secure; and a Turkish war, and a revolt in Hun-

gary, or both together, might break out at any instant, while there had been differences in the cabinet which no influence but that of Eugene could compose. It was consequently resolved to send Guido Stahremberg—himself a most able general—to the assistance of the Archduke Charles, and that Eugene should be despatched to the Hague to concert measures with Marlborough for the approaching campaign in the North.

Indeed, on all sides it seemed determined that the campaign of 1708 should retrieve the failures of 1707. That year had been marked for the Allies by several disasters, unredeemed by any brilliant success. Besides the failure of the attempt at Toulon, the great defeat of Almanza had ruined the Austrian cause in Spain. Marlborough, hampered in his plans by the Dutch deputies, had been kept in check by Vendôme in Spanish Flanders. Villars had passed the Rhine at Kehl, put to rout an Imperial army under the Margrave of Baireuth, an old and incompetent general, and laid the Imperial territory under contribution as far as the plains of Blenheim; and Duguai-Trouin and Forbin had attacked a convoy of troops going to Spain, and taken and destroyed four English ships of the line. France had made an immense effort to recover herself, although in the last stage of exhaustion, and she paid dearly for the effort. Seven years of war had impoverished the country, exhausted its energy, decimated its able-bodied citizens, drained its resources to the last dregs, and a sombre anxiety weighed on the minds of king, ministers, court, and people.

Nevertheless, the campaign of 1708 opened favourably for the French. They achieved several brilliant successes, which affected for a time even Marlborough with deep anxiety. The Duke of Burgundy and Vendôme commanded jointly in Flanders an army of 90,000 men. Their first operations were well conducted and successful; and Marlborough, who commanded a somewhat inferior force, allowed them to advance into Brabant, and retired upon Louvain, where he invited Eugene to join him in the campaign of Flanders. While Eugene was on his way, the French came suddenly up from their camp between Genappe and Braine-la-Leude,—on the very ground on which the battle of Waterloo was fought in the next century, which Marlborough had also reconnoitred with a view to a general action,—and moved towards the Dender and the Scheldt, with the intention of investing Oudenarde. In order to invest Oudenarde, the French should first have taken possession of Lessines, on the Dender, a strong camp where a hostile army could assume a position which would

oblige them to raise the siege of Oudenarde. But Lessines being twice the distance from Marlborough which it was from themselves, they were in no hurry to take possession of it, the more especially as Marlborough, in order to do so, must place himself between their army and the French frontier. Marlborough was resolved to risk everything in order to prevent the siege. Consequently, by a rapid march, continued during two days and the whole of one night, he got possession of Lessines, and prevented the investment. The movement upon Lessines was a great stroke of genius, and is wholly attributable to the English general.

Eugene had joined Marlborough on the 9th of July, the day before the passage of the Dender at Lessines, with a small troop of horse, without waiting for the body of his troops, which were on their march. His presence, as was always the case, raised the spirits and enthusiasm of the army to the highest pitch. From Lessines to Oudenarde was a march of fifteen miles. At early dawn on the 11th, Cadogan, Marlborough's favourite officer, together with Rantzau, a Hanoverian general, was despatched with the advanced guard, to throw bridges over the Scheldt under the cannon of Oudenarde. Cadogan completed his bridges towards mid-day, passed the river, took up a strong position, proceeded with his cavalry to reconnoitre, and descried several squadrons of the enemy on the further side of the plain, with the men and foraging parties scattered over the country. He immediately attacked and drove back the enemy with his cavalry; but other columns arriving to their support, the French, in their turn, drove back Cadogan; when coming in sight of the allied detachment in position, and seeing the troops in the act of crossing, they supposed the whole confederate army to have crossed the Scheldt, and then retired upon Gavre, where the French army were also crossing. The ill-humour of Vendôme and the stubborn opposition of the Duke of Burgundy prevented even then the French army from taking up the best position under the circumstances, and contradictory orders so embarrassed the movements of the troops, that Pfeffer's Swiss brigade was placed where it was completely cut off from the rest of the army, and the whole detachment were taken prisoners by Cadogan at the very commencement of the battle.

About two o'clock in the day Marlborough and Eugene arrived on the right bank of the Scheldt, posted themselves by the bridge, and gave orders to the troops as they arrived to take up position. Marlborough then entrusted the command of the right wing, in which were the British troops, to Eugene; his division, together with the Prussians and Hanoverians, amounted to sixty battalions.

Marlborough himself commanded the centre, consisting of but twenty battalions of Dutch and Hanoverians; while the veteran Marshal Overkirke, together with the Prince of Orange, commanded the Dutch and the Danes in the left wing, and under the direction of Marlborough executed the important manœuvre which determined the fate of the day. Eugene, indeed, was the first to break the enemy's line on the right, a success which was followed up by the charge of General Natzmer with the Prussian horse; but the Prince, in his turn, was checked by the household squadrons of the French, and by the musketry which poured forth from behind every hedge of the intersected country through which he had to advance. Marlborough, in the centre, fought his way foot by foot from hedge to hedge till he reached the hamlet of Diepenbeck, where he was brought up by a desperate resistance. At that juncture he discovered that the enemy's right extended only to the acclivity of the steep hill of Oycke, and that they had neglected to occupy the high ground above: he took advantage of this error, and directed Overkirke to occupy the heights, turn the right, and cut it off from the main body. This manœuvre was skilfully and rapidly executed by the old marshal, so that at nightfall the hostile right was completely surrounded by the allied army; and the Prince of Orange, who commanded the Danes on the extreme left, after scattering and destroying the troops before him, found himself face to face with Eugene and the troops of his own right, and, in the obscurity, almost mistook them for enemies. From the intricacy of the ground, the darkness of the lines, and the complete isolation of a great portion of the French troops, lost among the hollows, hedges, and defiles, the confusion among the hostile army was extreme. Finding themselves attacked in the rear, many fled with precipitation; others, seeing themselves surrounded, attempted, in vain, to cut their way through. Marlborough himself declared that with two hours' more daylight he would have made an end of the French army, and dictated the terms of peace; such, also, was the opinion of Eugene. 'This victory of Oudenarde,' wrote Marlborough, in a short but significant despatch to Mr. Secretary Boyle, 'will, I hope, make us easy at home, and satisfy all our friends 'that were not so before.' Yet Vendôme, to the last, asserted that nothing was yet lost, and was for renewing the combat at break of day. It must be added that even in retreat Vendôme well sustained his reputation: he collected together a body of stragglers and formed a rear-guard while the mass of the army fled, in disorder, towards Ghent, and took up a position behind the canal between Bruges and Ghent. The allied generals

passed the night on the field of battle, which cost the French 6,000 in killed and wounded, and 9,000 prisoners; the loss of the Allies amounted to 3,000 killed and wounded. While the army was still on the field, the siege of Lille, the capital of French Flanders, was resolved upon. Marlborough, well aware of the discontent which existed in France, and the exhaustion of the country, proposed to mask Lille and to march directly into the enemy's territory; but this plan was opposed by the Dutch as being too hazardous, and even by Eugene, who, however daring in the field, was sometimes timid as a strategist. The siege of Lille was committed to Eugene: its progress was regarded by all Europe with fixed attention, and it forms one of the most memorable enterprises in the history of siege operations.

Lille, the capital of French Flanders, was ceded to Louis XIV. by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. It had been fortified by Vauban, and was considered one of his masterpieces, while the inhabitants had become completely gallicised by forty-one years of French occupation. The Marshal Boufflers, celebrated for his defence of Namur, was deputed to defend it; and such vast preparations were made that the first efforts of the Allies were treated with contempt and ridicule. The difficulties of the undertaking lay not only in the strength of the place, but a formidable hostile army was in the field commanding the water communications of the Scheldt and the Lys, by which the supplies, cannon, and ammunition should have been forwarded to the besiegers. Nevertheless, the skilful co-operation of Marlborough and Eugene overcame all obstacles—the convoys were protected on the route from Brussels, and when that route was stopped Marlborough opened another communication with England by way of Ostend. Marlborough, with his covering army, and by his superior strategy, made abortive every effort of the enemy to interrupt the siege, which was carried on by Eugene with inflexible ardour. The resistance of the place was heroic; every inch of ground cost a deluge of blood. In one assault Eugene himself was struck on the head by a musket-ball, and Marlborough was for a time obliged both to command the operations in the field and to superintend the siege. After four months of incessant fighting both by night and by day, the town surrendered, and shortly after Boufflers capitulated for the citadel.*

* During the siege there were various interchanges of compliments between Marshal Boufflers and Eugene; and the Prince allowed the marshal to draw up his own articles of capitulation, as a tribute to his glorious defence. When the citadel was surrendered, the Prince, together with the Prince of Orange, made the marshal a visit, em-

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season (Lille was taken on the 1st of December), the campaign did not conclude without the reduction of Ghent and the surrender of Bruges and Plassendael. Thus the whole of Spanish Flanders was liberated from the French, and one of the most important frontier towns of France fell into the hands of the Allies.

This campaign was more deplorable in its results for France than any preceding one. The victories of Blenheim and Ramillies had left the soil of the country untouched, and strong places beyond her frontier still in her possession; but now a way was opened to the enemy into the heart of the country. Indeed, a party of French refugees made an incursion into France from Courtray, reached the vicinity of Versailles, and carried off the first equerry of the King on the bridge of Sèvres, in the belief that it was the Dauphin, and the terror of the enemy was in Paris itself. Besides this the nation had descended many degrees in the scale of distress, exhaustion, and despair. Twice had France arisen from prostration in the face of immense disaster, and made head against confederated Europe; but this time the elements themselves seemed leagued with her enemies to annihilate all power of recovery. A winter of Arctic severity set in all over Europe, and was especially severe in France. The Rhone itself, the most headlong of rivers, was frozen to its mouth; the sea was frozen on the coasts as it freezes only in the polar circle; wines and spirituous liquors were frozen within doors; fruit-trees were frozen and split; the olive trees of the South were destroyed, and the seed perished in the furrow. Business was suspended in the courts of law, in shops and counting-houses; whole families were frozen to death in cabins and garrets. The life of man and the spirit of nature were alike extinguished by the intensity of the cold. When the frost disappeared in the month of March, the prospects of the year were appalling: there were no hopes of harvest, and the price of corn was enormous. The scarcity of cattle was so great that it was not repaired for half a century.

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braced him, and overwhelmed him with compliments. The marshal in return invited the Prince to sup with him in the citadel, which was to be evacuated on the morrow. Eugene accepted on condition that he should be entertained with the same dishes which the marshal would have eaten if the siege had continued. The marshal consented; and the first dish of which the two antagonists partook was a dish of horse-flesh, which both declared to be excellent. This dish was, however, followed by others of a different character. On the morrow the marshal returned the visit at the quarters of Prince Eugene, who gave him a magnificent banquet.

Through the heavy war taxes and the consequent oppression of industry, commerce was suspended, the finances were in a state of ruin, and the currency depreciated. The exemption of the nobility and clergy from imposts increased the sufferings of the lower classes. The people died in silence in the country, but broke into riot in the towns, and insulting placards against *Louis le Grand* were posted in the streets, on the walls of churches, and on his very statues. In this extremity Louis XIV., deeply affected with the misery of his people, made use of every effort to bring some alleviation to their suffering. Corn was sent for from Dantzick, the Barbary States, and the Archipelago. The labourers were instructed to sow their fields in the spring with barley, oats, and Indian corn. The King sacrificed his gold and his nobles their silver plate. Madame de Maintenon set the fashion of breakfasting on cakes of oatmeal among the highest families in the country, and nothing was eaten in France but brown and black bread for many months. But more than all, the King resolved to sacrifice his pride, and to sue in humility for peace to those burgesses of Holland whom he had formerly overwhelmed with his arrogance. He sent the president Rouillé to Holland, to open negotiations for peace. He offered to give up Spain, the Indies, and the Milanese to Charles; to reserve for his grandson only Naples and Sicily; to give up the Low Countries with Menin, now in the possession of the Allies; to surrender Ypres in place of Lille; and to restore the relations with the Empire on the footing of the peace of Ryswick.

As soon as it was known that negotiations had been set on foot, each member of the Grand Alliance began to swell to the utmost the budget of his claims. England, indeed, demanded nothing for herself but what had been already offered — the recognition of the title of the Queen and the Protestant Succession, the demolition of Dunkirk, the cession of Newfoundland, and the expulsion of the Pretender from France. But the Queen and her government were overwhelmed with memorials from every member of the Alliance. Leaving alone the smaller members, the Dutch, although they hesitated to accede to England's demand of the demolition of Dunkirk, made out a list of towns, now in possession of France, which should be delivered to them to create the famous barrier; while the House of Hapsburg, who thought the demand of the Dutch excessive, insisted on the abandonment of the whole of the dominions of the Spanish monarchy; that the relations between the Empire and France be restored, not on the footing of the peace of Ryswick, but on that of Westphalia; that Strasbourg should be surren-

dered; and, moreover, the Archduke Charles was not satisfied with all Spain, but required Roussillon in addition, and the territory ceded by the peace of the Pyrenees. It was useless to attempt to conciliate such conflicting claims; the proposals of Rouillé were rejected, and the pretensions of the Allies raised. The French minister requested that the negotiation might not be broken off until he had communicated with Versailles.

Louis, on the arrival of his courier with this intelligence, called his Council together on the 28th of April. The account which Torcy, nephew of the great Colbert, then minister of the King, has given of this meeting is most pathetic. Eight years and a half before a similar council, in which all now present were also included, had been called to decide whether the House of Bourbon should accept the heritage of the vast monarchy of Spain. It was resolved, not without much discussion, to accept the immense inheritance. A week after their momentous decision had been taken, the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain at Versailles, received homage in the cabinet of Louis XIV., after which the great Monarch caused the folding doors to be thrown open before all his court, and presented his grandson with the words, '*Messieurs, voilà le Roi d'Espagne.*' But how vast now was the change. The King, no longer the same as in the plenitude of power, was grown old and worn with anxiety. France, exhausted, was battling for existence, instead of giving, as she once had done, the law to Europe. The council was composed of the Dauphin; his son, the Duke of Burgundy; Pontchartrain, Chancellor of France; the Duke de Beauvilliers; the Marquis de Torcy; Chamillart, the War Secretary; and Desmarets, Controller-General. Beauvilliers, in words of emotion, described the desolation of France. The Duke of Burgundy wept at his description, and all joined in his tears. The whole council was for peace. The King resigned himself to the demolition of Dunkirk; to the cession of Lille, Tournay, and other places demanded by the Dutch; to restore Strasbourg; to return to the treaty of Westphalia, and to accept Naples alone for his grandson without Sicily. Time pressed; the campaign was about to open; and, in this extremity, De Torcy offered to go in disguise to the Hague and offer these conditions to the Allies. Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary — he whom Louvois had once threatened to put in the Bastille — was astounded when he learnt that the minister of France was waiting in his antechamber. Heinsius took care, in the present instance, to avenge an affront which he had never forgotten. At the sug-

gestion of the Imperial party, he again proposed the erection of Franche Comté into a kingdom to indemnify Philip V., and Torcy in despair turned to Marlborough.

Marlborough was at this time in secret correspondence with both the courts of St. Germain and of Hanover, professing to both princes that he was ready to serve them unto the last drop of his blood, to secure both their accessions to the throne of England: nevertheless, we think, all things considered, that the perusal of his correspondence with Godolphin and the Duchess leaves no doubt that if he had conducted the negotiations alone with Torcy, peace would have been made on far better conditions than were subsequently obtained. 'M. de Torcy,' he wrote to Godolphin, 'has offered so much that I have no 'doubt it will end in a good peace.' Marlborough overcame the objections of the Pensionary to the principal articles. Conference followed upon conference, and counter proposals on proposals. Louis, pressed more and more, was willing to give up Naples — that is, abandon his grandson wholly to satisfy all the demands of England and Holland; but the whole difficulty was with Austria, and the Allies would not at that time separate their interests from those of the Empire, and nothing would satisfy the House of Hapsburg but an undertaking on the part of Louis XIV. to join with the Allies in ejecting his own grandson from Spain, if that country should not be evacuated within two months. The King, when the *ultimatum* of the Allies which reserved the power of making further demands was made known to him, refused acceptance, declared that it was better to be at war with his enemies than with his own children, and prepared again to renew the struggle.

France arose, once more, heroically from her despair, at the summons of her monarch, to enter upon another campaign for the honour of the French name. Although the conferences of Utrecht were not opened till 1712, this was the last campaign in which a really great battle was fought; and both parties prepared themselves for the deadliest struggle of the whole war. Louis XIV. had at last resolved on entrusting the restoration of his fallen fortunes to the right man, the brilliant, gasconading, but hitherto neglected Villars, the victor of Friedlingen, so happily styled by Voltaire, who knew him well,—

'L'heureux Villars! fanfaron, plein de cœur.'

Hitherto the genius of this spirited commander had not been allowed a sufficient field. He had, indeed, been opposed to Marlborough on the Moselle in 1705, where, though restrained by positive orders not to hazard an engagement, he gained

reputation by checking his adversary. Since his great successes against the Elector of Bavaria, before he became the ally of France, his ability and science had been thrown away in a petty defensive warfare in the Alps against the Duke of Savoy, or occupied with the suppression of the revolt in the Cevennes. Now, however, he flew to the frontiers, where he was received enthusiastically by the soldiers, with whom he was an especial favourite. No leader was so calculated to restore the lost spirit of an army, and, above all, a French army. He shared the black bread and the privations of the meanest soldiers, sat with them under their tents and around their watch-fires, and told them stories of the prowess of Frenchmen, such as Frenchmen especially love to hear. Yet Villars himself was frightened at the state in which he found the army. The battalions, indeed, were tolerably full; for the famine which depopulated France drove men to follow the bread-waggons of the army. Yet these were now for the most part empty. The soldier was in want of everything — bread, arms, and clothes, for even clothes were often bartered away for bread. Yet the popularity of Villars — a popularity founded, not like Vendôme's, upon licence, but on qualities which made him beloved by enemies as well as by friends — wrought wonders; and in a short time he declared that the patience and firmness of his soldiers surpassed belief; although, with an army so ill provided, consisting so largely of raw levies, so discouraged by disaster, he dared not take the offensive, and opposed the designs of the Allies by a war of marches and entrenchments.

The confederate army took the field well equipped, wanting in nothing, full in numbers, and eager for assault, confident of victory, and proud of their commanders. The allied plan of campaign was to force Villars to a battle, besiege the strong places on the Upper Lys, penetrate as far as Boulogne, take it with the aid of a fleet, then lay Picardy under contribution, and push on to Paris. From the backwardness of the season, it was late in June before they took the field. When they did so, they found Villars posted between Douay and the Lys, behind lines so strong, both by nature and art, that they did not venture to attack him. Making a feint in the direction of Villars, which induced him to draw off part of the garrison of Tournay, together with those of other towns, for his own defence, they then turned on Tournay, took it, and proceeded to invest Mons. Villars did not venture to interfere with the siege of Tournay; but when he saw Mons was threatened, he broke up from his camp by the Lys, and marched to the heath of Malplaquet, which was situated in front of one of the

openings of the country called *trouées*, between two thick woods on the plain of Mons. Villars had so adjusted his movements that the Allies thought his forward progress was only a feint, to enable him to throw reinforcements into Mons. However, when Villars took up his position at Malplaquet, on the night of the 8th September, he found the Allies between himself and Mons. The left of Marlborough was so close to his right, that cannonading commenced. Marlborough was for immediate attack, having, as he thought, the advantage in troops, before the enemy could fortify his position. To this the Dutch deputies objected, as also did Eugene, who thought he should not have sufficient time to bring up his own men. Mons, then, was blockaded, various movements made, while it was determined to bring Villars to an engagement. Villars, faithful to his defensive system, entrenched himself with all speed, and made his position as strong as art could make it. His two wings of infantry occupied the woods — that of Lasniere being on his left, that of Sart on his right — protected by abattis and earthworks of great strength and solidity. When the allied generals surveyed his position at daybreak on the 10th, it seemed so formidable that a council of war was again called, and Eugene urged the necessity of waiting for a further detachment from Tournay. Marlborough, it is said, was still for immediate attack. The remainder of the 10th was then spent in dispositions; while Villars was employing every hour, night and day, in strengthening his position with earthworks, entrenchments, fascines, and barricades of trees. Late on the 10th he struck out a second line of entrenchments, behind which he might retire, if beaten from the first. On the morning of the 11th, under cover of a fog, the allied forces placed their batteries in position; the sun broke through at half-past seven, and the action commenced. Eugene commanded the right, which was to advance upon the wood of Sart, and carry the entrenchments there. Marlborough reserved to himself the centre, which was to move upon the redans on the open ground; while the Prince of Orange, supported by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, led the Dutch infantry on the left. The allied troops, though composed of so many different nations, were all united with one spirit, bound together by the remembrance of many victories, and full of confidence in their generals. The French, however, were animated in the highest degree with patriotism, and enthusiasm spread itself from rank to rank.

The aged Marshal Boufflers had served to increase the spirit of devotion in the soldiers, by joining the camp two days before, and in spite of seniority, consenting to serve under

Villars. Some of the regiments, famished as they had been, threw away their bread, to be the better prepared for action; and when Villars appeared among them, shouted, '*Vive le roi et M. de Villars.*' Eugene having been the first to advise the battle, he commenced with the attack on the wood of Sart. The contest here was desperate, as it was on every part of the battle on that day. The Prince led his troops three times against the hostile entrenchments, exposed himself at the head of his infantry, and though severely wounded in the head, refused to have it dressed. After a whole morning's incessant fighting, he found it impossible to drive the French from their last entrenchment, but he maintained his position in the wood, and awaited the event of the conflict on the rest of the line.

The right wing was the strongest portion of the French entrenchments, being triple in construction and bristling with cannon. Marlborough's plan of battle had been to make only a feint at this part, but the Prince of Orange converted it into a real attack, and by his inconsiderate valour caused immense loss. As he advanced against the first entrenchment, 2,000 of his infantry and five general officers were brought down with one discharge; however he stormed the first entrenchment and the second, but was brought up at the third; and though he seized the standard of one of the regiments and planted it on the hostile parapet with his own hand, found it impossible to get further, and being charged in flank by some French brigades who leaped out of the entrenchments, he was obliged to retire, leaving the ground behind him heaped with his own dead. The fire was so murderous, that of 200 French refugees, cadets of good family, 195 were killed. The Dutch battalions lost several colours which they had taken, and their advanced batteries. Eugene now again renewed the battle desperately on the right, and to resist his assault Villars drew some of the troops from his centre and led them himself; in the attack he was struck below the knee with a ball, and ordered a chair to be brought that he might still direct the conflict, but he fainted and was carried from the field.* Not-

* In this battle Prince Eugene put forth all his skill, and displayed even more than his accustomed bravery; for he regarded it as especially his own. When pressed to retire to have his wound dressed, he replied, 'If I am to die here, what matters it? if I am not, there 'will be plenty of time this evening.' He was probably desperate to succeed, that he might not have the blame thrown on him of rejecting Marlborough's advice to attack before Villars had entrenched himself. In this Marlborough was probably right: no general ever made fewer

withstanding this, however, the allied battalions were again repulsed to the skirt of the wood of Lasniere. Marlborough then perceiving that the centre had been thinned, ordered Lord Orkney to assault the redans. The troops who occupied the redans being nearly unsupported, the redans were carried by Lord Orkney, and the batteries upon them turned against the enemy. Then the Prince of Auvergne began to press through the French line with the allied cavalry, and a fierce and most terrific conflict commenced. Auvergne was charged again and again by the French dragoons, who had been placed in the rear of the French line, and was continually repulsed until Orkney had established his infantry on the parapets, when with the aid of their fire and that of the cross batteries, the French cavalry were in their turn thrown in disorder. Marlborough now brought up against them a second line of British and Prussian cavalry, who charged and drove the enemy before them, till they were assaulted again by a fresh body of horse, consisting of the splendid *élite* of the French household troops, who carried every thing before them. At this crisis Eugene came up opportunely with his horse, and after a series of desperate conflicts, in which the French returned again and again to the charge, this gallant body retreated across the plain, and the French centre was broken. Boufflers, on whom the command had devolved, and who had in person led the mousquetaires and gardes du corps of the splendid squadrons of the royal household repeatedly to the charge in the tremendous conflict at the centre, seeing that both wings were cut off, gave orders for retreat, which he effected in magnificent order, turning round from time to time to charge with his cavalry and cover the fugitives. The Allies were too much exhausted for pursuit. This was the greatest battle

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mistakes, and the result, we think, proves that he made no mistake here; for the dreadful loss of the Allies was caused by the increased strength of the French position: although it may be objected that the Prince of Orange caused the largest part of the loss by doing more than his part in the scheme of the battle, yet, as it happened, his attack operated greatly towards securing victory; for Boufflers had need of all his force to oppose him, and was consequently able to spare none for Villars, when Villars was hard pressed on the left, and sent for reinforcements. Villars was therefore obliged to impoverish his centre, which gave Marlborough an opportunity of breaking through. Nevertheless, Villars always maintained that if he had not been carried off the field, he should have charged the Allied cavalry in flank when they broke through, and won the battle; but Voltaire, who had often heard an account of the battle from Villars, says, 'I have found very few who believed him.'

of the whole of the wars of Louis XIV., and hardly any contest in modern warfare, with the exception of Waterloo and Talavera, has been so fiercely contested. Few guns or colours were taken, and the loss on the side of the Allies was greater than that of the enemy. The French killed and wounded amounted to 14,000, those of the Allies to 20,000, of whom 11,000 were Dutch. The Dutch infantry never recovered from that terrible field, which was as fatal to them as Rocroi had been to the infantry of Spain.

Louis now again humbled himself before his antagonists, and humbled himself in vain. He offered to accept the hard preliminaries which had been offered to De Torcy, provided only the Allies would spare his honour, and accept of some modification of Article 37, which obliged him to turn his arms against his grandson. Conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the different Powers were however opened at Gertruydenberg. But it was found impossible to conciliate the jarring interests and pretensions of the confederates. In the midst of these contentions, a still more humiliating proposal was tendered to the French King, 'that he should undertake the sole respon-'sibility of ejecting his grandson from Spain' before any peace should be agreed upon. Louis, driven to the last extremity, offered to subsidise the Allies against his grandson in Spain, and give up Alsace and Valenciennes to the Austrians; but the influence of Austria secured the rejection of his proposal, and the French plenipotentiaries returned on the 15th of July, 1710, after five months and a half of humiliation. In England only did Louis find ground for hope and consolation. The ambitious, domineering, and arrogant spirit of the Duchess of Marlborough had done more for him than his armies in the field. She had disgusted the Queen with herself, her husband, and the war. The Whig Ministry was on the point of falling. The imprudent persecution of Sacheverel had let loose against them a torrent of popular indignation which consummated their ruin; and the opinions of Harley and Mrs. Masham were already on the point of being as triumphant with the country as they were with the Queen. The nation was rapidly becoming weary of a war from which they expected no further advantages, and of which they alone supported the main burden and alone fulfilled the onerous engagements.

The next campaign, which was the last in which Marlborough and Eugene were destined to act together, was principally remarkable for the great caution displayed on both sides. Villars was restrained by injunction from Versailles from risking a battle; and Marlborough, aware that he was rapidly falling

into disgrace, was unwilling to risk a great battle with an impeachment before him. Marlborough, in pursuance of his plan, obtained possession in the first campaign of the whole line of the Lys, and of the towns of Douay, Bethune, and St. Venant. Yet, skilful as were the operations both of Villars, who was manœuvring carefully with his last army to save France, and Marlborough, who was manœuvring with equal care to save his head, nothing occurred equal to the splendid and bloodless capture of the French line at Bouchain by Marlborough in 1712, in which he put forth all his skill, and passed Villars at the spot where he had boasted that he brought his antagonist to his *ne plus ultra*—an operation which will ever be considered as a perfect masterpiece of strategy.

But the event had now occurred which was to change the whole aspect of the war. The Emperor Joseph, who had succeeded his father Leopold in 1705, died in the very prime of youth, of the small-pox, and his brother Charles, the Prince for whom the Allies had lavished their blood and treasure for eleven years, was elected to the Empire; this circumstance strengthened immeasurably the authority of the peace party in England, who found no difficulty in reinforcing their arguments against the war by the consideration that England could have small interest in sacrificing her soldiers and spending seven millions a year for the purpose of reviving the colossal monarchy of Charles V.

The death of Joseph was bitterly felt by Eugene. He was personally deeply attached to the young Emperor, who, with his free, generous, buoyant spirit, was in most respects the direct opposite of his gloomy and reserved successor. When the young Sovereign was seized with his fatal malady, Eugene, being about to leave for the Netherlands, pressed earnestly to be allowed to visit his sick bed; but the Emperor refused to subject the chief support of his empire to the chance of contagion.

While the Archduke Charles was preparing to leave Barcelona, Eugene, leaving the command of the army in the Netherlands to Marlborough, was actively engaged in canvassing the courts of Germany to secure the election of the new monarch to the Empire, and in covering the scene of their deliberations at Frankfort with the army of the Rhine. When the troops were dismissed to their winter quarters, the Prince went to meet his new Emperor at Innsbruck to discuss the present state of affairs. He found the Counts Zinzendorf and Wratislaw, ministers of the late monarch, already in attendance. As may be imagined, the relations with England was the chief topic of discussion. Everything in this country was going against

the Imperial interests. Not only were the Whigs dismissed from power; not only had public feeling and a majority of the Lower House declared loudly in favour of the Tories and against the war; not only were they aware that secret negotiations of the most unfavourable character were being conducted between the Tory ministers and the Court of Versailles, but the Austrian envoy, Count Gallas, had been dismissed under circumstances of an extremely unpleasant character.

In this embarrassed state of affairs, the Emperor proposed that Eugene himself should visit England, in the hope that his personal influence might operate upon the Queen's government, and bring about a renewed prosecution of the war for the same purposes as before. Eugene himself had no illusions about his mission, and thought it a hopeless one. In his long and intimate connexion with Marlborough, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the height to which party spirit ran in England, and the hopelessness of his task. Nevertheless, in obedience to the wish of his sovereign, he determined to make the attempt. The Tory ministry, as soon as they heard of his proposed visit, used every effort to avert it, and declared that the popular feeling was so strong against the war, that they could not answer for his safety. The Prince, however, embarked at the Hague on January 7. 1712; and after a stormy passage of nine days he arrived in the Thames. The first question which he asked on his arrival showed his acquaintance with the state of English parties, and his knowledge of the plans of the Tory ministry. He asked, 'whether 'the new lords were created,' who were to give the ministry a majority in the Upper House, as they already possessed one in the Lower.

As far as his mission was concerned, it was, as he foresaw, an entire failure. The Queen received him civilly and coldly. She presented him with a splendid sword on her birthday, but regretted that the state of her health did not allow her to discuss politics, and referred him to her ministers. He presented her with a memorial, and drew up five others for her ministers, recalling the mutual engagements of England to the Empire, and offering, on the part of the Emperor, to make greater sacrifices than ever. The ministers listened to him with indifference, and postponed a reply till they had consulted the Commons.

Both Harley and St. John concealed the negotiations then in full activity between France and England, and declared that England had contracted no engagements with France. St. John, Prince Eugene said, from his superior knowledge of French,

answered fluently enough, and evaded direct replies with great dexterity; but Harley took advantage of his bad French, made replies in unintelligible noises which nobody could understand, and then turned away to some other subject. However, by the people he was received with even more cordial demonstrations than Blucher received in the streets of London after the campaign of 1815. Whenever he was expected to appear crowds assembled to get a glimpse of him; he was constantly fêted by both Whigs and Tories, and the latter were as anxious to get a view of him as the former. Even Swift, who wrote such libellous stuff about him in his 'Four Years of 'Queen Anne's Reign,' proposed to some lords 'to have a sober 'meal with him, but was unable to compass it.' He, however, saw him at court, and wrote to Stella 'that he was plaguy 'yellow and very ugly besides.' Pope remarked 'that he took 'towns as he did snuff.' For, like Frederick and Napoleon, he was a great snuff-taker, and, like them, took it out of his waistcoat pocket. Steele has drawn a not unpleasing portrait of him in the 'Tatler.' The Prince passed most of his time with Marlborough, and could on no account be persuaded not to show him the same respect as in the days of his highest prosperity.

Eugene, finding that he could make no impression in England, passed over into Holland, and assured the States-General that they must now carry on the campaign entirely on their own resources. The Duke of Ormond, who was sent over to command the English forces, had orders to co-operate in no serious movement, and notice of this injunction was given to Villars. A truce with England was soon formally ratified, and the English army separated entirely from the Austro-Dutch forces on the 17th of July; while on the 19th, 5,000 English took possession of Dunkirk as a guarantee of the promises of the French King. Eugene and Villars were thus left face to face. The army of Eugene was still superior to that of Villars; at the beginning of the campaign it obtained several advantages, and proceeded to invest Landrecy. In spite of the defection of England from the Allies, the progress of Eugene filled Versailles and the whole kingdom with alarm. Not only did this exhausted country sink again into despair, but a succession of calamities had fallen upon the royal family which seemed to mark it out as abandoned by Providence to extinction.

At the same time an additional disaster, the death of the Duke of Vendôme, who, aided by the enthusiastic and resistless outbreak of the national Spanish spirit, had restored Philip to Madrid and brought all Spain, with the exception of Barcelona, under his authority, seemed to portend a reversal of the only

successes they had enjoyed. The general discouragement was so great that already courtiers began to advise the King to retire to Blois. But the King declared to Villars in his last interview before the campaign, that in case of further defeat he was resolved to perish with the army or save the state. Fortunately, however, for France the genius of Villars was now in the ascendant. Eugene, with his past experience of the caution of the French general, grew himself too venturesome, scattered his forces, and neglected to keep himself in sufficiently close communication with the Dutch general, the Earl of Albemarle who, with seventeen battalions, was posted behind entrenchments at Denain to protect the convoys of the army of Eugene. Villars suddenly attacked the forces under the Earl of Albemarle, and entirely destroyed or took prisoners the whole of them. Eugene was a witness of their discomfiture from the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and tried in vain to cross the bridge under the enemy's fire to come to their assistance. The Allies lost 8,000 men and 12 cannon, Albemarle and several German princes were taken prisoners, and Villars sent sixty stand of colours to Versailles. The siege of Landrecy was raised; Villars maintained his superiority over Eugene in this and the succeeding campaign; he recaptured several important places in Holland, and Landau and Friburg on the side of Alsatia.

Eugene now advised the Emperor to make peace. The English ministry, taking advantage of the disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough, and of the general change in the aspect of the war, had already concluded peace at Utrecht on the same terms which might have been obtained almost at any moment since the commencement of the war, and had brought the Dutch to accept the same conditions. Victor Amadeus II. also secured the integrity of all Piedmont on the other side of the Alps, together with the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and was besides recognised as King of Sicily. Frederic I., the first King of Prussia, as a sign of his emancipation, alone of all the constituent states detached himself from the Empire and joined also in the peace. Had the Emperor been willing to sign peace at the same time, the House of Hapsburg might have had Landau and perhaps Strasbourg. But the ill success which attended their last campaign obliged the Court of Vienna, not only to renounce them, but to make further concessions. The two leaders of the war were appointed to negotiate the peace, and they agreed to open the conferences at Rastadt. It was fortunate that Villars and Eugene should have had the conduct of so important a negotiation. They had long known and

esteemed each other, and their antagonism in war had not impaired their friendship. Both were good diplomatists and both brave men, incapable of rancour or jealousy. They met each other in the frank, chivalrous, and courteous spirit which distinguished princes and chevaliers of old. After the first interview of ceremony was paid, they visited each other privately. They passed their mornings in diplomatic fencing, dined together with their followers in the afternoon, and passed their evenings in company at brelan or piquet. Nevertheless, there were many difficulties which had to be smoothed over on both sides before peace could be made certain; but the conduct of both negotiators was admirable. Whether we regard Eugene's management of the negotiation in the narrative of Villars or in that of the volumes before us, his ability and firm and straightforward dealing are most remarkable. '*J'ai toujours pensé*,' he told Villars, '*que la meilleure finesse est de n'en avoir pas*;' and to his honour it must be mentioned that the point for which he made the most strenuous protestations, and for which he combated to the last, though in vain, was the protection of the Catalans and their privileges from the reprisals with which they were threatened by Philip and Louis XIV. The preliminaries having been arranged at Rastadt, the general peace was signed at Baden in Switzerland. Of all the possessions of the Spanish monarchy Charles retained only the portions he already held in possession, Sardinia, Milan, Naples, and Mantua; he was obliged to reinstate the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions, and to ratify the barrier treaty with Holland.

'Thus,' writes Villars, 'after a war of fourteen years, during 'which the Emperor and the King of France had nearly quitted 'their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in 'Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed 'their sovereigns,—a war which had desolated the greater part of 'Europe, was concluded almost on the very terms which might 'have been procured at the commencement of hostilities.'*

It was not long, however, before Eugene found himself again at the head of his army in the field. His last great successes were gained against his old enemies, the Turks, who had broken the treaty of Carlowitz and attacked the Venetians in the Morea. Being threatened with hostilities, the Ottoman Power

* A general view of all the military operations of the contest of the Spanish Succession may be obtained with great advantage from Sir Edward Cust's excellent 'Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth 'Century;' which are a most compendious and accurate manual of military history, invaluable to the student and to the officer in the field.

replied by assembling an immense army and sending it across the Save. Eugene went to meet them at the head of the Imperial troops, an army inured to war—in perfect discipline—confident in the remembrance of many victories, and proud of their leader. When such an army—led by such a general, versed in all the science and practice of modern warfare, came into collision with the blind and undisciplined valour of a multitude of barbarians, the result was easy to be foreseen. The defeat of the Turks at Peterwaradin and at Belgrade can be paralleled only with the route of the Persians at Marathon or Arbela. In the battle under the walls of Belgrade, Eugene fought with 40,000 men against 200,000, being himself besieged in his own camp while laying siege to Belgrade. The Imperialists forced the entrenchments of the Turks with irresistible impetuosity, and sent the whole mass of barbarians flying in such terror and disorder that they trampled each other to death in their precipitous confusion. This victory made more noise in Europe than any since the raising of the siege of Turin; odes were written about it in almost every language, and the Pope presented Eugene with a consecrated cap and sword for his services against the infidels. In consequence of this defeat the Turks signed the peace of Passarowitz, which established a treaty for twenty-five years and put Austria in possession of the Banat of Temeswar and the western part of Wallachia and Servia, together with Belgrade and part of Bosnia.

We have no space now left us to trace the finger of Eugene amid the tangled threads of diplomacy which were woven among the different courts in the first half of the eighteenth century. Eugene lived, however, to behold nearly the whole of the share of the Spanish dominions which fell to Austria at the peace of Utrecht wrested from it. Having first exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, the House of Hapsburg lost both Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos in 1734, and never recovered them. Nothing but the Milanese remained of all the splendid heritage of Charles V., and that was destined to be a source of weakness rather than strength. The war, however, in which the Two Sicilies were lost was undertaken in opposition to the urgent advice of Eugene, whose counsels were almost always, in the latter part of his life, of a peaceful character. He, nevertheless, at the request of the Emperor, once more took the field at the head of an Imperial army on the Rhine. But with the motley, ill-disciplined force under his command he could effect nothing, and Philipsburg was taken by the French in his presence, and in spite of him.*

* At this siege Berwick was killed: when Villars, who always

During his eventful career the successive emperors, Leopold, Joseph, and Charles, for the most part, treated so faithful a servant with all the confidence and esteem he deserved. For a few years, however, under the reign of Charles VI., his position at the Court of Vienna was very painful. Court cabals and jealousies, indeed, had all his life been at work against him, but with little effect except during the years 1717–22, when the intrigues of the Spanish courtier, Althan, contrived to bring about an estrangement between the monarch and his illustrious subject. The Emperor always retained a vivid recollection of the sacrifices which the Catalans had made for him, and endeavoured to repay their devotion in part by the favours which he heaped on the Spanish noblemen who accompanied him from Barcelona. Count Althan, with the Bishop of Valencia and others, made up a Spanish council, which, under pretence of governing the Imperial provinces which lately belonged to Spain, endeavoured absolutely to control the affairs of the rest of the empire. Eugene, as the greatest authority in the empire, was the especial object of their machinations. It was insinuated to the Emperor that the Prince was too powerful for a subject, and that he had designs upon the succession. The plot which was being woven to ruin him in the Imperial favour was discovered to the Prince by a domestic, when the decided tone which he adopted,—the threat of laying down all his offices and appealing to Europe to pronounce judgment between them,—constrained the Emperor to recognise the groundlessness of the suspicions which he entertained, and their former confidence and intimacy was restored.

Eugene, as a politician, was distinguished for the clearness, steadiness, and uprightness of his views: his state papers are always remarkable documents; they are logical, concise, and vigorous, and those in French are written in an excellent style. His political foresight was remarkable, and at any particular crisis it is to be remarked that his advice was always the wisest, the justest, and the best for the weal of the empire. Had his suggestions been adopted with respect to alliances, Austria would have been spared many of the humiliations which she had to undergo. He proposed that Maria Theresa should be married to Frederick the Great, and when this counsel was not adopted, he recommended the young princess to take care

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longed for a soldier's end, and was then eighty-two, heard of his death, he exclaimed, '*J'ai toujours dit qu'il était plus heureux que moi*,' and died himself a few hours afterwards.

that her father left her a full treasury and a well-appointed army. He was likewise very liberal in his views, and in the troubled state of Hungary his influence was often used to modify the severity of the Imperial counsels.*

His common sense and pènetration were always excellent on every question. Thus when speculations were overrunning Europe, and South Sea schemes and Mississippi bubbles were ruining myriads in Change Alley and the Rue Quincampoix, the good sense of Eugene kept Austria clear of all such enterprises; yet so much the more did he encourage every kind of real industry, and several kinds of manufactures were introduced into Vienna by his patronage. If in point of mere strategy he may be placed somewhat below Marlborough, yet in moral worth and in general cultivation he must rank far higher. He wrote and spoke grammatically, though not orthographically, French, Italian, and Spanish, German and Latin also, but not so accurately; and it appears that his famous signature, '*Eugenio von Sauoy*,' was adopted because he thought it was German (Sauoy indeed is not French). He was deeply attached to literature, the fine arts, and sciences, and showed it in a variety of ways. When he threatened to retire from public affairs, he said with 12,000 *livres de rente* and his books, he should have occupation for the rest of his life. He spared no pains and no expense to make his library complete. He was anxious to read every new work of merit, and particularly so to possess copies from the authors themselves, and often wrote letters to ask for them. He became intimate with Leibnitz during his residence at Vienna, and applied himself diligently to master his philosophy. The treatise containing the exposition of Leibnitz's theory of monads was composed especially for the use of Eugene, who kept the MS. in a box, and showed it only to his intimate friends. He endeavoured

* Immediately after the peace of Passarowitz, he gave notice to his fair friend the Countess Batthyany, by means of a letter from his camp in Hungary, that danger threatened the liberties of Hungary, in these words:—'It is intended to place Hungary on a Bohemian footing.' The countess instantly dressed herself in mourning, and went to the house of the Countess Althan, the mistress of Charles VI. When the monarch came to pay his daily visit to the Countess Althan, he found both ladies in deep mourning. They besought him with tears to do nothing with Hungary until he had heard Prince Eugene. He consented to write a letter to the Prince. The countess's travelling carriage was in the court. Although it was the depth of winter, she travelled day and night, and brought back the Prince, and the liberties of Hungary were saved.

also to forward Leibnitz in all his schemes, and especially in that for the foundation of an Academy of Sciences at Vienna. He took especial pleasure in the intimacy of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, the French lyric poet in vogue, and then residing in Vienna. Rousseau was much with him, dining with him constantly in public and private. He was astonished at the greatness and simplicity of the Prince's character; at the justness of his views, the catholicity of his taste, the generality of his information, and the general modesty of his language and demeanour. Eugene also ventured at times to give Rousseau advice upon his literary schemes full of good sense and judgment. Literary and learned men in every country were employed to pick up books for him, and even when he came to London he found time to purchase books, MSS. and choice engravings. Rousseau remarked with astonishment that large as his library was, and choice as was the selection of books, all bore marks of Eugene's perusal. No branch of knowledge was unrepresented, and at the present day Eugene's collections form a striking portion of the Imperial Library, all splendidly bound, with the arms of the Prince on both covers. The same taste extended itself to works of art, curiosities of nature, and articles of *virtu*. The famous connoisseur, Cardinal Albani, assisted in forming the collections of antiques, medals, china, pictures, statues, engravings, furniture, which embellished his beautiful palaces in town and country. Nor was he less curious about birds, beasts, and plants, of each of which he made a collection. Every ship from the Indies brought him some bird of strange plumage. His collection of plants was esteemed by the best botanists of the day; and in his menagerie a favourite lion was said to have announced by a roar the hour of the decease of his master.

He had two splendid palaces in Vienna, on both of which he expended large sums of money. He was fond of building and of laying out gardens, not only for his own pleasure but to give occupation to the poor. In 1714, when the plague was in Vienna and a dearth likewise came on, though other employers turned away their labourers, Eugene purposely increased the number of his own workmen. He built much on his estates, and on one occasion, when some works were nearly finished, and his foreman spoke of dismissing the workmen, he remarked sharply, 'In that case I shall have no need of you.' In the same way his care for his troops was also very great, and was well rewarded by the attachment of his men. His receptions with the army were always enthusiastic. The soldiers called him their friend and their father, and as every great

general nearly has had a *sobriquet*, so Eugene was the *Capuzinerl*, '*the little Capuchin*,' from a common brown great coat with brass buttons which he was accustomed to wear, and up to the present time he is the favourite of the soldier's song in every state of Germany as *Prinz Eugen der edle Ritter* — 'Prince Eugene, 'the noble Knight.' Indeed, universally it was nobility, true nobility of soul which impressed every one who had to do with Prince Eugene as his great characteristic. He was generous, true, and above all forgiving. Constant as was the chicanery, jealousy, and spite which pursued him at the Court of Vienna, he always remained true to himself, and his enemies never had the satisfaction of driving him to do or say anything nnworthy his reputation. Guido Stahremberg in particular, the Austrian general next in reputation and ability to Eugene, was an incessant and rancorous detractor of his fame, but he never excited Eugene to speak an evil word of himself. As for honesty, he expressed his opinion that 'honesty was not indis-'pensable, but that it was the best quality of a statesman;' and Villars in his negotiations with him wrote home to his court that 'nothing in his life gave so much trouble as not giving 'offence to Eugene.' He continued, as long as Villars lived, to hold friendly intercourse with him. The two warriors wrote affectionate letters, and informed each other of their amusements and occupations, discussed the politics of Europe, and sent each other little presents. But the great friend of Eugene for the last twenty-five years of his life was the beautiful Countess Lory Batthyany. For a quarter of a century Eugene passed his evenings at the Duchess of Holstein's, where he met the countess, or at the countess's own house. His four horses used to find their own way there at last, and have been known to stop of their own accord before her doors, with Eugene asleep inside, the coachman asleep on the box, the heyduck on the steps, and the footman in the rumble; the collective ages of master and servants amounting to 310 years. He passed his last evening with the countess, and played piquet till nine in the evening. It was observed that he breathed hard and had difficulty in forcing himself to appear at ease. On his return home his attendant wished him to take medicine which had been prescribed, but he refused, saying 'to-morrow was time enough.' About midnight his servant entered his chamber, and saw him quietly sleeping; but in the morning he did not rise as usual, and he was found to have passed away quietly in the night.

His body lay in state three days, booted and spurred, and clad in the scarlet uniform of his regiment; the lieutenant-

colonel, with drawn sword, stood on guard before the remains of his late commander. His coat of mail, his helmet and gauntlets, were suspended over his head. The Ducal Cap, the sign of his race, with the Order of the Golden Fleece, were placed on cushions of black velvet; there, too, lay his marshal's staff and sword, and the consecrated cap and sword sent by the Pope; sixty wax torches were kept burning near him night and day. He was interred with all the honour due to so illustrious a servant of the empire. His body was embalmed and buried in the Chapel of the Cross in St. Stephen's, and the Emperor attended incognito as a mourner at the funeral. The heart was sent to Turin, where it rests with the ashes of his ancestors in the mausoleum of the Superga.

Eugene's immense possessions were inherited by a niece, the Princess Anna Victoria of Savoy, daughter of his eldest brother, the Count of Soissons, then fifty-two years of age, and very ugly. She sold and dispersed all his beautiful collections — his medals, his statues, his pictures, and his works of art. Only his library and his favourite palace, the Belvedere, were purchased by the Crown. His two nephews died prematurely. He does not appear ever to have contemplated marriage, and is reported to have said that a soldier should not marry. It was suspected that there existed a tender relationship between himself and the Countess Batthyany, but they always denied it. Nevertheless, the Countess Batthyany had two children, whom Maria Theresa called Eugene's 'codicils.' Eugene, in the early part of his life at Venice, from his independence of the fascinations of the fair sex, was styled by an Italian, Mars without Venus. Nevertheless, scandal said (without reason, as Voltaire thought), that the loss of the battle of Denain was owing to the presence of a fair Italian whom he took with him in that campaign. Voltaire saw the lady in Holland.

Eugene, by the circumstances of his birth and by the caprice of Louis XIV., was a prince without a country; he was faithful in allegiance to the Royal House which adopted him, so that he became an Imperialist to the heart's core. He was jealous of the privileges of the Empire in the extreme, and for that reason could never speak calmly of the Peace of Westphalia, which, he said, had destroyed the unity of the Empire. He grew thoroughly German at heart, and said that in order to win a battle, 'One should have an Italian head, a German 'heart, and French legs.'

The rank of a commander in military history must always be difficult to determine. Nevertheless, it appears to us that, great as Eugene undoubtedly was, Marlborough was superior to

him as a strategist, in his conception of a campaign, and in the means by which the end of the war should be most quickly attained; nor does it appear that in the conduct of a battle Marlborough was in any way inferior to him. Eugene's chief fault in action was the rashness with which he exposed his own life and those of his soldiers. But it is singular that, as far as strategy is concerned, Marlborough on several occasions showed himself the boldest general of the two. In alleviation of the rashness with which he exposed himself and troops, it must be allowed that his quickness of perception and cool head combined marvellously with his great courage in extricating himself and his troops from a difficult position. Marlborough said that his was the rarest union of self-possession and desperate courage in the midst of danger. Eugene was, however, superior to Marlborough in one of the most important qualifications of a commander — that of inspiring his soldiers with the highest degree of military enthusiasm and devotion to his person.

However, neither Marlborough nor Eugene have any claim to the very highest order of military genius — that which has invented new methods of warfare, and applied them on a large scale to the deepest combinations of strategy and politics. They took the science of war as they found it, and were each consummate masters of methods already in practice. Not to speak of the greatest generals of antiquity, they do not rank in the history of military science in the same line of succession as Gustavus Adolphus, the princes of the House of Nassau, Condé and Turenne, Vauban, Frederic, and Napoleon. They made war methodically after the fashion of the old school; when campaigns were passed in encampments, in making the movements of an army altogether subsidiary to the besieging and relieving of places; when too generals designed their order of battle rather after methodical rules than after the nature of the ground which was the scene of action; and, above all, spent their resources on secondary operations without striking boldly at the end and object of the war. In the days of Eugene and Marlborough, the methods of war had just undergone a great revolution by the two inventions of Vauban — the science of modern fortification and the adaptation of the bayonet to the musket. The former of these inventions, from its scientific nature and its sudden development, occupied too much attention; the latter too little. War was converted into a protracted game of taking and retaking fortresses; generals plumed themselves on undoing the work of Vauban or Cohorn more than on winning a battle; and the daily news of the operations of a good siege kept all Europe in excitement, and princes and

military connoisseurs flocked to the scene of action as to a carnival; while the consequences of the invention of the bayonet, which was to make the infantry the great arm of modern warfare, were not yet sufficiently developed nor understood. It was reserved for the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau and for Frederic the Great to show what infantry could effect by the aid of discipline and improved strategy and tactics. Eugene himself learnt the art of war—as then practised, however, in its perfection — under the Duke of Lorraine, whom Louis XIV. styled the greatest, best, and wisest of his adversaries, who was himself brought up under Montecuculli, and in the school of the princes of Nassau, and had fought against the great Condé and Luxembourg at Seneff and Neerwinden. It is sufficient for Eugene's glory that he was one of the seven generals whose campaigns Napoleon recommended to the study of the military student, and that he raised the Austrian army to a reputation which it had never attained under Tilly, Wallenstein, or Montecuculli, and which it has never equalled since; and a study of his career and of the great wars of Louis XIV. point a moral which is at the present exemplified in a remarkable manner on the other side of the Atlantic—that great armies without great commanders are treacherous and deceptive weapons, which may betray a state to destruction, and are rarely or ever a means of salvation.

ART. XI.—1. *The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and probable Designs; being an Attempt to explain the real Issues involved in the American Contest.* By J. E. CAIRNES, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway. London: 1862.

2. *The American Union; its Effect on National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption.* By JAMES SPENCE. London: 1861.

3. *An Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1862, before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. Boston: 1862.

MORE than a year and a half has elapsed since the taking of Fort Sumter. Before that day the North and South stood looking one at the other, like two men each threatening to strike, but each afraid to deal the first blow. From that day the South had committed itself to the struggle, and the passions of the North were roused to resistance and to vengeance.

At the beginning of the contest the position of things was this:—The Southern States, properly so called, were united in one bond, and had adopted a federal constitution of their own; it was doubtful whether Texas and Missouri would be secured to the new confederacy; it was still more doubtful whether 'the 'Border States' of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware would adhere to the Government at Washington or join the Confederates.

The indignation of Northern men was roused by the treachery which had prepared the means for secession. The feebleness and falsehood of Buchanan's Government were perhaps enough to make men take up arms to resist the party which had profited by them; but the wisdom of such a course was another matter. We consider that the Union ceased when the first shot was fired. Mr. Spence has quoted words of Hamilton which describe only too truly the condition of things implied by such a war.

'When the sword is once drawn, the passions of men observe no bounds of moderation. The suggestions of wounded pride, the instigations of resentment, would be apt to carry the States against which the arms of the Union were exerted, to any extreme to avenge the affront, or to avoid the disgrace of submission. The first war of this kind would probably terminate in a dissolution of the Union.' (P. 219.)

In a debate in the New York State Convention, the same statesman is reported to have said:—

'To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another.'

Hamilton was in this case no true prophet as to the course which his countrymen would take. Tocqueville in like manner foretold that an attempt to maintain the Union by force would never be made.*

The Southern States, though divided from the North by a great difference of institutions, manners, and opinions on certain subjects, had in fact come to an understanding with their fellow-citizens. They were willing enough, on certain terms, to allow their trade and their money affairs to be in the hands of the merchants and brokers of New York. After the quarrel on the subject of nullification, they acquiesced in tariffs which served to protect the iron-masters of Pennsylvania and the manufacturers of New England at the cost of the rest of the Union; but they did all this on the implied understanding, that they were to have perfect protection against the efforts of the Abolitionists, and perfect security for their property in slaves.

It soon appeared, however, that the only method for preserving this security was the possession of political supremacy, by keeping their predominant influence in the Senate; this object could be accomplished only by preventing the aggregation to the Union of fresh States pledged against slavery. Hence the struggle for Kansas: slavery was never likely to flourish in Kansas, but if the Missouri compromise was to hold good, and every North-western State admitted hereafter was to be a free State, the supremacy of the South was gone. Mr. Lincoln's election was the signal for secession, because it proved conclusively that the majority of the people of the Union were adverse to the sway of the South. We cannot admit the justice of the views expressed by Mr. J. W. Cowell in an able letter to Captain Maury, published early in the year.† In this pamphlet the Southern States are represented as the victims of fraud and avarice on the part of the North, by whom they are supposed to have been cajoled and cheated into an abandonment of that free trade, which it was so much their interest to uphold. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that during the greater

* Vol. ii. p. 369.

† Southern Secession; a Letter addressed to Capt. M. T. Maury, Confederate Navy, on his Letter to Admiral Fitzroy. London: Hardwick. 1862.

part of the existence of the United States the South itself has governed the Union. If they were cheated in the bargain, it was their own fault: it may have been a bad one for them, but they accepted it with their eyes open, as is sufficiently shown by the discussions with South Carolina on nullification, and by the continued struggles on the subject of the tariff between 1823 and 1833—struggles which at that time almost ended in secession. On the other hand, Miss Martineau justly speaks of the Seminole war as 'only one in the long series of incidents which exhibit 'the free and prosperous North as the tool and the servant of 'the slaveholding and declining South.'* According to our view of the case, neither party have a right to assert that they were defrauded by the other.

Northern statesmen, like Webster, shrank naturally from provoking the discord which threatened to produce secession. They desired at all cost to uphold the Union, and they saw that they could do so only by conciliating the South. From conviction, or that self-persuasion which produces conviction, they adopted a certain theory of the Constitution. They thought that they could thus at any rate postpone the evil day of separation which had been so often predicted—who could tell whether, if the whole Union grew together a little longer, that day would ever come at all? The object was grand and patriotic, and they did not scruple as to the means. Slavery existed in the South, and if the South were to be retained in the Union, slavery must, within its own region at least, be fostered and protected. Hence came the fugitive slave law and the supremacy which the South was so long allowed to exercise.

On the other hand, the South knew the weakness of their own position. They felt that in order to be safe they must govern, and provided they did substantially govern, they were willing to abandon their economical interests. It must never be forgotten that, notwithstanding the professed equality of political rights, the citizens of the Southern and of the Northern States were not politically equal. The former were in fact an aristocracy in relation to the latter, and an aristocracy based on property of a peculiar kind. A voter in the South was worth more than a voter in the North, because the number of representatives of the Southern States was determined, not by their proportion of free men, but by a census in which three-fifths of the slaves were reckoned as an integral part of the population of each.†

* American Compromises.

† It is often a subject of wonder how such a provision could be

Professor Cairnes states the case thus:—

'The House of Representatives professed to be based on the principle of representation in proportion to population, but, by virtue of this clause, in reckoning population, slaves were to count in the proportion of five slaves to three free persons. Now, when we remember that the slaves of the South number four millions in a population of which the total is under ten millions, it is not difficult to perceive what must be the effect of such an arrangement upon the balance of forces under the Constitution. In the Presidential election of 1856, the slave representation was nearly equal to one-third of the whole Southern representation; from which it appears that the influence of the South in the general representation of the Union was, in virtue of the three-fifths vote, nearly one-half greater than it would have been had the popular principle of the Constitution been fairly carried out. But the influence of the South, as we formerly saw, merely means the influence of a few hundred thousand slaveholders; the whole political power of the South being in practice monopolised by this body. The case, therefore, stands thus: Under the local institutions of the Slave States, the slaveholding interest — a mere fraction in the whole population — predominates in the South; while, under this provision of the Federal Constitution, the South acquires an influence by one-half greater than legitimately belongs to it. It is true this would not enable the Southern States, while their aggregate population was inferior to that of the Northern, to command a majority in the Lower House by means of their own members. But we must remember that the South is a homogeneous body, having but one interest to promote and one policy to pursue; while the interests and aims of the North are various, and its councils are consequently divided.' (*Cairnes*, pp. 165, 166.)

It is impossible in the face of these facts to assert that the Southern States were the mere victims of fraud and oppression in the matter of the tariff. Whatever disadvantages they have laboured under, and however they may have mistaken their own true interests, the blame of such disadvantages and such errors must rest on their own heads. They sacrificed free trade and commercial independence because they thought it worth while to do so. Whether they are therefore morally bound to adhere to their bargain in perpetuity, is quite another question.

Mr. Spence argues that slavery was not the origin of the

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assented to by the Northern States, but its adoption was almost a matter of necessity. The Confederation in 1783 had made this rule the basis of taxation; if taxation and representation were to go together, it was natural to adopt the same principle in settling the number of representatives. See Curtis's 'History of the Constitution,' vol. ii. pp. 48. 160.

quarrel between the North and South, because, under the Constitution, the South had every security for the maintenance of their property which they could desire, and because the neighbourhood of a Northern republic, which would be the necessary consequence of secession, must be far more injurious to them as slave-owners than the continuance of the Union. He says: —

'The truth is apparent, that, so far as slavery is concerned, the South has every possible reason for remaining in the Union, and that they have acted in direct opposition to that interest, under the influence of other and more powerful considerations.' (P. 135.)

In speaking thus Mr. Spence does little more than state rather strongly the case of the North against the South, and the words just quoted are hardly consistent with what follows as to the efforts of the Abolitionists, and the provocation given by the growing hatred of slavery in the Northern States. In truth, anger and resentment at these efforts had more to do with the exasperation of the South, than a sound conviction as to what they were to gain.

In our April number of 1861, we stated that slavery was the origin of the quarrel, and we think so still; but to use the words of Professor Cairnes himself —

'The view that the true cause of the American contest is to be found in the character and aims of the slave power, though it connects the war ultimately with slavery as its radical cause, by no means involves the supposition that the motive of the North in taking up arms has been the abolition of slavery.' (P. 19.)

Accordingly we do not admit that because slavery was the source whence the quarrel sprang, it therefore is the subject-matter for which the parties are contending. The two questions are entirely distinct. Slavery is without doubt a monstrous evil, but whether it will be most effectually restrained or will be finally suppressed by the conquest of the South, is to us more than doubtful. We would ask what has maintained, unmitigated, the horrors of slavery in spite of the public opinion of the world? The protection of the North. Does any man believe that if South Carolina had been a member of a small and comparatively insignificant Union like that of the Southern States, we should have submitted to have our coloured sailors taken out of their ships and imprisoned at Charleston? We could not resent this gross injustice without quarrelling with the Union, for the conservative politicians of the North, logically enough, thought that the protection of slavery was essential to the permanence of their national existence. President Lincoln himself, in his inaugural address, declared that he had no purpose and no lawful right to interfere with the institu-

tion of slavery in the States where it existed; and, according to the Constitution, he was right in his view. His proclamation of September 22nd had not then appeared.

In his letter to Horace Greely of the 22nd of August last he said: —

'If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.'

The North would be willing to uphold to the letter in all existing States the right of the master over the slave, if by so doing they could bribe the South to return to the Union. If the old conservative party in New England, as well as the democrats, looked with disapprobation on all the tampering with emancipation which went on before at Washington *, what will they say to the recent proclamation? The majority of the representatives of the Border States repudiate Mr. Lincoln's plan for purchasing the freedom of their slaves, and profess to disbelieve that it could ever be carried out in practice.

This last point as affecting the Border States only may be thought doubtful, but it appears very improbable that the people of those States would willingly acquiesce in any scheme such as that which their representatives have rejected. On the other hand, we see little reason to hope that the final and immediate triumph of the North would insure the tranquil abolition of slavery in the South. Even Professor Cairnes, as we have seen, admits that they are not fighting for this object.

This point deserves to be looked at more closely, and we will therefore assume the conquest of the South as accomplished, and suppose that a sincere disposition to emancipate the slaves exists among the Northern States. The difficulty of the work to be done would be even then almost inconceivable. Let us go a step further, and suppose that Mr. Lincoln had succeeded in redeeming with Federal paper, the slaves in Virginia, Kentucky,

* In illustration of this, so far as the Whigs of New England are concerned, see the passage quoted below from Mr. G. T. Curtis's speech on the 4th of July last.

Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware (who amount to about a million): there will remain three millions of human beings whose whole training has been conducted on the principle of making them useful to their master, and incapable of acting for themselves — men, women, and children, in all stages of helplessness, who have never been taught to read, because reading might make them intelligent, and who have never been allowed to think, because thinking might make them insubordinate. The practical question is this: If the conquest of the South were complete, and the property of the rebels confiscated, what would probably be done by the victors, to whom would belong these spoils?* Would these Northern conquerors be imbued with such a sense of the horrors of slavery, and such a deep feeling of their own responsibility, as to forego all immediate advantage from the compulsory labour of these negroes, and set them free at once or gradually, as the case might be? Is there anything in the principles of the American Constitution, as we have seen it authoritatively interpreted by the Supreme Court, and administered by successive Presidents, which would lead us to expect this enthusiasm on behalf of freedom? Or is the humanity of the North and West so clearly shown in their treatment of the free negroes who wish to live among them, as to make us rely on their sympathy with the slaves as men? We must admit, that the difficulty of the task would form some excuse for shrinking from such an act of self-denial. That the negro population, if set free, will not be permitted to migrate whither they please, is shown by the laws against the

* Professor Cairnes warmly applauds President Lincoln's message to Congress recommending a co-operation on the part of the Federal Government with such States as are willing to accept a policy of emancipation. He says:—'Practicality and unaffected earnestness 'of purpose are written in every line of the message. In the full 'knowledge evinced of the actual circumstances of the Border States, 'combined with the adroitness with which advantage is taken of their 'peculiar position as affected by passing events, there is displayed a 'rare political sagacity, which is not more creditable to its author 'than is the genuine sincerity which shines through his simple and 'weighty words.' (P. 288.)

The 'practicality' (to use Professor Cairnes's own word) of the plan may be doubted, when we see it rejected, as it has been; and its unaffected earnestness may be questionable, or at any rate it appears pretty clear that the motive for proposing it was not a dislike to slavery. The absurdity of the project seems still greater when we learn that these unhappy negroes are to be landed no one knows where in the territory of another Power in Central America, which of course declines to receive them under the American flag

ingress of free blacks already passed by some of the Western States. That they will not, if emancipated, be allowed the rights of American citizens, either in the Southern or Northern States, seems pretty clear after the tranquil acquiescence of the North in the decision of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred-Scott case. To talk of the simultaneous deportation of 3,000,000 human beings to Africa or Hayti, is simply absurd.

What then would be done? These 3,000,000 men, women, and children are there present on the soil, and when the country is conquered by the North, they will have to be disposed of. Will not Northern capitalists argue with their countrymen, and press upon their Government, flushed with victory and grateful for the support of its adherents, such considerations as the following? — 'You do not know what to do with these slaves. 'You must feed them; are they to be fed without labour? There 'are the broad acres which they formerly cultivated now lying 'waste; here is the capital to employ them. They will not 'work except by compulsion, and is not such compulsion the 'best thing for them, the best thing for us, and the best thing 'for the country?' But we shall be met by the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln of September 22nd, announcing that in all States which shall not have returned to the Union before the 1st of January, 1863, the slaves are to be free. Is not this a proof that the cause of the North is the cause of freedom?

We cannot say that this step on the part of the Federal Government alters in any way the convictions which we had already formed. The proclamation has, however, great significance, and requires careful consideration.

It sounds to our ears like a cry of despair, and a confession that after all their boasting, it is impossible to subdue the South by the accumulated force of the Northern States. If it means anything, it is a distinct violation of the Constitution, for the maintenance of which the North are fighting; and in the mouth of a Federal President, it amounts almost to a renunciation of constitutional duties.

The spirit of the measure itself is one of vengeance — not of a wish to free the slave. The President does not tell us what is to become of the slaves in any Southern or Border State which resumes its place in Congress before the 1st of January next. We presume that in that State slavery will continue to exist undisturbed. On the negroes themselves the proclamation will, we conceive, produce very little effect; for beyond the range of the Federal cannon it will not easily be promulgated.

Even if the South be conquered, the slaves on the great plantations in the Cotton States may first learn the existence of

the proclamation when they become aware of the fact of its worthlessness. That it is utterly worthless as the basis of future rights to any portion of the coloured population, we have not the slightest doubt. Every Court in the Union which professes to administer the law, now or hereafter, must treat it as a bit of waste paper.

It has in our opinion no greater value in favour of freedom as a moral pledge, than it has as a legal security. It removes no one of the practical difficulties which beset the question of slavery, or which stand in the way of emancipation. It amounts to nothing as a promise, because there is no 'privity' between the person who gives the promise and those who will have to perform it. It is likely enough that any claim made for its fulfilment would be met at the outset by the plea that no one is bound to do that which is impossible; but at any rate it is most improbable that the State Legislatures (with whom emancipation or mitigation of slavery must rest) would hold themselves fettered by the pledge of a Federal officer, relating to matters avowedly beyond his constitutional powers.

Its political effects may, however, be very important. It will divide the supporters of the Federal Government; it will array the Democrats and the Moderate Republicans against the Abolitionists, and, whilst it sows dissension in the North, it will assuredly cause men of the South and probably of the Border States to rally with double energy round their own standard.

It may in this way tend to shorten the war by making it impossible to carry on the Government which has issued it. The President and his advisers possibly hope to embarrass any European Government which may be disposed to recognise the Southern Confederacy, by making such a recognition distasteful to public opinion in England or France. Some effect of this kind the proclamation may certainly produce; but on the other hand it makes it easier for any foreign Power which is inclined to recognise the South, to attach to such an act stipulations and conditions with reference to slavery and the future treatment of the black race. For this reason, and because it may tend to hasten a peace, we rejoice that it has been issued. We certainly disbelieve in its direct operation in favour of emancipation either now or hereafter. We think, as we did before, that when the time comes the difficulty of the 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 negroes would remain just where it was before the proclamation. If the South be subdued the habitual contempt and aversion for the African race will work with unabated force. Men will say that the best and most humane, if not the only practicable way out of all their difficulties, will be the retention of slavery in spite of the promise which the President had no legal power to

give. The disappointment of England would give an additional relish to the adoption of such a course. It would be the converse of the well-known line —

'Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.'

The New York press would exult in the thought that no British sympathy had been able to save the Southerner, and that the victorious party would now show the world the value which it set on the opinion and the esteem of England with all its hypocritical professions in favour of the negro.

But it will be said that the struggle against the Southern men carried on for so many months (if not years) will leave public opinion in a state utterly incompatible with the toleration of slavery. That it has caused the North to bear the deepest personal hatred against the present slaveholders, we do not doubt; but neither the antecedents of the Union, nor the experience of human nature, make it probable that this hatred would extend to the institution by which those slaveholders have profited, if it can be shown that such institution will be equally profitable to the men who may be ready to employ Northern capital in starting it afresh. The change to the negroes would be only a change of masters.

In spite, therefore, of the proclamation, we are convinced that the chances of mitigating and abolishing slavery in the Southern States will, if those States succeed in establishing themselves as a separate federation, be greater than such chances are if their conquest is effected by the arms of the North. We think it far more likely that the latter will, when the pressure comes, evade the immediate difficulty by retaining slavery, than that a Southern Confederation, necessarily weak and dependent on the public opinion and good-will of foreign states, will continue to insult that opinion and forfeit that good-will, by upholding and defending, as it did whilst it was backed by the power of the Union, the atrocities of slavery and the license of Lynch law.

We do not dispute Mr. Cairnes's forcible statement of the evils of slavery, both moral and economical, although we think that he has somewhat exaggerated the latter, and has somewhat overstated the inherent necessity, which slavery imposes, of seeking fresh soils. We should lament, as much as he would do, the establishment of a new and vigorous slave Power. But, to our eyes, the independence of the South would not be the establishment of a new slave Power. A certain amount of slavery already exists under the Union; and as we believe, it has worked, with far less mitigation from external influences, and with far more activity for social mischief, than it could ever do if it were to set up for itself, with a jealous neighbour

on its northern border, and with all the pressure of European public opinion operating on it from without. This is, we venture to think, the weak point of Mr. Cairnes's book. He himself does not desire the restoration of the Union. He is too clear-sighted not to perceive all the difficulties of the case even on other grounds: —

'But, thirdly, assuming the reconstruction of the Union to be practicable, is it expedient? And here we are met at once by the consideration — how is the conquered South to be governed? I can see but one way in which this can be effected — by the overthrow of representative institutions in the Southern States, and the substitution of a centralised despotism wielded by the Federal Government. I cannot imagine that there could be any escape from this course; for, granting that in certain districts of the South there might be a considerable element of population favourable to the Union, it is impossible to doubt that in the main the people would be thoroughly disaffected: how are popular institutions to be worked through the agency of a disaffected people? A recourse to despotic expedients would therefore, so far as we can judge, be forced on the North.' (P. 277.)

He then proceeds to comment on what is obvious enough — the injurious manner in which these despotic measures must necessarily react on the constitution and government of the North itself; and he goes on most truly to observe, that such a course would imply continued military occupation; for —

'The bureauracy would need to be supported by an army, and the army would of necessity be at the disposal of the central Government. The task of holding the South in subjection would thus, as it seems to me, inevitably imperil the cause of popular institutions in North America. Now the loss of popular government would be a heavy price to pay for the subjugation of the South, even though that subjugation involved the overthrow of the slave power.' (P. 279.)

Supposing slavery to be destroyed, are we further to believe that the idle and dissolute population of 'mean whites' would take at once to steady work for wages? Would they enter into the markets of labour side by side with the free negro, whom they despise and abhor? Would they not, so long as an acre of untilled land remained, roam about as plunderers and squatters, and leave the task of the slave to be performed by those who had been slaves? Mr. Cairnes contemplates, indeed, the possibility of a large immigration of free settlers and capitalists into the Southern States, while he admits that the state of society consequent on such an immigration, and the feuds arising from it, would inevitably create the necessity for an active despotism.

'For these reasons,' he says, 'I cannot think that the North is well

advised in its attempts to reconstruct the Union in its original proportions.' (P. 285.)

But this reconstruction of the Union is the only professed object of the internecine war now carried on with such obstinacy.

Mr. Cairnes does not, therefore, desire that the South should gain its object of independence; and he does not desire that the North should gain its object of reconstruction. He aims at a middle term of his own selection: —

'At the same time I am far from thinking that the time for peace has yet arrived. What, it seems to me, the occasion demands, and what I think the moral feeling of Europe should support the North in striving for, is a degree of success which shall compel the South to accept terms of separation, such as the progress of civilisation in America, and the advancement of human interests throughout the world, imperatively require. To determine the exact amount of concession on the part of the South which would satisfy these conditions, is no part of my purpose.' (P. 285.)

That the war will stop at the precise moment necessary for securing Mr. Cairnes's benevolent objects, is a very unlikely thing. We cannot wish success to the North, merely on this speculative principle; we cannot desire to see the Union re-established as a mighty power for maintaining slavery as one of its institutions within, and protecting it against all the nations of the world without. We do not feel sure, that the abolition or even the mitigation of slavery would be the result of the conquest of the South; and we therefore say, without hesitation, that we wish the war to cease, and the independence of the South to be established. We think, on the whole, that the balance of advantages is greatly on this side, so far as our feeble foresight will enable us to penetrate into the obscurity of the future: and we know that the continuance of such a war is a great and certain evil.

This brings us to the question of sympathy with the Southern cause, which is naturally imputed to the English as a grievous sin by the citizens of the United States. That such a sympathy exists we must admit; for as Lord Campbell is reported to have said in the House of Lords, on the 4th of August last —

'It is not too much to say that no class or party in the country any longer desires to see the reconquest of the South and the reconstruction of the Union.'

The reasons already given may go some way towards accounting for this fact, but in reality there appear to us many causes why Englishmen should not wish success to the Northern

arms. The origin of our feeling is no doubt of a mixed character, but its existence is not much to be wondered at. At the outset of the struggle the tendency was strong in England (and, as we have been told, in Canada) to side with the North. The act of secession itself had, in European eyes, the aspect of wanton rebellion against established order, and men naturally looked on the cause of the Federal Government as the cause of freedom. We knew too that we were likely to suffer from the loss of the cotton. On the other hand, many felt undoubted satisfaction at the breaking up of that great democratic Government, whose institutions had been held up to them by their own reformers as a model of perfection, and whose tendency to split into fragments had been so often confidently maintained. Prejudices were flattered, and prophecies fulfilled. Without doubt, in these feelings there was much that was uncharitable and illogical; but their existence in England was by no means surprising.

We believe that it is a great mistake to attribute the separation of the United States to the fact that the Federal government and those of the several States are democracies. Let us imagine that the Union had consisted of a number of principalities or monarchies, each complete for its own purposes of government, but all joined together under a common head for the management of their post-office, their customs, their foreign relations, and such other matters as are placed under the control of Congress. Let us further suppose that a sharp geographical line had been drawn across this group of States, 'coinciding,' as Jefferson said, 'with a marked prin-'ciple, moral and political.' Does any man believe that the causes of secession in such a case would have failed to operate, merely because the governments of each and of the whole of these States were not democracies? The tendency to split is inherent in a confederation, where there is no external pressure to hold it together. Switzerland has continued to exist only by virtue of such pressure, and because her apparent neutrality is a necessity for the peace of Europe; but even Switzerland has not escaped a Sonderbund and a civil war. The old German Empire was not, in the proper sense of the word, a confederacy; it was an anomalous and accidental congeries of feudal elements grouped round a head, whom no member of the whole thought of obeying when he was able to resist his power. The present German Confederation affords no brilliant example of cohesion. But there is no use in referring to examples; all we wish to assert at present is, that the nature of the American Union was quite sufficient to account for its tendency to split, without

throwing discredit on democracy as such, or attributing the failure of the Federal Constitution to its republican character. It is of course true that the mode of separation, the temper of the people in dealing with each other, the character of the men who have guided affairs on either side, and the circumstances attending on this war, have been, and continue to be, all coloured and modified by the popular nature of the Governments themselves.

It is curious enough that the disruption of the American Union had often been predicted, and yet that at the last moment most intelligent Americans and Englishmen would not believe in the nearness of the danger or the reality of the movement. Secession had been threatened and more than threatened in 1832 on the subject of the tariff; but the difficulty was got over, and Clay's ability had, it was supposed at that time, saved the Union from destruction. We had confidence in the calm good sense of the American people as a whole; we acknowledged their cleverness in making their way through a political strait, and we relied on the combination of accident with these qualities for securing some means of escape when the pinch came.

In 1775, John Adams wrote as follows:—

'I dread the consequences of this dissimilitude of character, and without the utmost caution on both sides, and the most considerate forbearance with one another, and prudent condescension on both sides, they will certainly be fatal.'

It might have been hoped, no doubt, that wedded life for upwards of seventy years would have assimilated the temper of the parties or have softened their differences, but Abolitionism hindered this being done effectually. Barbé Marbois, in his history of Louisiana*, makes the following remarkable statement as to a conversation of Bonaparte with one of the ministers, when he had made up his mind to sell Louisiana to the United States. He said:—

'Perhaps it will also be objected to me that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last till one of the contracting parties finds its interest to break them; and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy.'

* 'History of Louisiana,' translated by an American Citizen. Philadelphia, 1830. (P. 276.)

The Federal Government was but a part, and a small part, of that which constituted the Government of the whole country. To our eyes, indeed, as foreigners, it appeared to be the whole; we dealt only with the President and Congress, whilst the authorities of the several States were to us little more than municipal magistrates with large powers and extended jurisdiction. Englishmen, even well-educated Englishmen, have had for the most part but a faint idea of the real character and the peculiar advantages or disadvantages of American Governments. Tocqueville's masterly work did much to remove this ignorance, but still the notion of judges sitting to determine whether an Act of the Legislature is or is not constitutional, and the absence of any recognised power to enact certain laws vested either in the Federal or the State Legislatures, have seemed to many among us something utterly inexplicable. Even now those who understand the theory often fail to bring home to their own minds the mode in which it is worked.

Another source of fellow-feeling with the South on the part of Englishmen is to be found in the view that the seceding States are in the position of men with inferior resources, and undaunted courage, struggling against a powerful enemy. We admire their unity of purpose, and we ask: 'For what is 'this contest carried on?' The answer is: 'In order that they 'may be governed as they like.' Again we ask: 'Against whom 'are they fighting?' 'Against their own brethren—against those 'who owe their existence as an united people to the assertion of 'the principle that all men have a right to be governed as they 'please—against those who have claimed and have received 'the applause of the world for their successful vindication of 'this very right.' It is impossible to read the beginning of the Declaration of Independence and not acknowledge that it recognises in the broadest manner the right of every people to judge how far a government is conducive to their own happiness, and to set up a new one if they think it necessary to do so, subject only to a moral responsibility. Such principles may be thought by many to be wrong and anarchical, but they are the principles on which the independence of America was originally asserted and finally secured.

In our number for April 1861 we expressed our belief that the secessionists' avowed motives were insufficient to explain and justify the proceeding they had adopted. In January 1862 we said: 'The grounds assigned by South Carolina and the 'other seceding States are utterly insufficient to justify or even 'account for the step they are taking.' But whilst we still admit this, and whilst we may think that they acted wrongly

in a moral point of view, we feel that the Federal Government is the last government on earth which is entitled to dispute the right of a people or nation to judge of its own future and to seek its own welfare as it chooses. It is idle to say that a people are bound to have a good and sufficient cause, or to suppose that such a principle as that asserted in the Declaration of Independence would be of the smallest value unless the people themselves were to be the judges of the adequacy of their reasons for resistance to authority.

But we are told that secession was not in the letter of the bond; that it is a violation of that Constitution to which all the States had assented; that South Carolina or Georgia is not a people or a nation, and could no more withdraw from the Union than Yorkshire or Cornwall could legally set up for itself.

Few political questions have been dealt with more ably than the arguments for and against the national character of the Federal Government, when they were discussed by Mr. Webster and Mr. Calhoun. But, without going through the elaborate controversy between these two champions, it is quite worth while to review the history of the Constitution itself, and to consider the meaning which was attached to its provisions by those who accepted it, in many cases, with mistrust and suspicion. A knowledge of this history is absolutely necessary, if we wish to understand the relative position of the central and the State Governments, even at the present moment.

The original Confederation professed to be perpetual: its title is 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.' The second article contained an express provision to the effect that each State retained its 'sovereignty, freedom, and inde-'pendence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which 'is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the 'United States in Congress assembled.' The thirteenth article repeated the declaration, 'the Union shall be perpetual,' and stated that no alteration should be made in any article unless it should 'be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, 'and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every 'State.'

Mr. Spence has remarked, with great truth, that the mode in which the project of the Constitution of 1787 was discussed in the Convention, and all the facts of the case, 'must be kept 'in mind in weighing the arguments of those who deny the 'right of secession. The whole of these appear to be taken 'from Webster's speech on the nullification of South Carolina, 'one of the finest examples of rhetorical power in our language' (p. 205.). He goes on: —

'These arguments, whenever used, are accompanied by glowing descriptions of the progress and prosperity of the Union, and by appeals to nationality. The rapid extension of the United States has produced, of late years, a new school of political belief. Under its influence a wide change has occurred from the views of those who framed the Constitution. There is no longer a citizen of the United States, — he has become an American. Intense jealousy of centralised power has changed into admiration of administrative unity, and has even ripened into a craving for "strong govern-"ment." The words nation and nationality appear almost in every sentence of every argument on this subject, although it is on record that the term "National Government" was struck out in the Convention, on the ground of its being inapplicable to the facts, and opposed to the intentions of the parties. It is remarkable, too, that this motion was carried unanimously.'

'Here, at once, is a remarkable discrepancy between the views of those who framed the Constitution, and the doctrines prevailing at the present day.'

The Constitution of 1787 wisely omits all mention of the perpetuity of the Union, and professes as one of the objects which it has in view the formation, not of a *new*, but of a *more perfect* Union — as if the principle of the Confederation was to be the principle on which the new Constitution was founded; and that principle was undoubtedly one of voluntary compact.

But a distinct departure from this principle was, with as little doubt, made in one of the propositions submitted to the Convention, singularly enough, by Governor Randolph of Virginia, asserting 'that a *National* Government ought to be 'established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and 'judiciary.' This resolution was affirmed in the committee by a vote of six States. Madison strongly urged the abuses which existed under some of the State Governments, and desired that, for the purpose of restraining them, the National Government should be derived directly from the people. Accordingly the committee declared that there ought to be a power in the National Legislature to negative 'all laws passed by the se-'veral States contravening, in the opinion of the former, the 'articles of Union, or any treaties made under the authority of 'the Union.' In short, they desired a National Government which should thus stand in relation to the States somewhat in the same position as that of England in relation to its colonies.

'But,' says Mr. Curtis, 'the radical objection to any plan of a negative on State legislation, as a legislative power of the general Government, was, that it would not in fact dispense with the use of force against a State in the last resort.'*

* This particular difficulty was solved at last by the clever contrivance of the Supreme Court, but it would take us too long if we

There were, in fact, before the Convention, two plans for a Constitution, known respectively as 'the Virginia plan' and 'the New Jersey plan.' The former of these aimed avowedly at the formation of a National Government, in which the Legislature should consist of two branches, one chosen directly by the people of the States, the other by the State Legislatures, but in both the people of the States were to be represented in proportion to their numbers. Mr. Curtis says of it:—

'Its legislative powers were to embrace certain objects, to which the legislative powers of the separate States might be incompetent, or where their exercise might be injurious to the national interests; and it was moreover to have a certain restraining authority over the legislation of the States. This plan necessarily supposed that the residue of the sovereignty and legislative power of the States would remain in them after these objects had been provided for; and it therefore contemplated a system of government in which the individual citizen might be acted upon by two separate and distinct legislative authorities. But by providing that the legislative power of the National Government should be derived from the people inhabiting the several States, and by creating an executive and a judiciary with an authority commensurate with that of the Legislature, it sought to make, and did theoretically make, the National Government, in its proper sphere, supreme over the Governments of the States.' 'Such,' he adds, 'was the nature of the plan of government proposed by the majority of the States in Convention for the consideration of all.' (*Curtis*, vol. ii. p. 89.)

There was evidently no authority in the Convention thus to change the whole principle of the Constitution which they had met to amend; the delegates had no powers given them to merge the State sovereignties in one National Government, and thus annihilate the very bodies by whom they were sent.

On the other hand, a plan of a purely Federal character was moved by William Patterson of New Jersey. This scheme left the principle of federation with the State sovereignties, and the old mode of paying the expenses by requisitions on the several States, untouched; it left original jurisdiction to the

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were to discuss the way in which this tribunal worked in the Union, until it was perverted by Southern influence and destroyed its own credit and usefulness by its judgment in the Dred-Scott case. In our opinion, a blow against the Union was struck by this judgment as fatal as that given by secession itself. The integrity of the Supreme Court was the keystone of the fabric; but in this judgment it was clear that the Court exceeded its judicial duty for the purpose of securing a party or political object. The original defect, however, of the want of any power to enforce on a State the judgments of the Supreme Court was never got over, as may be seen by the Ohio case quoted hereafter.

local tribunals, and, except in cases of impeachment, reserved the Federal courts for appeals. The Virginia plan contemplated two houses; that of the New Jersey party admitted only one: the former required proportionate representation of the States in both chambers; the latter, that every State should have an equal voice in the single chamber. The objection to the powers of the Convention was evaded, rather than met, by the advocates of the Virginia plan, who, in fact, admitted that the delegates had no express authority to alter the basis of the Constitution, but argued that it was expedient they should do so, and that the defect in their powers might be cured by subsequent consent on the part of the States which chose to adopt the proposed changes.

At this point Hamilton's influence was felt. He preferred the national principle of the Virginia plan, but he also saw its inconsistency with the fluctuating elements and democratic details of the scheme, and he suggested, therefore, that the Senate and Executive should hold their office during good behaviour. Mr. Curtis truly observes: 'That' (i. e. the national) 'theory could only be put in practice 'by transferring the whole legislative powers of the people 'of the States to the National Government' (vol. ii. p. 104.). We fear that the accomplished author of the history we have been quoting, has had ample opportunities, during the last eighteen months, of seeing how such a transfer of power is practically carried out. It is not surprising that Hamilton should have been accused of desiring to set up a monarchical government. His two colleagues in the delegacy from New York held that they had received no authority to go beyond the principle of a confederation.

Finally, it was decided in the committee, by a vote of seven States against three, to report the Virginia plan to the Convention for its adoption. On the momentous question whether all the States should have equal voice in the Senate, the struggle was long and earnest. When the votes were taken, there appeared five in favour of the equality, five against it, and the vote of Georgia was divided. At length, however, a compromise was made, and the equality was conceded.

It is thus evident that the issue of a national or federal government was clearly before the Convention, and it certainly appears to us, that a government must be either federal or national; it cannot, so far as its essence is concerned, be both at once. If it is in any respect truly national, the idea of separate and distinct political communities, which is involved

in the notion of 'a federation,' at once disappears. Separate sovereign bodies, no doubt, may delegate to a central body, or to one man, the exercise of powers which are analogous to those of a National Government; but if they abdicate their sovereign character, there are no 'States' to constitute the confederation; if they keep their sovereign character, they then, by the very meaning of the word, retain a power of independent action to be exercised in any direction they please. A federation may thus be so constructed as to produce results, while it lasts, analogous to those produced by a National Government; or the operation of a National Government, by the creation of powerful municipalities, may resemble that of a federation; but the essence of the Government must, we think, be either one or the other. Logically speaking, no political body can be at the same time sovereign and not sovereign, even in dealing with different subject-matter. Such a right of free action on the part of a State is compatible, of course, with moral responsibility, but not with legal restraint. The submission of a State Government to the Supreme Court thus becomes only one mode in which such Government exercises its free will: that is to say, it voluntarily submits to be controlled by the power which it has constituted for certain definite purposes; but the will which has set up this power may withdraw its submission to it. The comparison of such a compact to a contract between individuals or corporate bodies subject to one and the same law and to a common superior, is, according to our view, a false analogy, and any inference from such supposed likeness is entirely fallacious. This is the ground on which we differ from Mr. G. T. Curtis, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers and one of the staunchest friends to the Union now living in the United States. He says, in the oration which we have placed at the head of this article: 'These powers' (i. e. the powers of the central Government) 'being once absolutely 'granted by public instruments duly executed in behalf of the 'people of each State, were thenceforth incapable of being 'resumed; for I hold that there is nothing in the nature of 'political powers which renders them, when absolutely ceded, 'any more capable of being resumed at pleasure by the grantors, 'than a right of property is when once conveyed by an abso-'lute deed.'

From this doctrine we dissent entirely, although we know that the whole of the constitutional system, as maintained by the ablest statesmen of the North, rests upon it. We believe it to have been invented by a happy instinct as a mode of escaping from the consequences of the extreme theory of im-

mediate sovereignty on the part of the people. The direct will of a people acting according to caprice from day to day, was felt to be incompatible with any constitutional security whatever. But if the doctrine were once established, that this troublesome sovereign might tie its own hands for ever, the main difficulty would be removed, and its every-day action confined to details. As we believe, however, nothing is gained in practice by such a theory. It is, on the contrary, really anarchical, inasmuch as it makes revolution necessary whenever the people change their minds on an important point. That in the course of time they will so change their minds is absolutely certain; no foresight can exhaust the contingencies of human affairs, and when the time comes no paper formula backed by this doctrine of perpetuity will act as a barrier to the popular will. Indeed, notwithstanding the praise in some respects rightfully bestowed on the American form of government, we doubt whether written constitutions are favourable to progress any more than college statutes. The intention of the framers is in both cases the rule of construction; and what was deduced from this principle (wrongly, as we believe) in the Dred-Scott case, we know well. The wisest of men is unfit to deal with a distant future, of which he can know nothing, so as to tie the hands of his posterity. There is far more wisdom and far more real capacity for progress in the unwritten Common Law of England, which has left successive generations of judges and Parliaments to lean to the side of personal and constitutional freedom, without the violation of positive written law. In the same manner legal fictions have worked on the side of liberty without destroying the respect for law, whilst, as Tennyson says:—

> 'Freedom broadens slowly down,
> From precedent to precedent.'

The equality of votes in the Senate, and, above all, the amendment reserving to the States of the ungranted residue of all powers, seem to us strong evidence in favour of the sovereign character of the latter. No doubt, so long as they remain in the Union, the acts of each State Legislature are subject to be reviewed and adjudged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, which, according to theory, derives its authority from the people of the United States, not from the Federal Government nor from the State Legislatures. This submission, so long as they remain in the Union, but no longer, is part of the compact; for, in spite of Mr. Webster, a compact it was, whatever may be its binding force and its duration.

Now let us see what was the action of the Supreme Court

on the governor of a State as the head of its executive. The following report is extracted from the 'New York Commercial 'Advertiser' of March 15th, 1861:—

'THE KENTUCKY MANDAMUS AGAINST OHIO. —In the Supreme Court of the United States on Thursday, Chief-Justice Taney delivered an opinion in the matter of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against the Governor of Ohio, Denniston, deciding it was a case of original jurisdiction, and, in effect, one State against another, and therefore the Court has jurisdiction under the Constitution. It is a case to compel the Governor of Ohio, by mandamus, to surrender a fugitive from justice from Kentucky.

'The Court says that the demanding State has a right to have every such fugitive delivered up; that the State of Ohio has no right to enter into the question as to whether the act of which the fugitive stands accused is criminal or not in Ohio, provided that it was a crime in Kentucky, and it is the duty of the Governor of Ohio to deliver up, upon any proper proofs that the act charged is a crime by the laws of Kentucky; that the act of Congress of 1793 determines that evidence is to be submitted to the State of Ohio; that the duty of the Governor is ministerial merely, like that of a sheriff or marshal, and appeals to his good faith in the discharge of a constitutional duty. But for the reason that Congress cannot impose any federal duty on the officers of a State, and that where such officers are called upon by an act of Congress to perform such duties, the performance depends solely on good sense and good faith on their part, it cannot be compelled by Federal authority. And on these grounds the *mandamus* is refused.'

The Court have no machinery applicable to the Governor of a State; they therefore 'appeal to his good faith.' The right exists, but there is no remedy. The utmost they do is to express a hope that the State will abide by the agreement it has entered into to submit its actions to the judgment of the Supreme Court. After this example it is difficult to give to the secession of a State and to the rebellion of Yorkshire one and the same legal or constitutional character.

But we are told that the sovereignty resides neither in Congress, nor in the State Governments, but in 'the People of 'the United States.' Mr. Spence says:—

'In the ratifying convention of the State of Virginia, Patrick Henry objected strongly to the words, "we, the people;" on the ground that the very construction might be given to them which is attempted at the present day. But Madison at once showed such construction to be erroneous. He replied in these words: — "The "parties to it were to be the people, but not the people as composing "one great society, but the people as composing thirteen sovereign-"ties." Not contented with giving the true meaning of the phrase, he adduced an argument to prove it by adding — "If it were a purely consolidated government, the assent of a majority of the people

" would be sufficient to establish it. But it was to be binding on the " people of a State only by their own separate consent." This argument seems conclusive; and as an interpreter of the meaning of the terms none will attempt to compare the authority of Mr. Motley, or of Webster, with that of Madison.' (*Spence*, p. 225.)

Moreover it must be remembered that the instrument itself professes to be 'done in Convention by the unanimous consent 'of the States present,' not 'of the people of the United States.' If there be a sovereignty vested in this mythical being—the people of the United States—where is the legislative organ, distinct from the Federal or from the State Governments, by which the sovereign speaks? How in an emergency such as secession can recourse be had to the sovereign? How under the Constitution is the will of 'the People of the United 'States' to be ascertained?

The fifth article of the Constitution is as follows:—

'The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.'

It will be observed that according to this theory of a sovereignty vested in the 'People of the United States,' the sovereign can act only with the consent of his own subordinates—that is to say, of Congress and the State Legislatures. The sovereign himself has no power, even of speaking, until these 'Lords of the Articles' shall have called upon him to do so. In fact, however, the object of those who framed the Constitution was to bury the actual sovereignty where it could not easily be found or got at.

Accordingly we again ask, How, when a difficulty arises, can the supposed sovereign—the people of the United States—be heard? The complicated process pointed out by the Constitution gives a practical veto to a minority, and it implies a process impossible in disturbed times, more especially when more than one-fourth of the States have withdrawn themselves. There is indeed one act which it may be said is done by the people of the United States, and that is the election of the President; but in this election also the conventions meet in each State, and when they name their delegates, they—the people of the State—tell them for whom they are to vote. The Constitution no doubt intended that the best men should be sent from each State, who should exercise their judgment and

discretion in the selection of the President. As it is, the electors really convey the voice of the State in favour of this or that individual. There is no doubt, however, that the election virtually expresses the wish of the people, and to this the significance of Lincoln's election is to be attributed; so that the South immediately concluded that their influence was at an end and their power in the Union was gone. It may be said, too, that the people of the loyal States have spoken by their crusade against secession, and their burst of zeal for the Union. They have done so, no doubt; but not in their character of constitutional sovereign. All constitutional relations cease when men stand arrayed against each other with arms in their hands.

We are convinced, the men who framed the Constitution did not dare to say expressly that they had framed a national and united Government, because they knew that if they did say so it would infallibly be rejected with a howl of indignation. Many of them hoped that the system which they had started would ripen into such a Government, but they scarcely dared to believe in their success. Had a general conviction existed for a single moment that the Federal Government would claim the right to treat a State as a rebel and coerce it as such, scarcely a single State would have sanctioned the Union. One may almost say that the people of each State accepted the Constitution under a deception: the majority of the people apprehended as the greatest possible evil the very interpretation which we are now told is its true meaning.

Is it possible, then, to say, with any fairness, that the sovereignty or individual existence of the separate States has ceased under the Constitution? Let us observe the ordinary course of domestic affairs throughout the country. It is to the State Government that a man looks to protect his property and secure his personal safety. It is the State Government which makes the laws that affect all daily transactions, and it is the tribunals of the State Government which decide all the ordinary questions arising between man and man. Is it surprising that upright and honourable men should feel their first allegiance to be due to the State, and should think that they have nothing to do with the Federal Government except as citizens of a State? There are, no doubt, technical difficulties in such a view, but it is at any rate a natural one.

In proof that it is so, we give the following extract from a letter written from M'Clellan's camp as late as the 17th of July last, and published in the 'New York Express': —

'Very often, when prisoners come in, a crowd of soldiers will get about them, and the first questions asked will be,—

'"What are you fighting against us for?"
'"State rights" is always invariably the answer.'

To discuss the question, however, whether the Government of the United States be federal or national, is merely playing with words; substantially, and looking to facts, the separate States were organised governments, each habitually acting for itself in ordinary matters, and capable of exercising a will of its own as a community. In forming the Union, they did not intend to part with their free will. They had once chosen to belong to the Union; now, rightly or wrongly, perhaps foolishly and unreasonably, some of them change their minds, and no longer desire to form a portion of the United States.

Here we come back to the point from which we started. As the South has deliberately expressed this wish, and as the principle on which the United States exist at all is the principle that a people are the best judges of their own happiness and of the form of government which promotes that happiness, so we cannot desire that the seceding States should be subdued by force. We do not like their institutions, and we disapprove of much that they have done against ourselves and against other Powers, but still our sympathies and the sympathies of most Englishmen (as we believe) are against their subjugation. Thus, whilst on the one hand we do not concur with those who wish the Union to be broken up, simply because it has afforded the most prosperous and brilliant example of democracy on a large scale; yet on the other, we cannot desire that it should exhibit the most flagrant instance which the world has ever seen of a minority of millions compelled by brute force to submit to the arms of a majority.

We have spoken of our feelings and our sympathies; but a further question remains to be discussed, — Is it the interest of the civilised world, and especially of our own country, that the American Union should be renovated and restored to its full proportions by the conquest of the South? It is affirmed that we ought to desire such a result on the ground of slavery; we have endeavoured to show that it is very doubtful, to say the least, whether the existence or even the extension of slavery would be hindered by such a conquest; Mr. Cairnes himself admits that no such result would flow from the restoration of the Union, even if that event were now possible. It can scarcely be said that the relations of the American Union to Europe, and to England in particular, have been so satisfactory as to make us anxious for its continuance; and we cannot help it if this instinctive sense of our own interest in

the matter tends to feed the sympathies of our countrymen with the cause of the South.

The Union had shot up with a rapidity of growth unknown in history; it had become strong enough to beard France or England, and, aided by its cotton trade, it ventured to insult the latter whenever it suited its purpose to do so. The Americans systematically employed their quarrels with foreign nations as a means of quieting their domestic disagreements, or diverting attention from their subjects of quarrel one with another. A grievance against England, or a disputed claim, was kept in abeyance for the purpose of being at all hazards used in this manner, whenever party politics at home might make it expedient to fall back on it. Such a system was, undoubtedly, exceedingly convenient to every ministry.

The relation of the States to the Federal Government afforded peculiar facilities for evading the demands or meeting the complaints of foreign nations. If South Carolina imprisoned British seamen, the Federal Government was appealed to. They professed that they could not interfere with the institutions of the State. The foreign plaintiff, however, had to deal only with the Government at Washington, which thus practically assumed the character of a mediator rather than that of the responsible defendant in the suit. On the other hand, to quarrel with the State of South Carolina was to quarrel with the United States. So also it was with the aid given to rebels in Canada. The citizens of Buffalo and Northern New York might violate neutrality, but it was difficult to operate upon them through the Secretary of State at Washington. If the United States professed to act, such action was liable to be deadened and weakened by the State authorities. When Van Renselaer was threatening an invasion of Canada, a warrant for his apprehension was issued at Washington. But the immediate execution of that warrant was at least postponed by Mr. Marcy, the Governor of the State of New York, acting with General Scott, who certainly had no lawful authority to interfere.* Yet the Americans, in their present quarrel with us, have constantly appealed to their good faith and their strict neutrality in all these transactions on the frontier. Whether they deserve this credit is more than doubtful. Their conduct in the matter of the Island of San Juan affords a good example of their reluctance to settle any difficulty. Outrages had taken place on that island long before its seizure; but

* It is fair to state, that the object of postponing the execution of the warrant was to try persuasion on Van Renselaer. Mr. Marcy told this story himself.

when the last act of violence was committed, it became necessary to meet the complaint of England. How has this been done? Not by a straightforward discussion and settlement of the respective claims of the parties, but by keeping the whole matter in suspense. So it was again with the Maine boundary. The United States Government at one time insisted that Commissioners from the State of Maine should accompany the joint exploring commission which had been proposed.* They said they could not agree to any conventional line without the consent of Maine, when in fact that State had formally refused to consent to any conventional line at all. They might be right as to the limit of their constitutional powers, but the interpretation of the treaty rested solely with the Federal Government. When it was convenient to this government, they sheltered their territorial rapacity under the cover of State rights; when it suited their ends better, they acted with the unity of purpose and the vigour of a national government.

We do not blame any ministry at Washington for using all the weapons legitimately within their reach, but we venture to doubt whether a state of things, which always furnishes such weapons, is one, the loss of which ought to be regretted very deeply by foreign Powers. There is something exceedingly amusing in the following attempt of Mr. Seward to convince a despotic government that its interests are indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the American Union. The argument would certainly have astonished Jefferson. In a despatch to Mr. Burlinghame, the minister in Austria, dated April 13, 1861, the Secretary of State says: —

'The Union is, moreover, the chief security for the stability of nations. When this experiment of self-government shall have failed for want of wisdom and virtue enough, either at home or abroad, to preserve it or permit it to exist, the people of other countries may well despair, and lose the patience they have practised so long under different systems, in the expectation that the influence it was slowly exercising would ultimately bring them to the enjoyment of the rights of self-government. When that patience disappears, anarchy must come upon the earth.' (*Foreign Papers of Session*, 1862. No. 2. p. 147.)

We doubt whether the Austrian Cabinet would appreciate Mr. Seward's reasoning in this matter, or would readily attribute the continued submission of its subjects to the distant hope

* This proposal was very properly refused. See Lord Palmerston's speech on the Ashburton Treaty. (*Hansard*, vol. lxvii. p. 1179.)

of future freedom held out by the Republic of the United States.

An earnest advocate of the Northern cause, Count Agénor de Gasparin, has lately discussed the question, how far and with what reason the previous conduct of the United States towards England has disposed us to sympathise with secession.* He says:—

'The Americans, we admit, have often been very arrogant towards the English. They have shown themselves provoking and unjust. But what Americans? Those of the North or the South? All this may be traced to Southern policy. This policy had, as its fundamental article, the hatred of England, abolition England, liberal England, conservative England.

'It is a new example of the power of words. The word "United "States" is enough with many: it was the United States by whom they were offended; it is the United States that must pay for the offence.' (Pp. 126–8.)

We deny, in the first place, that the Southerners were alone to blame for the insolence and arrogance so often shown towards England. Many of the matters in dispute had nothing to do with Southern interests; such, for instance, was the case with the question of the Maine boundary and the Island of San Juan. Moreover, is it not true that the Northern men personally took a zealous part in these obnoxious acts and speeches? Did not Mr. Seward himself, on more than one occasion, throw out definite proposals for conquering Canada, as a set-off against Cuba or other Southern acquisitions? Did he not in fact, more than once, provoke agitation against England as a ready mode of influencing the public mind in favour of his own party? Did the Northern statesmen ever fail to second, or did they ever protest against, the violent conduct which we are now told ought to be visited on the South alone? All such conduct was welcome to them, provided it smoothed over domestic difficulties. In the second place, we are quite ready to admit that the influence of the South was dominant at Washington when these things were done, and we allow that

* 'America before Europe — Principles and Interest,' by Count Agénor de Gasparin. Translated from advance sheets, by Mary L. Booth. London, 1862. Part at least of this book produces the impression of an elaborate manifesto from Washington, dressed up with skill and ability by an author who has clothed it with the apparent candour of a foreigner. The arguments are forcibly put, and it is marked by that mixture of sentimentality and profession of a rigid adherence to logic and principle which so often distinguishes French discussions of political questions.

many a Southern man, who now claims our sympathies for secession, was himself a prominent instigator of these very acts.

We are glad to say, however, that it is to us a matter of perfect indifference who stimulated these aggressive movements. The feeling in England to which Count A. de Gasparin refers is not founded on a desire of vengeance, or personal retribution on any one for insults which we have received. It rests on a much more calm and rational basis — that is to say, on the conviction that the unity of the Government at Washington alone made the blow tell; it is hoped that when that unity is gone, all insults of the kind, if not so impolitic as to be avoided altogether, will at least be harmless, and of no consequence to England.*

It may be urged that the pecuniary and commercial relations of England and America are so numerous and so complicated, that we ought, as a matter of self-interest, to wish well to the Government at Washington. It is true, no doubt, that much English capital is at stake in the United States; and it is true also that the real interest of both nations would lead them to foster the closest commercial intimacy. But what course have the Federal Government pursued in this matter? Have they shown that they appreciated the value of trade as a pledge and a safeguard of good feeling between two kindred nations? On the contrary, they have thrown themselves headlong into the arms of the most rabid protectionists. One would think, from their conduct, that they feared lest the nations of Europe should be too much attached to the Federal Government, and too strongly impressed with the expediency of preserving it entire. Or it may be that by an arrogant defiance of all European interests and European opinions they wished to show how little they cared for either. Be this as it may, on the eve of the present contest they astonished the world by the Morrill tariff; and when the war had lasted a year, they surpassed the absurdity of the Morrill tariff by a law of still greater stringency.

On the other hand, if the North have taken care to convince us that our trade with them will henceforth be as small as possible, it is surely no trifling matter that the independence of the South would open new markets for our manufactures, with-

* We do not take Mr. Roebuck as a trustworthy exponent of the feelings of Englishmen in general; yet, judging from the report in the 'Times' of his speech at Sheffield in August last, we believe that he then described pretty accurately the current of opinion of many of our countrymen on American affairs. We dissent entirely, however, from the conclusion at which he arrived,— that we ought to interfere immediately.

out the previous restrictions of Federal tariffs. These may be sordid considerations, but they assist in turning the sympathies of men one way or the other; and it is quite certain that in the end they will count for much in forming the public opinion of every country.

It is singular enough that in reviewing the administration of the Government at Washington since the commencement of the war, we find them sanctioning in succession every one of those acts which have been accounted the most odious characteristics of arbitrary and despotic power. The freedom of the press has long since ceased to exist; the secrecy of the post-office and the electric telegraph have been habitually violated by the Secretary of State. The writ of *habeas corpus* has been abolished; the independent action of the judges has been coerced by military authority; men and women have been imprisoned for months without bringing them to trial, and without any attempt to show that they had been guilty of a breach of the law. These things have been done, too, not merely in the countries occupied by contending armies, but in the New England States, where the ordinary course of affairs and the administration of the law were apparently smooth and uninterrupted; and where the public feeling in favour of the Union was such that the only difficulty would have been to secure a fair trial for a State criminal. The property of individuals not convicted by any court has been confiscated and placed at the disposal of the soldiery. Passports have been introduced. A military conscription has been resorted to, and free citizens have been stopped at the frontier lest they should escape its obligations by leaving the United States.

The 3rd Section of the 4th Article of the Constitution provides as follows:—

'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States convened, as well as of the Congress.'

Yet, in the teeth of this article, the President and Congress have proposed to erect Western Virginia into a separate State. The excuse for these acts is that they are temporary measures, necessary in self-defence, and in a time of war and civil convulsion. But they have gone further in particular cases than the ends aimed at could require; and they have often been of such a kind as to do incalculable injury to the cause which they were intended to support. Can we doubt that General

Butler's proclamation at New Orleans preached secession most effectually in the West, and converted many on both sides of the Atlantic to the Southern cause? The hatred which it has excited will cost the life of many a Northern soldier on the battle-field.

Do not let us, however, forget that in all likelihood the measures of the Confederate Government have not been less arbitrary or less rigorous. We know that even when laws were supposed to be in force neither a Southern man nor a Southern mob ever hesitated to violate them, if it suited their ends; it is not probable that they will have been more scrupulous in time of revolution. But we know little of what goes on in the South; and however unfair it may be, the glaring contrast of such acts as those which we have described with the professions of constitutional right and of the maintenance of law assuredly weakens men's sympathies with the North. They raise another doubt, and that is, whether the price which is to be paid for the subjugation of the South is not far higher than the value of the object warrants. If to the slaughter of men and the waste of money is to be added the practical suppression of all civil liberties, the widest empire which even American ambition ever dreamt of would be dearly purchased; and for what but empire are the North now fighting?

An appeal is often made to us for our sympathy on the ground of our blood-relationship with the inhabitants of the United States; and we are reproached with forgetting those ties which the American captain at the mouth of the Pei-Ho recognised in the emphatic words, 'Blood is thicker than water!' So far as a feeling of respect for their energy and good sense, and a deep and sincere regret for the misery of civil war are concerned, we acknowledge at once the validity of this claim upon us; but we do not see that we are more kindred with the North than we are with the South. The colonies of both sections of the Union were colonies of England, and the men of Virginia and South Carolina are as much our cousins as those of Massachussetts and more so than those of New York. As between the United States and the rest of the world this consideration may be allowed its proper weight.

If we reflect a little, it is not in the least degree surprising that the hatred of us in the Northern States should at this moment be deeper than it has ever been since 1787. A proud and generous people, whose rapid progress had placed them in the first rank of nations, suddenly find the fabric on which their high position rested crumbling away beneath their feet. To know that such a result had been often predicted, even by their

own statesmen, does not diminish their disappointment, though it may make them more doubtful of their recovery. The system of the Union was one which combined immense material force, with every possible facility for evading demands made by others, or turning their disagreements with European Powers to the best account in domestic politics. All this disappears in a moment; and is it wonderful that in such a crisis they should be out of temper with everybody, and especially with England? They tell us that they had a right to reckon on our hearty good wishes against slavery; but they forget that the very Union which they expect us to uphold has been during its prosperity the great protector of slavery, and really, though not ostensibly, the shield of the slave-trade. Their true feeling towards us has, we fear, been shown too well by such incidents as the speeches of Mr. Cassius M. Clay, an accredited minister of the United States Government; and by the Boston dinner to Captain Wilkes on the seizure of the Southern envoys. We have no intention of discussing this matter of the 'Trent' again, as we noticed it at length in a recent number of this journal; but the Americans know well that we cannot easily forget the approbation of Captain Wilkes's conduct by the Secretary of the Navy and the House of Representatives, or the manner in which the prisoners were retained until it was obvious that a war was imminent.* They must know, too, that the despatch of Mr. Seward, in which he said explicitly that the men would not have been given up if he had thought it the interest of the Federal Government to detain them, was in itself an insult almost as great as that offered to our flag.† Whilst we rejoice to think of the dignified position maintained by England in the whole correspondence, we do not believe that the consciousness of their own wrongdoing towards us will make their sentiments

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* Nothing was more amusing than to see how the opinion of the House which specially represents the people was treated as merely worthless by those who spoke on behalf of America at the time of these occurrences. 'It was only the House of Representatives—if 'it had been the Senate,' &c. &c.

† Count A. de Gasparin (p. 130.) seems to assert that the conduct of England on the 'Trent' affair was a mere party movement of Lord Palmerston's to avoid difficulties impending in the coming session! The absurdity of this is obvious, although most assuredly the Government would have had great difficulties in Parliament if they had taken any other course. As we have said, this part of Count A. de Gasparin's book seems to us to have been dictated from Washington, and to present the version of the whole affair which the United States Government wish to be current in Europe.

more friendly. 'Odisse quem læseris' is true of nations as of individuals. We have so constantly submitted to insult, and conceded what we might have maintained, that the United States may think that they have acquired a sort of vested right in such submission. The Americans, perhaps, consider us guilty of a breach of faith when we deviate from the peaceable course which our previous conduct had led them to expect at our hands. Count Agénor de Gasparin, however, has summed up the indictment against England with perfect truth when he says, 'Upon the whole, were it necessary to state in a few words 'the inference to be drawn from this chapter, I should say that 'the English had been guilty above all of indifference.' (P. 121.) No graver crime against the exaggerated pride of America could possibly be committed. We, however, think we have shown reasons enough to make our indifference to the success of the North at least excusable.

It is clear that within the last few months the Federal cruisers have been pressing to the utmost those belligerent rights which they denied to us when we claimed them. If the blockade of Charleston, where it professes to exist, has not always been efficient, that of the Bahamas, where it cannot legally exist at all, seems to make up for all laxness on the Southern coast. Vessels appear to be taken almost within range of British forts, not because they are trying to enter the Southern ports, but because their papers or their cargoes inspire some zealous Federal officer with the suspicion that such may possibly be their intention; and we perceive with great regret that the notorious Captain Wilkes has just been appointed to command on the West Indian station. Judging from their conduct in this war, they have entirely changed their opinions since Jefferson wrote to Livingstone (Sept. 9. 1801) in the following words: 'We believe the practice of seizing what is called contraband 'of war is an abusive practice not founded in natural rights.' (*Randolph's Jefferson*, iii. p. 488.) But we hope they will remember that an indisposition to abandon a neutral policy on the mere ground of interest or anger, is a different thing from a determination to submit to any amount of insult or contumely as a nation. Our experience with America ought to have taught us that the best way to avoid war with her is to show that we have a due regard to our own honour. We believe that, however much the newspapers or individuals in New York may boast of their readiness for a quarrel, that desire will never be so small as when they think we are prepared to take up the challenge. We trust sincerely, however, that no provocation short of actual insult will induce our Government to depart from

the line of steady and dignified policy which they have adopted, and which the nation, as a whole, approves. We should be especially sorry to see the neutrality of England sacrificed to a hasty or petulant feeling of resentment.

We are not yet in a position to judge the merits of those who have administered affairs and commanded armies in this most lamentable struggle. It is curious that the war should have lasted a year and a half, rolling its tide one way and the other, without on the Northern side, casting up on its surface any one man of marked ability or vigour. Numbers without a general are merely food for the enemy to prey on; and war can never be carried on successfully by large armies badly commanded. M'Clellan is obviously a man of great courage, cool judgment, and immense perseverance,—qualities which may make an excellent subordinate officer, but which are not sufficient to constitute him a general. His last operations in Maryland have, however, been prompt and successful. It is impossible to know how far he had previously been thwarted or guided from Washington, so that much blundering which has been imputed to him may be chargeable properly on the successive Secretaries for War, or on the President himself.

The Federal Government appear to have been determined to set at nought all the principles of strategy which have been established in Europe, just as they have treated all maxims of sound political economy as inapplicable to American finance. They have acted on exterior lines, with blind confidence in the luck of war, and they have reaped the fruits of such blundering. The ordinary apology made by the Northern papers for each successive defeat of their own army, is in fact an admission that they have been working on wrong principles. They say in each case that the Confederates have obtained their advantage by outnumbering their opponents; but it is the main business of a general in the conduct of a campaign to have at the spot where it is wanted the superiority in numbers. From the party which undoubtedly has the largest supply of men and of funds, such an excuse amounts to a confession of bad generalship in the field, or a mistaken plan of the war. Their tactics or their strategy must be grievously at fault. Probably in Virginia, both causes have operated at the same time.

When the Federals advanced before Bull's Run, they did so without information as to the number or true position of their enemies. When, again, after an interval of months, they marched into the same country with the intention of attacking Richmond from the north, three days' bad weather was sufficient to send them back to Washington a disorganised mob. When

they undertook the attack by way of the peninsula between the James and York rivers, they stumbled over entrenchments deliberately prepared at York Town without their knowledge, within twenty miles of their own outposts. Afterwards they changed their front, and the base of their operations, from the James river to the York river and the Pamunkey, apparently on the speculation that they would be supported by the armies of Banks and M'Dowell from Northern Virginia; but in the meantime these armies had been driven back by Jackson, and the right wing of the Federal force was left extended in the air. Then it was that Jackson and the Confederates turned upon them, and after six days' fighting drove the Northern army back to its original base of the James river, at a point further from Richmond than that from which they had started. All this cost them their siege artillery, the virtual loss of at least 50,000 or 60,000 men, and the demoralisation of their whole force. Some praise, no doubt, for coolness and ability in the management of the retreat on the Chickahominy, must be conceded to M'Clellan, but its whole result is most discreditable to those who guided the movements.

But since M'Clellan's occupation of Harrison's Landing the events of the war in Virginia have been still more astounding. Pope's position on the Rapidan became untenable: M'Clellan then transferred his shattered army from the attack of Richmond to the defence of Washington. The lines of the Rapidan and Rappahannock have been occupied by the Federals, and forced or turned by the Confederates. The personal baggage of the Northern general was carried off in the rear of his own position. The struggle was no longer for the capture of Richmond, but for the attack and defence of Washington and of Maryland. The banks of Bull's Run witnessed another Federal defeat, and again echoed the roar of the Southern artillery, as on that memorable morning when the Pennsylvania regiments marched off the field 'to the sound of the enemy's 'cannon.' What has been gained by the enormous levies so carefully disciplined, and by the loss of the many thousands sacrificed in the campaign? The subsequent advance of the Confederates into Maryland has been repulsed with heavy loss; and it was apparently a military and political blunder when they assumed the offensive beyond the Potomac; but they have threatened Cincinnati, and the outposts of their forces have again been seen by the President from the windows of the White House.

In the West it is not so easy, with our sources of information, to trace the military events, but Beauregard's

retreat from Corinth appears to have been an operation almost incredible of its kind. In the face of a powerful enemy in front of his own lines, he deliberately broke up his camp and abandoned his position without an attack of any kind; the army of Halleck was thereby rendered as useless, for all practical purposes, as if he had defeated it, and that without any loss to his own side. We do not overlook the partial successes of the North wherever their gunboats could be brought to bear on the conflict, but we are compelled to recognise, in the general conduct of the war, the superior skill of the Southern commanders. Among the latter, Jackson, Beauregard, and Lee stand out as most conspicuous, and it is very probable that much may be owing to the military genius of Jefferson Davis himself.

Tocqueville foretold the attitude which a Federal army attempting to subdue the country must necessarily assume:—'Si l'Union entreprenait de maintenir par les armes les con-'fédérés dans le devoir, sa position se trouverait analogue à 'celle qu'occupait l'Angleterre lors de la guerre de l'indé-'pendance.' (*Tocqueville*, ii. p. 367.) The conquest of a vast territory with a hostile population in arms is not easier for them than it was for us in 1776.

We believe that we are borne out by facts, when we say that the officers of the Northern army are, as might be expected, deficient in the training, and in the sense of subordination, which is required for success in war on a large scale. We have no doubt that M'Clellan has been often crippled by the feeling that he could not venture to make a reconnaissance, because he did not know whether the officer entrusted with its execution would confine himself to carrying out his orders, or whether he might not, if he thought the opportunity favourable, seek to distinguish himself by a rash advance, which would involve a general action destructive of the plan of the whole campaign. The retreat from Vicksburg, and the successful attempt of the Arkansas to run the gauntlet of the Northern fleet, are most curious illustrations of the resources and daring of the Southern men. The Mississippi is not yet open, as the Federal Government had hoped and boasted, and it still flows by Vicksburg.

We observe, with great regret, the increasing atrocity of the war: Pope's general order of July 23rd, the Confederate order in retaliation of August 1st, and the murder of General Robert M'Cook, are all proofs that if the struggle continues it will become one in which no quarter will be given on either side. The order of Mr. Stanton, of August 8th, to prevent the evasion of military duty, did not seem to promise well for the recruiting

measures then in progress. The zeal for the Union must be flagging when so strong a measure is necessary to secure the service of the people in its behalf; nor will the men who are thus driven into the ranks make steady soldiers. A man who was in the old times pressed on board a ship of war, remained there and fought because he could not do otherwise; but desertion by land, and in one's own country, is an easier matter.

We cannot pass over in silence the financial arrangements of the Federal Government, although we have not space to discuss them as fully as they deserve. We know no other instance of a people advisedly carrying on a war of conquest for more than a year, without professing at least to make some provision by taxation to meet the enormous expenditure they were incurring from day to day. The tax-bill has been passed at last, but it is only after an authority has been given to issue paper money and Government bills to an amount which is astounding even in England. From the customs little can be expected, because the tariff is all but prohibitory.

We see that the United States currency is at a considerable discount; and hoarding has without doubt already begun. As the paper increases, so the discount must increase. If foreign creditors are to be paid, gold must be bought, and its nominal value must rise. Particular circumstances may stave off the final crisis, or accelerate it. A deficient harvest in Europe would enable wheat to be shipped instead of bullion, and we are ignorant of many minute facts which may retard this downward movement, but the result admits of little doubt.

Now the derangement of the finances of a people, and the unsound condition of their currency, are very serious evils in themselves, but they are doubly formidable when connected with causes which affect the source of all wealth — the productive industry of the country. The former evils divert and derange the channel; the latter diminish and dry up the waters which feed the river. Both sources of mischief seem to us in active operation in the United States.

The sums appropriated by Congress form only a portion of the expenses to be incurred, even for the years to which the appropriations relate. There will be the bounty and the premiums to the men who serve; and the former of these items promises at its present rate to be no trifling sum. If it is said it will be avoided as soon as recourse is had to a conscription, we answer that the sums which will be paid by individuals for substitutes, though saved to the Government, will produce evils of another kind, far more formidable than the outlay of money. Of all imposts which ever fall on a man in a free country, we should

think the sum paid in lieu of serving in the army must be the most galling. The toil and inconvenience borne by a soldier himself may be lightened by a sense of duty, or desire for honour, but there is no honour in staying at home, whilst the wound in the pocket will smart acutely.

The number of men in arms at any one time on the side of the North alone has not been less than 500,000. These men are all withdrawn from productive industry, in a country where labour is scarce. Instead of adding to the resources of the community, they are fed, clothed, and armed at the public expense. Those who fall in the contest are permanently lost to the labour-market; those who are wounded and disabled will, in many cases, become entitled to pensions, and thus form a lasting burden on the public funds. On the other hand, in the South the tillage of the soil and the industry of the country are carried on by a population who do not contribute to the number of combatants. Every Northern soldier is so much deducted from the produce of the country, but work in the South is carried on by negroes, with little substantial interruption.

All speculations as to the issue of the lamentable contest now going on are worth but little. We cannot conceive the restoration of the Union to be possible, because we cannot see how two populations, no longer merely differing in commercial interests and political opinions, but animated with the fiercest hatred of each other, can carry on a common government on the principles of equal right and popular representation in the same Congress. So long as the fiction of a large Union party in the South remained credible, the restoration of the Constitution on its former footing did not appear so absurd a project; but the fact is now clear that in the Southern States, properly so called, no such Union party exists. Even the embers of Federal patriotism have been trampled out by such men as General Butler.

What the chances of reunion are may be judged from the following passage in a letter of Lieut. Maury to the French Admiral De Chabanne:—

'As for the preservation, restoration, or reconstruction of the Union, it is simply an impossibility. Laying aside all questions of military power and prowess between the contending parties, the mere hatred of one for the other, and which is obvious to every intelligent being who has attentively observed the events of the contest as they have developed themselves, is enough to destroy all hopes for any such union. Harmony between the States, goodwill among the people, are essential to any such reconstruction or preservation, and you see enough, even from your distant stand-point, to satisfy you that we are

two peoples, and that so long as our favourite doctrine holds good—viz., that every rightful government rests on the consent of the governed — no power on earth can unite us again or make us one.' *

It is very doubtful whether, even in the Border States, any remnant of Union patriotism could be called into action, if we may judge from the way in which they have been overrun by secession guerrillas. To turn States into territories by an Act of Congress would certainly not be to carry out the Constitution; it would simply mean occupation by a standing army — such an occupation as that of New Orleans at the present time. Even if a miserable fraction of the population should take the oath of allegiance †, and exercise the semblance of political rights under the pressure of military despotism, the condition of the country would, in fact, be neither more nor less than the condition of Poland under Russia.

Such, it seems to us, is the most favourable issue which could be secured by the speedy and complete triumph of the Federal arms; and it would surely be a high price to pay for the chance — the remote chance, as we think — of freedom to the slaves.

It is clear, however, from the events of the last six months, that there is little prospect of witnessing such a consummation as this within any definite lapse of time. If the restoration of the Union is possible, it can take place only under Jefferson Davis, not under Lincoln; and to this chance some portion of the Democrats have evidently turned their eyes. In the event of the continued success of the South, we should not be at all surprised to hear that the mob and the merchants of New York had declared themselves in favour of slavery and the winning side. The proclamation of September 22nd will increase this disposition, and aggravate all political differences. The meetings of State governors, although for the moment in support of the President, is surely ominous of danger. Congress would seem to be the only legitimate organ by which States can act on the Federal Executive.

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* 'Times,' August 14. 1862.

† The mention of the oath of allegiance induces us to insert the following curious extract from a Northern paper, published more than a year ago: — 'It is reported of General Scott that when he 'received information of the capture of the Hatteras Forts, he burst 'into tears, and insisted on having the oath of allegiance administered 'to him.'

We do not suppose that the story is true, but it is difficult to make out what was the view of the writer of the paragraph. He seems to think that 'the oath of allegiance' exercised some restorative or sedative effect on the agitated nerves of the patient to whom it was administered.

Let us see what sober-minded men who cling with affection to the Union think of the various schemes now afloat with reference to the future of the United States. We quote again from Mr. G. T. Curtis's (4th of July) speech of the present year: —

'One man, for instance, wishes the Government to assume the power of emancipating all the slaves of the South, by some decree, civil or military. But he cannot possibly explain what the Government of the Union is to be when it has done this. Another man wants a sweeping confiscation of all the property of all the people of the revolted States, guilty and innocent alike. But he does not tell you what kind of Sovereign the United States is to be, after such a seizure shall have been consummated. A third, in addition to these things, and as if in imitation of the Austrian method of dealing with rebellious Hungary, wishes to declare a sweeping forfeiture of all political rights; an utter extinguishment of the corporate State existence, and a reduction of the people of the revolted States to a condition of military or some other vassalage. But he not only does not show how the Constitution enables the Federal Government to obliterate a State, but he does not even suggest what the Union is to be when this is done, or even whence the requisite physical force is to be derived. Multitudes of politicians tell us that slavery is the root of all the national disasters, and that we must "strike at the "root." But none of them tell us how we are to pass through these disasters to a safer condition, or what the condition is to be when we shall have struck at the root. He would be a very bold and a very rash man who should undertake to predict what new Constitution can follow a civil war in a great country like this.' (Pp. 21, 22, 23.)

Further on Mr. Curtis says: —

'That no valuable military allies can be found among the negroes of the South; that no description of government, custody, or charge of them can become more than a change of masters; and that nothing but weakness to the national cause results from projects that look to the acquisition of national power over their condition,—are truths on which the public mind appears to be rapidly approaching a settled conviction.' (P. 29.)

Mr. Curtis tells his hearers (p. 45.) to trust in charity rather than in these speculations; and we quite agree with him, but we think the first exercise of charity would be the stoppage of the war, and we see no other practical inference from his arguments. Looking to the eloquent conclusion of this speech, peace is evidently the desire of its author. If it be true that 300,000 copies of this oration have been sold in Boston, is not that fact significant as to the growth of opinion in favour of peace?

It may be said with plausibility, that the continuance of the conflict will reduce both parties to a state of exhaustion; that the want of arms, men, and money in the South, and the pe-

cuniary and military necessities of the North, will place the two combatants opposite to each other, still in an attitude of mutual defiance, but unable on either side to strike an effective blow. But in this case the question of boundary would present inextricable difficulties in the way of a peaceable reconciliation.

The North, up to the present time, persist in demanding the unconditional surrender of the Southern States, and profess exactly the same confidence in their own power to enforce such submission, as they did when the first levies rushed to Washington in the spring of 1861. On the other hand, the Southern men assert, with equal confidence, their ability to hold their own, and their fixed determination not to lay down their arms so long as the free will of any single State to make its choice between the Union and the Southern Confederacy is denied or resisted. The question of limits and conditions on which any peace is possible, does indeed seem to be one of almost insoluble difficulty. With our feeling on the subject of slavery, we should be glad to see its area restricted and its power of future extension crippled, trusting, as we do, to the influence of opinion, and the interests of the South itself, for its modification or ultimate abolition. The question is not whether it should exist: we cannot annihilate the facts as they stand, but we think the indefinite prolongation of a bloody civil war too much to pay for a mere uncertain contingency.

We should rejoice to see Western Virginia, Eastern Tennessee, and perhaps the northern slope of Kentucky by the Ohio river, with the whole State of Missouri, rescued from the reproach of slavery, but we are utterly at a loss to see any definite means by which this arrangement is to be effected. The North have formed, or are about to form, a new army of 600,000 men, and there is no symptom of faltering in its purpose on the part of the South. It may be long before the pressure of money difficulties compels the Government at Washington to seek for peace. The members of the Cabinet will not be willing to expose themselves to the reproach of abandoning the cause of the Union. Whenever tranquillity is restored, they will be liable to be called to account for all the arbitrary and illegal acts committed during the struggle. Congress has no constitutional power to grant an act of indemnity. The readiest way of salving over the wounds inflicted on the vanity of a nation, is to impute the disgrace incurred to the incapacity or treachery of the men in office. Mr. Seward and his colleagues have therefore a strong interest in holding out to the last. The interest, too, of those who profit by the war as contractors, is

likely to be powerful. Such men will stimulate to the utmost the flagging patriotism of their fellow-countrymen, and will clamour to the last for the Constitution and the war which pays so well to themselves.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a change in public opinion may come at any moment. There are already strong symptoms of the revival of the Democratic party; and it must never be forgotten that in all democracies such changes of opinion are sudden and overwhelming, just in proportion to the previous fierceness and obstinacy on the other side. The reason of this law is obvious enough. The minority do not dare to speak out until they expect to become at once the majority and carry all before them. If they move before the time, they are crushed at once. It is possible, therefore, that the war may last until the next presidential election; and it is possible that at any moment a sudden turn in public opinion may show itself in the election of State and city officers, or of members of Congress, and compel the adoption of measures leading to peace. The elections about to take place within a month may produce this result.

The mere recognition of the Southern Confederacy by foreign nations would do nothing. The offer of mediation by England or France would be treated as an insult, and be used as a stimulus for increasing the army of the North. An offer (if such a course were possible) on the part of France, England, and Russia, might, in a moment of exhaustion, meet with more favourable consideration; but such a proposal, to be effective, must carry with it a reference to Russia or some friendly Power of all the questions of boundary, and conditions for free navigation of the Mississippi.

If we suppose for a moment that negotiation or some such terms were practicable, let us revert to the question on which we have already touched — What would be the effect of a peaceable separation on the interests of Europe and North America?

Tocqueville expressed a strong opinion that in the event of the dissolution of the Union, the States would not return to their isolated condition, but would group themselves into two or more Confederacies or Unions*; and of the justice of this view there can be little doubt.

But beyond this point, human foresight can scarcely penetrate the mist that covers the future of this great country. It is probable that the establishment of the Confederate States

* Vol. ii. p. 358.

would substitute a direct trade from Charleston and New Orleans, with low duties on imports, for the circuitous commerce and the extravagant tariff of New York. There seems no reason why, after an interval, the supply of cotton from the Southern coast should not be as large as it has been, or why it should not be paid for in a great measure by goods imported from Europe. That such a change as this in the trade of the world would be beneficial to England and France, and would add a fresh guarantee for peace, there can be little doubt. If the iron-masters and cotton-spinners in the North still persisted in demanding the privilege of plundering their own people (as they certainly would do) it is to be hoped that the eyes of the Western States would soon open to their true interests. At any rate it would be difficult to enforce the customs' duties now exacted in regions into which the St. Lawrence and the great lakes penetrate from the eastward, and the Mississippi from the south. It would seem to be absolutely necessary to any settlement of the present differences, that the freedom of this latter river should be secured.

The city of New York would acquiesce very reluctantly in a separation which deprived it of the privilege of being the port and the money market of the South. We do not know what the effect of this feeling might be. The southern portion of the State and the city itself have interests not identical with those of the northern and western districts, and the mandates of the Legislature at Albany have not always been accepted with perfect complacency in the commercial capital.

A struggle would as now be carried on in the North between Portland and Boston, for that portion of the trade of the West which did not pass down the Mississippi or by way of New York. The lakes and the St. Lawrence offer, during eight months of the year, a more favourable route, and if the railway to Halifax were completed, the New England States would find in the British colonies formidable rivals for this traffic. Wheat would be stored at Quebec and Montreal, and sent by railway to Halifax or St. John after the navigation of the St. Lawrence had closed; and at these ports cargoes for Canada or the western States would be landed. It is not impossible that the construction of this road through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia might influence materially the political course ultimately taken by the Western States.

When the tax-gatherer, that 'doctor for a diseased imagi-'nation,' as Jefferson called him *, shall have knocked at their

* The whole passage is exceedingly apposite to the present mo-

doors for a certain number of months, or years, the populous and powerful States of the West will begin to weigh calmly the amount of the tribute for protected manufactures which they will have to pay to Pennsylvania and Massachussetts. Their enthusiasm for the Union may have diminished by that time; they sell their wheat to Europe, and the mining and agricultural interests grouped round the lakes and the head waters of the Mississippi may choose to seek a less restricted commerce, and greater freedom of action, in the establishment of a Western Confederacy.

What is to become of California? The monstrous fiction of a coasting trade round Cape Horn, asserts its unity with the Government at Washington, so far as foreign nations are concerned; but we have lately seen free citizens who wish to go thither,—that is, who desire to pass from one part of the United States to the other,—stopped because they may be evading the conscription. This does not look like unity; and if the fabric goes to pieces, California must, one would think, set up for itself. Utah and the Mormons will probably enjoy their own institutions a little longer without molestation. Much may depend on the life of Brigham Young, who is evidently a man of great ability. But after all, New England and the central States of the Union contain in themselves abundant elements of good government, and of commercial prosperity, not perhaps sufficient to enable them as a great and formidable Power to defy the world, but sufficient to secure their own independence and the happiness of their people: a state of things infinitely preferable to a divided empire, tainted with slavery, and distracted by the jarring interests of the South. Whether they could easily man their navy and their merchant shipping, if England deals prudently and kindly with her own maritime population, may be questionable, as it has been with the United States; but there seems no reason why they should lose their hold on the carrying trade of the world. It has sometimes been

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ment:—'The increase of taxation, made imperative by the great 'military preparations authorised by Congress, contributed a good 'deal to cure "this disease of the imagination;" indeed, the "Doctor" 'observed Jefferson ironically, "is now on his way to cure it in the '"disguise of a tax-gatherer. But give time for the medicine to '"work, and for the repetition of stronger doses which must be '"administered. The authorised expenses for the year are beyond '"those of any year of the late war for independence, and they are '"of a nature to beget great and constant expenses. *The purse of* '"*the people is the real seat of sensibility.*"' (*De Witt's Jefferson*, p. 228.)

argued that a separation from the Southern States would increase the naval force of the maritime and commercial portion of the Union. We confess that we do not see the force of this reasoning, or understand how the union with those States which furnished the materials for the largest export trade in the world, can have crippled the maritime energies of New York or Boston. It is the protectionist spirit of the North, not the agricultural interests or the slave prejudices of the South, which has done its best to diminish what it could not annihilate, and which still acts as a clog on the commerce of America.

But there remains another objection to our views which must be met, however vaguely it is stated. There are those who tell us that, in forming our opinions and our wishes with reference to the struggle in North America, we, as Englishmen, are bound 'to 'discard all selfish considerations,'—that we ought not to allow our sympathies to be swayed one way or the other by our own interests. We do not deny the obligations of national morality. We fully admit that every people is responsible for its acts, and for the way in which it exercises its influence over others. A violation of national faith, or a wanton provocation of the greatest of all evils—war—is never committed with impunity. As it is, however, with private, so it is with public, morality; the providence of God has ordained, that the real prosperity of nations, as of individuals, and the good government of the civilised world, should be worked out by the action of each seeking, within certain limits, that which is for his own interest. When a nation oversteps those limits there is a Nemesis waiting patiently to avenge the crime—a Nemesis not the less sure because the retribution is not always undergone by the generation which committed the offence nor understood by those on whom it falls. What is the meaning of the instinct of patriotism and the love of one's own country, except that men, in dealing with other nations, should keep steadily in view the welfare of their own? On no other principle can a state maintain its place in the civilised world, and on no other principle do we assign honours and rewards to our statesmen and our soldiers. On no other principle, certainly, can the prolonged war of the North against the South be for a moment defended.

If this be so, why are we in this case to 'discard all selfish 'considerations'? Why specially on the question of Secession and our sympathy with the South or North, are we to neglect the element of advantage to England? It can hardly be said that the Government of the United States in their dealings with us have set us the example of unselfishness, although their feeling has been sometimes adverse to us, when

there was no apparent interest to guide it in that direction; as for instance at the time of the Crimean War.

As a people, it is not our business to say what interpretation of the American Constitution is the right one. Whether we approve or disapprove of the municipal laws and institutions of the South, their independence of the Government at Washington is not the less a fact. If it be manifestly for the advantage of England to acknowledge that fact by recognising the national character of the Southern Confederacy, we cannot see why their morality, for which we are not responsible, should stand in the way of such recognition. Neither the peace of the world nor the triumph of good over evil will be promoted by shutting our eyes to facts and events on such grounds as these.

But, on the other hand, we do not say that it is for the interests of England wisely considered, at the present moment to recognise the Southern Confederacy. We are inclined to believe that Lord Palmerston's policy has been hitherto right—that at this moment the acknowledgment of the South as a nation would of itself effect very little, and might cause to England evils greater than those which it would remove.

If this be so we have nothing to do but to lament the civil war which is raging in the United States, and we must bear as well as we can the suffering of Lancashire, whilst we wait patiently and calmly for the course of events.

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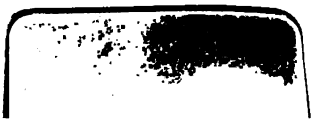
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